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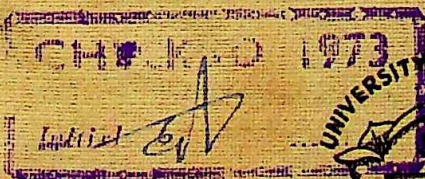
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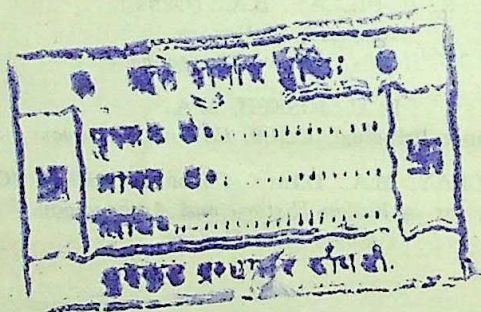


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पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
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Administration, International Conduct and Social Conditions under 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shāh (1626-72)

BY

H. K. SHERWANI, *Hyderabad*

I. Administration

The Dastūru'l-'Amal:

There is an interesting section on the principles of government in Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi's *Basātīnu's-Salātīn* entitled "Dastūru'l-'Amal", extending to thirteen pages, which gives an insight into the ideals of administration in the Deccan. The section is appended to the events of the reign of Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh of Bijapur, a contemporary of 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shāh, and it may be presumed that it represents the ideals of government in the two sister kingdoms.¹ It is interesting to note that the style of this Dastūru'l 'Amal is similar to that of "Siyāsāt Namah" of Nizāmu'l-Mulk Tūsī, which that great statesman is said to have written at the bidding of Sulṭān Malik Shāh Saljūqī, the great King of Central and Western Asia. Another interesting point is the statement in the subtitle of the section that its contents were "accepted by the predecessors of the Sulṭān who were known for their ideals of justice" and it ends with the admonition that the King would not desist from acting according to them.²

The section begins with a word of advice to the King that he "should adopt justice as his watchword, for the satisfaction of the

1. Zubairi, *Basātīnu's Salātīn*, a complete history of medieval Bijapur, with an epilogue bringing down the narrative to 1233/1824. Muhammad 'Adil Shah, King of Bijapur, 1627-57. For *Siyāsāt-nāmāh* see Sherwani, *Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration*, fourth edition, 1963, pp. 119 ff. Nizāmu'l-Mulk Tūsī lived during 1017-91. Malik Shah Seljūqī ruled during 1074-92.

2. *Dastūru'l-'Amal; Basātīn*, pp. 348-61.

population leads to the strengthening of the realm and replenishment of the treasury". Clear issues should be settled forthwith in the courts and the party telling lies should be punished. The *qāḍīs*, *muftīs* and the Chief Justice should be paid the salaries commensurate with their respective offices in cash, or else they should be granted the revenues from specified villages. There may be a Chain of Justice with a gong reaching the ears of the King himself, but prior to the "recourse to this contrivance a proper plaint should be lodged in the courts having jurisdiction over the cause to be tried."

The section lays great stress on the loyalty and integrity of the ministers. It says that jagīrs should be granted to the wazīrs and the amīrs of the kingdom only for three years but they might be renewed on the expiry of the term. The wazīrs should have to submit a complete account for the amount of money accruing to them from their jagīrs, and if the amount collected exceeded the amount spent on the items of expenditure sanctioned, it should be made good. A significant note is struck on punctuality and the King is admonished to see that the ministers attend their respective offices punctually, His Majesty setting the example by being scrupulously punctual himself. The section prescribes a routine for the King and sets a limit to the time he should spend with his ministers, with the learned and with those with whom he enjoys life. It is laid down that the commandants of fortresses should not hold office in a single place for more than three years, perhaps because otherwise they would become too assertive. There are some interesting details thrown in, such as keeping the trunk roads and feeder roads clean, the closure of the market during certain festival days, the need of trees being planted on both sides of roads, the lay-out of trunk roads with large squares and fountains, the provision of training boys in arts and crafts, and the details of provisions for feeding the travellers and the needy at the expense of government.³

3. *Basūtin*, 353. The details of the fare provided for the needy make an interesting reading. Muslim travellers staying in the Jāmi 'Masjid of the capital were provided with cooked food, while the indigent and the needy among the Hindus were allowed 1½ seers of wheat flour, half a seer of dal and quarter of a seer of pure ghee per day!

Central Administration

The King

As was the case not merely in India but in practically all other parts of the world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the pivot of the administration in Tilang-Andhra was the King. He lived in grand style, and when, perhaps on rare occasions, he stepped out of his vast palaces he did so with a tremendous éclat. Thus when in 1046/1636 he went to visit the Iranian Ambassador who was staying in the house formerly occupied by Muḥammad Amin Mir Jumla, he was received by the envoy in right royal fashion, and the huge tank, which still bears the name of Mir Jumla, was illuminated by myriad coloured lamps during the King's stay; and when 'Abdu'l-lāh returned to his palace his mother, the Dowager Queen, showered the Ambassador with costly presents.⁴ Again, great pomp was displayed when the King left Haidarabad on long tours of the eastern provinces of the kingdom. The first tour was marred by the rebellion of certain local zemindars and the cavalcade, which consisted of as many as fifty thousand men, had to retrace its steps from Kondapalli.⁵ But it was two years later, in 1049/1639 that the high watermark of pomp and pageantry was reached. Accompanied by the Dowager Queen, the ladies of the zenana, the Peshwa and a number of ministers, the *majlis*s and the nobles as well as foreign Envoys and prominently the Ambassadors of Iran and the Mughal Empire, the King started on his two months' tour of the eastern regions on a golden *Singāsan* or moving throne, with fanfares sounding and drums beating. He had a long retinue consisting of thousands of infantry, cavalry and artillery and elephants caparisoned with European velvet and pure silk, and no end of followers. This magnificent procession—it was like a whole city on the move—was preceded by thousands of workmen who repaired the roads, and prepared the next halt by clearing forests and arranging for the comfort of the King and his movable capital. The journey to Masulipatam, which is called "Bandar-i Mubārak" or the "Auspicious Port" took exactly two months to return, and it served the double purpose of showing the might of Haidarabad to the restive population of the east coast

4. *Hadiqat*'s *Salāṭīn*, 182.

5. *Ibid*, 185.

and, exhibiting the magnificence and viability of the State to European Factors.⁶

The King wore a crown which had "a jewel about a foot long—a rose of great diamonds, three or four inches in diameter". On the top there was "a palm branch like ornament with several springs each ending in a lovely pearl shaped like a pear".⁷

Like his grandfather, Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, 'Abdu'l-lah was fond of gay life and *abandon*. He was also, like his ancestor, cognizant of his own shortcomings and gradually entrusted the business of government to his ministers, and finally, in March 1634 he handed over his full and complete authority to the Peshwa, Ibn-i Khātūn. In fact it was due to the foresight and administrative ability of Peshwas like Ibn-i Khātūn and Muḥammad Sa'īd Mīr Jumla that in spite of the King's indolence and the onward march of the Mughal power and influence, the kingdom not only survived but was able to extend its frontiers never reached by the Quṭbshahi power previously.

Majlis-i-Dīwān Dārī

A very interesting development in Tilang-Andhra was the evolution of *Majlis* or Privy Council. It appears that there were some "*majlisīs*" or Councillors even in the time of Sultān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh,⁸ and from the beginning of the reign matters of import were decided after a full discussion among those in authority. This must have led to the formulation of a *Majlis-i-Dīwān Dārī* or *Majlis-i-Khāṣ* which was held regularly every day from the second regnal year of the reign of 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shāh.⁹ Not only were nominations to this Council made from among the persons who made a mark in public service or belonged to the nobility but direct appointments of "*majlisīs*" were made to Ambassadorial and other responsible posts. Thus a "*majlisī*," Yūsuf Shāh, who had already held the important ministry called

6. *Ibid*, 229-256.

7. Thèvenot, in the *Indian Travels of Thèvenot and Carreri*, p. 143.

8. Muḥṭaṣab Taqiyā'i Shīrāzī was a "*majlisī*" even in the late King's reign; *Ḥadiqatū's Salāṭīn*, 213.

9. *Ibid*, pp. 36, 48. Wazīr-i 'Ainu'l-Mulk is said to have had "precedence over all other Ministers"; *ibid.*, 234.

the 'Ainu'l-Mulk, was appointed the Qutbshāhi Envoy to the Mughal Court in 1040/1630, while the next year Mirza Ḥamza, who held the high office of Sarkhēl became a Councillor. We have a list of nearly twenty Councillors, and they include the King's preceptor, those who had migrated to the Deccan from north India as well as abroad and came to hold high office in the Qutbshāhi dominions, physicians, poets, *raconteurs*, professors, commanders of forces, Envoys and others. The King ordinarily presided over the formal meetings of the Council, and whenever there was an official procession the Councillors took precedence over the King's entourage and the royal bodyguard. In 1049/1639 the King ordered the *majlisīs* "and other high officials to construct their houses in Muḥammadnagar—Golkonda.¹⁰

The Peshwa

In those far-off days there was no question of the collective responsibility of the Ministers, and it is difficult to say whether a "Ministry" proper existed. The head of the administration was the *Pēshwa*, and perhaps the most renowned of all the *Pēshwas* of the reign was Shaikh Muḥammad surnamed Ibn-i Khātūn by which epithet he is generally known in history. He was a man of great learning and aptitude, and his name was preceded by "Nawwab 'Allāmī Fahhāmī" or the Nawwab of vast learning and intelligence. He came to have the power of appointment to all high offices, and as the King gradually lost interest in the affairs of state he handed over all effectual powers to the *Pēshwa*. We have a record of eminent persons who occupied *Pēshwaship* during the reign. When the youthful King came to the throne his mother, Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam appointed her son-in-law, Shah Muḥammad, *Pēshwa* with a salary of 12,000 *hons*. As Shah Muḥammad had little to his credit except his proximity to the throne, the Dowager-Queen made Shaikh Muḥammad Ibn-i Khātūn, the Deputy *Pēshwa*; he had already proved his worth as an Envoy

10. The names of the *majlisīs* are interspersed in *H.S.*, especially between pp. 110 and 124. They are sometimes named "Majlisiyān-i 'Uzzām" or the Great Councillors; *H.S.*, 219. It appears that the King foresaw the danger to which the city of Haidarabad was exposed in the face of the continuous march of the Mughals southwards; that is why he ordered mansions to be constructed in the old city of Golkonda; *H.Q.*, 257.

and as a high officer.¹¹ When Shāh Muḥammad was proved to be "guilty of disloyalty and indiscipline bordering on embezzlement" he was deprived of his high office on 9-9-1038/22-4-1629 and Shaikh Muḥammad Ibn-i Khātūn appointed *Pēshwa*. But as it was bruited that Ibn-i Khātūn also was guilty of certain undesirable acts he was interned in his own house while the charge of his high office was given to Muḥammad Riḍa Astrabadi on 13-6-1042/1612-1632. When Ibn-i Khātūn was cleared of all charges he was reinstated on 9-10-1043/29-3-1634 in a grand *darbar* "at which all the nobles, the *majlisīs*, amīrs, wazīrs and foreign Envoys were present" and the King entrusted to him full authority of the *Pēshwa* with his maternal nephew as his Deputy. He was also invested with the power and authority of Mīr Jumla, and was entrusted with the portfolio of foreign affairs "which had become the most important of administrative charges", no doubt owing to the increasing danger from the Mughals.¹²

The new *Pēshwa* not merely governed the state in the name of the King but also managed to keep company with the learned, the poets and the amīrs. Tuesday was the general holiday in the kingdom, when Ibn-i Khātūn retired to groves and gardens in the vicinity of the city to which foreign Envoys, especially the Ambassadors of the Mughal Empire and Iran, were also invited.¹³

Jumlatu'l-Mulk

Next to the *Pēshwa* came *Jumlatu'l-Mulk* or, as he was popularly called, *Mīr Jumla*. With Mīr Mumin's death in 1034/1624 no one was appointed to this high office. The first Mīr Jumla of 'Abdu'l-Jah's reign was Mansūr Khān Habashī.¹⁴ It is related that Mansūr Khān did not perform his official duties personally but

11. *Ibid*, pp. 33-34.

12. Shah Muhammad's guilt; *Ibid*, 78, Ibn-i Khātūn; *Peshwa*; *ibid*, 149. "Mu'amilat-i Hijāb" or foreign affairs, *ibid*, 165.

13. *H.Q.*, 166 says that Ibn-i Khātūn's administration was marked by high standards and that he exercised his powers of appointment with great discretion. He took care to appoint persons of ability and discretion to the membership of the Privy Council as well as to civil and military services.

14. For a discussion of the exact date of Mīr Mu'min's death see Zor, *Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min*, pp. 175-79.

left everything to his Brahman subordinates "who became all-powerful in the administration".¹⁵ The importance of the office rose and fell with the personality of its holder and attained immense heights with the appointment of Muḥammad Sa'id Ardis-tānī as *Mīr Jumla*, so much so that all previous incumbents of the post paled almost into insignificance, and the epithet "*Mīr Jumla*" became synonymous with Muhammad Sa'id. He had risen from the ranks, from the office of *Sardaftardār* or the keeper of the royal records, becoming the *Ḥawaladār* of Kondapalli-Muṣṭafānagar, *Sarkhēl* with a salary of 3000 *hons*, *Sipah Sālār* or Commander-in-chief of the army which distinguished itself by the conquest of the Karnatak and the elimination of the once brilliant empire of Vijayanagar. During the incumbency of the *Pēshwaship* by Ibn-i Khātūn the *Pēshwa* was like the all-powerful Minister of Delegation of the Abbasid period, and when Muhammad Sa'id *Mīr Jumla* rose to power there were few in the kingdom who equalled him in authority. When he was ordered to the Karnatak two Ministers, Shujā'ul-Mulk and Yulchi Beg, were actually ordered to accompany him as members of his staff.¹⁶

Wazīrs or Ministers

The *Pēshwa* was the apex of the administration and as the royal delegate he had even a larger authority than a modern Prime Minister. He had twelve Ministers to help in his day-to-day duties. In the Deccan the term *Wazīr* is found as far back as the reign of the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, 'Alāu-d-dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh. It appears that the institution fell into disuse but it was revived under the Quṭbshāhīs and became a part of the administrative system in 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign.¹⁷ There

15. H.S., p. 34.

16. For the early life and accomplishments of Muhammad Sa'id see J. N. Sarkar, *Mīr Jumla*. See also H.S., 190 ff. *Sipah Salar* or Commander-in chief; *ibid*, 308.

17. For *Wazīrs* in early Bahmani period see *Burhān-i Ma'āshir*, p. 16. But the nomenclature is not found in 'Iṣāmī's *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*, for which see Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Deccan*. p. 71 n. 17. S. A. Q. Husaini's *Bahman Shah* has the term "*wazīrs*" in the index, but the nomenclature is different in the body of the book. The Bahmani Ministers were in fact called by other names; see Sherwani, *Bahmanis*, pp. 51-78. *Wazīrs* in the time of

were twelve Ministers who were entitled "Zi Shankat" or Possessors of Eminence,¹⁸ and each was entitled to carry an embroidered flag as well as other emblems of high office. We are not aware of the portfolios of the Ministers, but we know that the seniormost among them was called *Amīnu'l-Mulk* and another was in charge of military affairs. When Mulla Uwais was invested with a *Wazirate* on 14-4-1047/26-8-1637 he was received by the King with full honours befitting the occasion and granted robes of honour and full accoutrement of Ministership. Every Minister had a *jāgīr*, and this was never in the proximity of the capital. The King had a critical eye on the action of Ministers, and when he found that Yulchi Beg had incurred a debt of thirty or forty thousand *hons* he ordered that the debt should be cleared out of the Minister's property.

Dabīr

Perhaps next in order of precedence was the *Dabīr*, a Secretary. The Central Secretariat consisted of two Secretaries, namely the *Munshiu'l-Mumālīk* or Chief Secretary and the *Dabīr-i-Farāmīn-i Hindawī* or the Secretary in charge of the "Hindawi" *farmans*.¹⁹ The latter post was almost invariably occupied by a Hindu, and as bi-lingual *farmans* in Persian and Telugu became the order of the day it is this branch of the Secretariat which must have been in charge of the Telugu versions. In fact it is not known whether any actually "Hindi" *farmans* were issued in 'Abdu'llah's reign, it is possible that the term "Hindawi" in this context meant "non-Persian" or Telugu *farmans*. The office of

Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh; Sherwani "Cultural and Administrative set-up under Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shah", *Islamic Culture*, April 1957; *Tārikh Muḥammad Quṭb Shah*, MSS Aṣafiyah, *Tārikh Fārsī*, 401, at p. 142.

18. Their Eminence the twelve Ministers, *H.S.*, 227. 'Ainu'l-Mulk, *ibid.*, 71. Mulla Uwais's investiture as a Minister, *ibid.*, 221. Yulchi Beg, *ibid.*, 224. 'Ali Akbar 'Ainu'l-Mulk had his jagir near Nandgāon, *ibid.*, 243.

19. *Dabīr* or *Munshiu'l-Mumālīk*; *H.S.* 80. I'timad Rao, *Dabīr-i Farāmīn-i Hindawī*; *H.S.*, 235 Mulla Uwais replaced by Mirza Taqī Nishāpurī, *H.S.*, 261. *Dabīr* included in the category of "Great men", "who is Lord Chief Justice", Foster, *English Factories*, 1665-67, 228. It may be noted that Ibn-i Khātūn occupied the post of *Dabīr* before he became *Peshwa* on 9-9-1038/22-4-1629; *Hadīqatu'l-Ālam* I, 312. Ghulām 'Ali Nishāpurī was raised to the "high and eminent post" of *Dabīr*; *H.Q.*, 221.

the *Dabīr* was called *Dīwān-i Inshā*, and one of the main duties of the *Dabīr* was noting on the petitions and drafting the *farman*s which, however, had no value without the royal "*chhāp*" or seal. It is also hinted that the *Dabīr* had some judicial work to perform as well, and the English Factors call him "Lord Chief Justice". It is quite possible that the *Dabīr* heard and decided cases relating to the administration proper and as the English Factors and tradesmen had to deal with this aspect of the administrative system they mistook the Chief Secretary to be the highest judicial officer in the realm. It is noted that the *Dabīr-i Farāmīn-i Hindawī* was also *Majmu'ahdar* by which term was meant the Accountant General of the kingdom.²⁰ Sometimes the *Majmu'ahdar* was a distinct official, such as Narayana Rao who embezzelled more than a lakh of *hons* and was taken to task by the *Sarkhel* Mulla Muhammad Taqi Sharifu'l-Mulk in 1038/1628.²¹ Evidently the influence of the Brahmans in public administration was increasing with the passage of time, and it is related that *Mīr Jumla Mansur Khān* carried on his official duties with the help of the Brahmans "who thus became all-powerful in public administration".²²

Kōtwāl

One of the most important of central officers was the *Kōtwāl* or Commissioner of Police.²³ He not merely kept law and order in the city but fulfilled many other responsibilities as well. Thévenot, who visited *Ḥaidarabad* about this time, says that "the

20. *Majmu'ahdar* or Accountant General; H. A., 303.

21. H.Q., 76.

22. *Ibid*, 34.

23. In northern India the *Kōtwāl* is a comparatively junior police officer with limited jurisdiction, generally of the rank of an Inspector, but in *Hyderabad* even now the *Kōtwāl* ranks high in the police hierarchy and equates with the Commissioner of Police in *Calcutta*, *Bombay* and *Madras*.

In Medieval India the *Kōtwāl* had some kind of judicial functions to perform; see M. B. Ahmad, *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, pp. 165-66. Practically all the data available regarding the *Kōtwāl*s of *Mughal* India have been analysed by R. P. Pandey in his paper on "Administration of Justice through *Kōtwāl* during the *Moghul* Period", *Indian Journal of Political Science*, July-September-December, 1964, pp. 152-157. In any case it is rather doubtful if the *Kōtwāl* exercised any extensive civil jurisdiction, especially when there must have been a *Qāzī* in every large city.

most considerable of the local officers in the capital was the *Kōtwāl*'. Along with his main function of keeping law and order in the vastly heterogenous population consisting of Dakhnis, Habashis, Persians, Mughals, Tartars, Arminians and Hindus of various castes and denominations, besides an increasing number of Europeans,²⁴ he was also the Master of the Mint and the "supreme judge" of the city in certain matters. When 'Abdu'l-lah went on his grand tour of the Eastern Provinces with most of his Ministers, it was the *Kōtwāl*, Mirza Nāsir who was left in full charge of the capital under the minister, Shuja'u'l-Mulk.²⁵

Sarkhēl

The *Sarkhēl*, (literally "Leader of a Group") was the chief revenue officer at the capital and had a large jurisdiction over the districts and provinces. Some of the most outstanding personages of the reign are mentioned as *Sarkhēls*, such as Muḥammad Taqī Sharifu'l-Mulk, Mirza Rozbihān Isfahani and Syed Muẓaffar. As the Director of Revenue he had some authority over European trade on the east coast, and when the English captain of the ship, *Constantinople Merchant*, was put to trouble by the Dutch Factors, he appealed to the *Sarkhēl* who immediately placed him under the protection of the King of Golkonda. But later, possibly for some monetary consideration, the interests of the *Sarkhēl* shifted to the support of the Dutch against the British. Being the Director of Revenue, the *Sarkhēl's* office is described by some of our chroniclers as "a very eminent office".²⁶

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

Royal Authority

While the King's authority was supreme in the kingdom he perhaps did not take much care to see that his orders were duly honoured in the provinces, and those in charge of the outlying districts did practically what they liked. This was so mainly owing

24. Thèvenot, 135.

25. H.S., 233.

26. "Chief Revenue Officer"; *English Factories*, 1665-67, p. 242. Sides with the English, *ibid*; with the Dutch; *English Factories*, 1668-69, p. 238. Names of *Sarkhēls*; H.S., 102, 123, 168 etc.

to the increasingly care-free character of the King, coupled with his sense of frustration at the suffocating impact of the Muḡhal power culminating in the Imperial *farman* of 1636 which made the kingdom a virtual protectorate of the Empire. The Dutch complained in so many words that the royal *farmans* were not taken notice of,²⁷ and even for obtaining such worthless *farmans* the court entourage had to be satisfied by rich presents. On the other hand the dilatoriness on the part of the officials at the capital was gradually becoming the order of the day.²⁸ The King's prestige declined to such an extent that when he sent a *farman* along with a robe of honour and presents to Sir Edward Winter at Masulipatam he kept the *farman* but returned the robe and the presents, and when he was summoned to Haidarabad he refused to go.²⁹

The Simt

Right through the Bahmani period the generic name of the province was *taraf* (pl. *aṭrāf*), but this term was no longer in use and another term which seems to have taken its place was *Simt*, while the chief civil representative in it was called *Sarsimt*.³⁰ But the *simt* answered more to a district than to a province, for it is mentioned that Belamkonda, Venukonda, Nizampatam, Kondapalli, Masulipatam, Elluru, Rajahmundry and such other places were their capital towns.³¹

The *Sarsimt* was evidently appointed by the King, but there was another officer, the *Hawaladar*, who is wrongly called "Gover-

27. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, I(2), p. 190: Extracts from the Dutch Diaries of the Castle of Batavia, 1637.

28. Foster, *English Factories*, 1665-67, p. 224.

29. *Ibid.*, 1661-64, pp. 171, 268.

30. For the Bahmani *Taraf* see *Bahmanīs*, op.cit., pp. 80, 222 ff. Only once do we find the terms *Taraf* and *Tarafdār* in connection with Qutb-shāhī dominions, and that in a comparatively modern book which is uncritical and at times none too reliable, namely *Ḥadīqatu'l-'Ālam*, I, 356, where it is related that Muḡammad Sa'īd Ardīstānī became the *Tarafdār* of the Karnatak. It is a matter of history that he was the *Mir Jumla* of the kingdom and Commander-in-Chief of the territory.

Simt stands for a district in the European records. Moreland, *Relations of Golconda*, Anonymous *Relations*, 81 calls the head of the *Simt* "Supervisor".

31. *Relations*, op.cit., Methwold's *Relations*, 78.

nor" in the Dutch and English Factory Records.³² This officer was mainly responsible for the collection of local taxes, and the office was publicly auctioned or "farmed" and given to the highest bidder. Although his actions were generally supervised by the *Sarsimt* he was more or less free to do as he liked. His main function was to collect the revenue and pay the Centre the amount of the "farm" at the stipulated periods. It is expressly stated that most of these "Governors" were opulent Brahmans or Banias, who lived in a lordly style, while they acted as local collectors and local judges in petty cases. They were taken to task if they did not remit the instalments of the "farm" punctually, and it is stated that they were sometimes even flogged for any discrepancy. It can well be surmised that such a state of affairs was not helpful in the increase of prestige even in judicial matters.³³

As an instance, the annual "farm" of the district of Masulipatam was valued at 1,80,000 *pagodas*, out of which the King allowed 5000 *pagodas* to the *Hawaladar* as his salary, while 8000 *pagodas* were retained by him as the salary of his subordinate officers. There was also subinfeudation descending to three or four steps till the ordinary tiller of the soil was reached and this must have increased the lack of direct control by the Centre to a remarkable extent.³⁴ A letter dated January 7, 1667 says: "Formerly the King's servants governing the country were allowed a salary, but now it is rented out to some of the great men who let it out to others and they farm it out to others under them, so that in place of one formerly there are five now and every-one seeks to make what he can."³⁵

32. "Hawālādār"; *English Factories*, 1668-69, p. 139.

33. The Dutch complained of the "enormous avarice of the "governor" Muḥammad Swāleh and the "presents he had to be given for administrative action" (*J.B. Hist. S.*, 1928, p. 190). When they complained to the King he issued a *farman* ordering the *Sarsimt* and the *Shah Bandar* to prove their case, while at the same time the Dutch were accused of introducing new customs without royal permission. Evidently the Dutch were experts in the art of passing money not merely to Qutbshāhī officials but also to the Raya of Vijayanagar, for we find that they gave rich "presents" to him for acquiring more favours; *J.B. Hist. S.*, II (1), p. 153.

34. *Moreland*, *Anonymous Relations*, p. 81.

35. *English Factories*, 1665-67, p. 253.

The deterioration in public morality must have set in with the passage of time. When Tavernier left Golkonda for Ahmadabad he deposited his money with a friend as he had in any case to return to Masulipatam by way of Haidarabad. His friend died while he was away. Immediately the *Shah Bandar* "or the Provost of Merchants" locked and sealed the room in which Tavernier's money was kept, and it was a matter of surprise and satisfaction that he found his money safe and in tact on his return. All he had to do was to produce the banker who had cashed his bill of exchange as a witness and pay a small fee of 4½ crowns to get back the amount.³⁶

By way of contrast with this security at the capital, we find that when Sir Edward Winter was summoned by the King to settle pending matters he refused to go as "there was no security at Masulipatam for the great men of Golconda had fallen out among themselves And who can trust themselves under such bad government".³⁷ Apart from the time lag there must have been a contrast between the comparative security at the capital and that in the outlying districts. We hear of the *Hawaladar*, the *Shah Bandar* and the *Sarsimt* prohibiting the Dutch from offering violence and supervising the *Banksaul* or Custom House for three days that they did not show hostility to the English,³⁸ which seemed to be almost an every-day affair at the principal post of the kingdom.

Shah Bandar

This was the name usually given to the Chief Port Officer, but as has been noted above, there was a *Shah Bandar* even in Haidarabad where he discharged his duties as the "Provost of Merchants."³⁹

36. *Tavernier*, 327. Tavernier appends this account with the rather apt sentence, "This I relate to show the justice of the country".

37. *English Factories*, 1661-64, p. 269.

38. *Ibid*, 1665-67, pp. 242 ff.

39. *Tavernier*, 327. For *Shah Bandar* see also Sherwani, *Muhammad Qutb Shāh*, p. 41.

Military Command

In contrast to the rather loose atmosphere in the outlying districts, the territories which had a military or a semi-military government like the newly conquered Karnatak, had a remarkably efficient administration. There is a pen picture of the transaction of official duties by Muḥammad Saʿīd Mīr Jumla at his Gaṇḍi-koṭa headquarters, and it is well given to us by Tavernier; it would be better to quote it more or less *verbatim* here:

"We found the Nawab in his tent sitting with his two Secretaries. He was sitting, according to the custom of the country, barefoot, with a great number of papers between his toes and between his fingers, and he ordered what answers be given to everyone. After the Secretaries had wrote (sic.) the answer he caused them to read them, and he took the letters and sealed them himself giving some to foot messengers, others to horsemen. As a matter of fact foot messengers are faster than horsemen, since, at the end of every two leagues, the runner, when he reaches the stage throws the letters in the hut and they are immediately picked and carried by another fast runner to the next stage."⁴⁰

This tradition of efficiency was continued by the great administrator, Nēknām Khān whose natal name was Rīza-Qulī Beg. He was a strong ruler who did not believe in any lassitude in administration and who would not allow much liberty to European traders who took advantage of any weakness in administration. Thus he forbade the Dutch to fortify Pulicat, and was against the grant of any further leases to foreigners. It was with difficulty that "even a qualified Moor" could enter a fortress without any written warrant from him. Nēknām Khān is called "His Highness" by the Dutch and "General of all Forces" by the English, thus exemplifying the great esteem with which he was held by the foreigners.⁴¹

40. *Ibid*, 223-24.

41. J. Bom. H.S., Vol. III, p. 247. English Factories, 1665-67, p. 118. Nēknām Khān was held in such great esteem by the King that when he died in 1672, just twenty three days prior to 'Abdu'l-lah's death, he was buried with great *éclat* on a platform outside the royal tombs of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and Prince Muḥammad Amīn: See Bilgrami, *Landmarks of the Deccan*, pp. 175 ff.

II. INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT

The pattern of international conduct was set during the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh.⁴² In the sixteenth century there were three grades of diplomatic representatives in the Deccan, viz., (i) *Rasūl* or *ad hoc* Envoy accredited for a single purpose, whose mission ended when the objective had been reached; (ii) *Hājib-i Muqīmī*, literally "Resident Chamberlain", who was somewhat like *attachés* originally assigned to the army of a friendly power for the time being; (the office tended to be a permanent institution); and (iii) *Vakīl* or permanent Ambassador. This set-up was certainly an improvement on the previous system when a citizen of the capital of a friendly state was asked to look after the matters in which the other state was interested. The new pattern was set and finalised with the emergence of the Mughal Empire as a Deccan power, the close relationship of the Shī'ah rulers of Haidarabad with the Iran of the Ṣafawīs, the establishment of the Dutch, English and French factories on the "Golkonda Coast" and the confrontation of the Quṭbshāhī army and the Portuguese at Mylapore and San Thome after the conquest of Karnatak by *Mīr Jumlā* Muḥammad Sa'īd Ardistānī.

Categories of Envoys

Two distinct categories of Envoys may be perceived with the evolution of foreign relations, namely, the permanent Ambassador who had come to be called *Hājib-i Muqīmī*, (or Resident Envoy) and the *Hājib-i Maṣliḥatī* or *ad hoc* Envoy with some special mission. The representatives of the Dutch and the English Companies, which started sending them to the capital very early, were called Agents, not Ambassadors, for the obvious reason that they were not accredited by a foreign power. And perhaps also for that reason they did not enjoy the immunity which the *Hājibs* and the *Rasūls* came to have. These Agents are sometimes also called "Residentiaries" or Resident Agents, to distinguish them from temporary Agents sent for specific purposes, such as for submit-

42. For a discussion of this pattern see Sherwani, *Interstatal Usage and Rules of Conduct in the time of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh*, *J.I.H.*, April 1962, pp. 122-28, Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh reigned during 1550-80.

ting a petition for granting a *farmān*. Thus Caulier was sent to Golkonda by the Dutch Company in the middle of 1661 for the purpose of obtaining a *farmān* authorising the Dutch to expel the Portuguese from San Thome. Perhaps because he had brought certain conditions with him as well it was with some difficulty that he could secure an audience of the King. When Caulier requested the King to read the letter he had brought with him, His Majesty snubbed him with the remark that the letter need not be read in his presence as the contents were already known to him, and simply ordered that the letter be passed on to Nēknām Khān, the royal Commander in the Karnatak, for his opinion. Finally, it appears that the negotiations were not successful from the Dutch point of view, and Caulier had to be content with bringing only the draft *farmān* (for it was without the *chhāp* or the royal seal) to Masulipatam.⁴³ Whenever the Dutch were able to secure a *farmān* from the King they received it with great pomp with drums beating, fanfares sounding and a glittering procession.⁴⁴

As has been mentioned, practically no diplomatic immunity was enjoyed by European Agents at the court. An interesting case may be cited here. In 1636 there was some trouble between the Quṭbshāhī Government and the English about the lease of a village near Masulipatam, and the English were not satisfied with the *farmān* which had been sent to the *Sarsimt*, Muḥammad Ṣwāleh. They told him that they would not give up the lease till the money they had spent for the betterment of the village was refunded. The King was much enraged at this affront, and we are told that the English Agent at the capital was dragged out of his house, given a good beating and imprisoned.⁴⁵

Sometimes the court showed considerable leniency to European Agents. Thus in July 1663 the King summoned the English "Residentary" to Haidarabad, and when the Envoy had the royal audience he was honoured by royal *tashrif*, "promising full repa-

43. *J. Bom. Hist. S.*, Vol. II, No. 2 (Extracts from the Dutch Diaries of Batavia), pp. 261-63; *English Factories*, 1661-64; p. 146.

44. *Ibid.*, 1928, p. 190; *English Factories*, *ibid.*, 293.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

ration and satisfaction for the harm done to him." He also put his hand on his heart and promised that "not a hair (of the Agent) would perish". He also proposed that an offensive and defensive alliance might be entered into with the British.⁴⁶ This desire was repeated four years later, but the English Company was not favourable to such an alliance and the Court of the Company said that it was not the policy of the Company "to be dragged into any act of hostility" against anyone in India.⁴⁷

It was perhaps due to the trade which Tilang-Andhra carried on with south-east Asia and also to the growing greed of the Dutch who were not greatly favoured at the capital, that we find a Siamese Ambassador arriving at Madras *via* Tenasserim in Burma on the way to Tilang-Andhra. He took a circuitous route because he was afraid that if he took the direct route *via* Masulipatam he might be captured by the Dutch who were at war with Siam as from April, 1665.⁴⁸

It is rather remarkable that in addition to the Ambassador of the Mughal Empire we find Envoys of Aurangzeb, when he was Viceroy of the Deccan, as well as his son, Prince A'zam, when he was residing at Daulatābād. The striking thing about these Envoys was that they were accorded the same honour and position which was given to the Imperial Ambassador. Thus when Qāzī 'Azīzū'd-dīn was appointed Prince Aurangzeb's special Envoy the Sultān rode to Bāgh-i Nabī to receive him, and when Mirza Nizām Shīrāzī reached the vicinity of the capital he was received by the Sultān at Khairatābād.⁴⁹ The Imperial Ambassador was nearly always received by the King at Husain Sāgar which is about seven miles from where the Qutbshāhī palace stood. Thus 'Abdu'l-lāh received the Mughal Ambassador, Shāh 'Alī Bēg at Husain Sāgar on 10-5-1040/5-12-1630, and again he went to receive the Imperial

46. *English Factories*, *ibid*, p. 268.

47. *English Factories*, 1665-67, p. 109.

48. *English Factories*, 1661-64, p. 363. The King of Siam had given permission to the Dutch to trade in certain ports in 1600, and a Siamese Embassy was actually sent to Holland in 1609. But soon monetary greed got complete control over the Dutch and war ensued. It was King Phra Narai (1657-88) who sent this Embassy to 'Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shah.

49. *Hadīqa*, pp. 222, 282. I regret I have not been able to locate Bāgh-i Nabī, but it must have been on the western outskirts of the city.

Emissary, *Khawāja Zāhid*, who had brought the "Deed of Submission" from Delhi, five kos or about eight miles from the palace on 17-8-1046/4-1-1636.⁵⁰

The authority of the Imperial Ambassador naturally increased with this Instrument, and when Bernier was at Golkonda in 1667 he found that the Ambassador "issues his commands, grants passports, and ill-treats the people, and in short, speaks and acts with the uncontrolled authority of a sovereign."⁵¹

While this inordinate rise in the status of the Imperial Ambassador was due to the creeping in of the Mughal power, the high esteem with which the Ambassador of *Ṣafawī* Iran was held at *Haiderabad* was largely due to the religious and cultural affinity between the two courts. When in 1036/1626 the youthful 'Abdu'llah sat on his throne he was attended by the embassies of great eminence (*Hijāb-i 'Azimu'sh-shān*) of the Emperor of Iran and "the King of the countries of Hindustan", the name of the Iranian Envoy taking precedence over the name of the Mughal Envoy. When the Iranian Ambassador *Imām-Qulī Bēg*, returned to India along with *Khairāt Khan*, the Indian Envoy to Iran, in 1044/1634 he was received at the *Qutbshāhī* border by *Mīr Mu'izud-d-dīn Muḥammad* and at the palace at *Khairātābād* by the King himself. There is a record of the *Sultān* paying a state visit to the Iranian Ambassador at his residence in the garden villa of the former *Mīr Jumla*, *Muḥammad Amīn* on the banks of the famous *Mīr Jumla* Tank to the east of the city when the whole tank was illuminated with thousands of lamps and the villa was carpeted with Cloth of Gold, while presents worth lakhs were laid at the feet of the *Sultān*.⁵² This visit might have been made as a kind of set-off to the pompous reception accorded to the Mughal Ambassador *Khawāja Zāhid*, a few days previously.

It appears that the foreign Envoys were paid their full expenses while they stayed at the capital, and their full passage

50. *Hadīqa*, pp. 118, 178, "Deed of Submission", *Lāhōrī, Bādshāh Nāmah*, 145. This *Inqiyād Nāmah*, turned the *Qutbshahi* Kingdom into a feudatory state of the Mughal Empire.

51. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, 195.

52. *Hadīqa*, 182.

back when they left for home. Thus the Iranian Envoy was paid 12,000 *hons* per annum during his stay at Haidarabad and when he took leave to go back to his country he was paid another 30,000 *hons* as passage allowance. Similar allowances were paid to the Mughal Ambassador and, to a lesser degree, to the Envoys of other states.

The diplomatic corps at Haidarabad consisted of Resident Ambassadors of the Iranian and the Mughal Empires, the Sultānates of Bijapur and Aḥmadnagar (so long as the latter lasted) the Dutch and the English Envoys, besides *ad hoc* emissaries of other states including the once mighty empire of Vijayanagar. Of them the doyens were the Ambassadors of Iran and the Mughal empire. While the Sultān dealt with the Dutch and the English Companies through his administrative officers, he had his accredited representatives at the Persian and the Mughal courts as well as in Bijapur. It should be noted that the Ambassadors and Envoys were expected to accompany the court on special occasions and the two senior Ambassadors were always close to the person of the Sultān.⁵³

After the "Deed of Submission" mentioned above, the despatches from 'Abdu'l-lāh ("Qutbu'l-Mulk" according to the Mughals) took the form of mere "petitions" in which the names and titles of the Emperor sometimes covered fifteen or twenty lines, and the Qutbshāhi Envoys carried with them not only these 'Arzdāshts' but also "*Pēshkash*", or tribute as a further emblem of submission. These despatches were couched in the most abject terms and were addressed to the Emperor as well as to Prince Dārā Shikōh and Prince Aurangzēb according to the turns in their fortunes.⁵⁴

III—Social Conditions

The Sources

As usual, our Indo-Persian chronicles deal more with life at the court than with the life of the common man, while, on the

53. *Ibid.*, 230.

54. *Bādshāh Nāmah*, *op.cit.*, pp. 209, 211, 423 etc. See also *Makātib-i Sultān 'Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shah*, Salar Jung Library Haidarabad, Farsi Adab, *Nathr*, 312; '*Arā'iz-o Ittihād-nāmajāt wa Farāmīn Sultān 'Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shāh*'; Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu Library, Karāchi, No. 7/27.

other hand, the description of the people, as given by European travellers and merchants, gives us a fair insight into the life of the generality. There may be stray references to the social set-up in the Indo-Persian chronicles, but that is always by the way and sometimes even in a sneering tone. The reason why European travellers take pains to delineate the ways of the people, Hindu and Muslim, is that everything seems so totally strange to them. It is rather quaint that as Europeans were familiar with Spanish Muslims whom they called Moors, so the European travellers call the ruling aristocracy in the Sultanates of the Deccan, "Moors" in contrast with the name "Gentile" or "Gentoos" given to the Hindus.⁵⁵

It would not be necessary to describe the religions of the two communities of the Quṭbshāhī dominions as they existed in the time of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, as they do not differ from the religious practices of today to any great extent. Moreover, while the European travellers were full of awe for the authority which the Sulṭān and his entourage possessed they had scant respect for the religions and social customs of the people. As time passed, the King became more and more steeped in song and dance and neglected the affairs of the state to the extent that his Commanders like Muḥammad Sa'id Mīr Jumla began to look upto the Mughal power rather than to the court at Haidarabad for guidance, and this quite obviously increased the disdain of the Europeans for the way of life led by the people of Tilang-Andhra.

Medical Treatment

Sometimes these travellers indulge in incorrect descriptions. Thus Tavernier, writing about 1651 says that there were no physicians in the kingdoms of Carnatic (meaning Vijayanagar), Gol-

55. The word "Moros" or "Moors" is a generic name given to the races, a vast majority being Muslim, which conquered the Iberian Peninsula and ruled it wholly or in part, from 711 to 1492. For this see Sherwani, *Muslim Colonies in France, Northern Italy and Switzerland*, 2nd edition, pp. 189-90. Neither the dynasty nor the aristocracy which ruled medieval Tilang-Andhra belonged to any of these races. The gentiles, corrupted into "gentoos", was the generic name given to non-Jews and non-Christians in the Bible, but in the present context it evidently means non-Muslims, and rhymes rather well with "Hindoos".

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konda or Bijapur except those who attended the Kings or Princes.⁵⁶ At least so far as Golkonda-Haidarābād is concerned, this is wrong, as the great hospital, Dāru'sh-Shifā, had existed from 1595, and not merely was free treatment given to all and sundry but nearly three hundred and fifty patients were lodged and fed at the expense of the Government. Tavernier admits that "in great cities there may be one or two men who sit in some known places and give potions and plaisters" and that "they do not demand the value of six pence" for the diagnosis and remedy. The reason probably was that, apart from the great state hospitals like the Dāru'sh-Shifā at Haidarābād, the state kept salaried *hakīms* and *vāids* in different towns at its expense, and they were commanded not to charge patients for treatment.⁵⁷

Evidently allopathic treatment had also crept in. Tavernier says that he lodged in the house of Pieter de Laan, a Dutch surgeon, who lived four leagues from Golkonda, probably at the palace town of Hayātnagar. De Laan was so well-known that he was called to the palace for treatment of ailments. Thus when the Queen was suffering from a severe headache the Dutch physician was called. It is interesting to read that he was first given a bath and his hands were cleaned and rubbed with sweet oil in order to make them thoroughly immune from germs and microbes. Then a curtain was drawn and the Queen's arm was incised and made to bleed. De Laan was awarded fifty *pagodas* or about two hundred rupees as his fee.

But Yūnānī and Vāidic medicines also must have been in common use, although some of the treatments handed down to us

56. Tavernier, *op.cit.*, 231. For Dāru'sh-Shifā, constructed in 1595, see Sherwani, the "Foundation of Haidarabad," *J.P.H.S.*, October 1958, 242-43; Bilgrami, *Landmarks*, 25-26; D. V. Subba Reddy, "Dar-us-Shifa (House of Cures)," *Indian Journal of the History of Medicine*, II (ii), 102-5.

57. Not merely the rulers but also jāgirdārs and zemindārs had salaried physicians who were not supposed to charge any fees from the generality. This is similar to the Health Insurance system of England at the present day. Even as late as the middle of the present century the well-known Sharīfian family of Delhi *hakīms* (of which *Hakīm Ajmal Khān* was the last great scion) never charged any fee within the limits of the city of Delhi because the family had hereditary jagirs granted by the Mughal Emperors for the purpose.

seem rather quaint. Thus Thèvenot says that "mordechín" or cholera was treated by the cauterisation of the feet or by binding the patient tightly, while flex or looseness of the bowels was treated by rhubarb (*rewand chīmī*) and powdered common seed (*Zīra*) taken in lime water.⁵⁸

Music and Dance

The gradual laxity in the morals of the court and people naturally led to the increase in the number of public women in the capital. Evidently they had to be registered and licensed, and Tavernier notes that the names of as many as twenty thousand were entered in the *Darogha's* book. Thèvenot says that no stigma was attached to those who frequented the rooms of these whores, while Tavernier is more romantic in his description and says: "In the cool of the evening they stand by their doorways, and when night comes they light a candle or a lamp for a signal". In rather a tell-tale sentence Methwold remarks that "all meat (except cow's flesh) is common to them and they themselves are common to all". Methwold, enchanted by the dances that he saw (they must have been of the Kathakali and the Kuchipūḍī variety) says that they were "admirable to behold and impossible to express in words", but avers that music and dance had become the monopoly of the prostitutes.⁵⁹ Evidently the best among the dancers had to dance before the King or the provincial Governors, as the case might be, at least once a year. They were also invited to sing or dance not merely at social functions such as circumcision and wedding but also when large vessels arrived at a port, and even at the celebrations of religious festivals such as the month-long celebrations of the Prophet's Birthday. There were also the *dēvadāsīs* attached to Hindu temples whose profession was to dance before the idols. To the foreigners these temple dancers were not much different from the public women. One of them says that there were cases when a woman's children did not survive, she vowed that if the new-born girl were to live she would "make her a prostitute", probably meaning that she would dedicate her to the life of a *dēvadāsī*.⁶⁰

58. Thèvenot, 232.

59. *Ibid*, 135; Tavernier, 128; Moreland, *Relations*, 13, 17.

60. Moreland, *op.cit.*, 75.

Dress

The close relationship of the Government of Vijayanagar with that of Golkonda during the early years of the reign of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh⁶¹ led to the dovetailing of cultures and incidentally, to the similarity in apparel. The "Kuleh" (Pers. *kulāh*, cap) and the cabaya (Arab. *qabā*, long coat) became parts of the dress of the elite, both Hindu and Muslim. Among women, the *sāri* of twelve cubits covering a bodice with sleeves coming up to the elbows, was the rule, while the heads of women were usually covered when they went out. Some Hindu women wore only *sāris* without a bodice, others a short bodice covering only the breasts while some wore a bodice which might be long enough to cover the navel.⁶² Among the more affluent classes of society the *sāri* as well as the bodice had borders of varying width of gold and silver embroidery. Among the Muslim women the alternative dress was the *dopatta* of four or four and a half yards of cloth, one end of which was tucked on to the *paijama* or trousers, which was embroidered and kept in check by girdles with embroidered ends.⁶³

Mughal influence was slowly but surely infiltrating into the realm of men's dress, and the peculiar Mughal turban, the *nīmā* and the *jāma*, and the large kerchief tied on the belt, became the dress of the upper classes, both Hindu and Muslim. The only visible difference was the Hindu caste mark or just a coloured dot between the eyebrows. Certain castes had large tufts of hair left on the back of their heads which were tied into a kind of top-knot. The common people among the Hindus had the upper part of their bodies bare with a *dhōtī* reaching to the knees, and they contented themselves with a small loin cloth while at hard work.⁶⁴

Ornaments

As the region was proverbially rich and the people were affluent, it is no wonder that not merely women were laden with

61. See Sherwani, "Tilangana under Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh: Diplomacy and Military Campaigns, Part I, J.I.H., XXXV (ii) 247 ff.

62. Moreland, *op.cit.*, 76.

63. See Haidar Hasan Mirza, "Qutbshāhī Tahzīb-u Tamaddun", Sabras, January, 1961, 5-6.

64. Moreland, *op.cit.*

ornaments but even men wore ear-rings and those who could afford it had strings of pearls loosely hanging round their necks and jewelled bands round their arms. Women had ear-rings, sometimes six or seven in each ear, finger rings, toe rings, gold or silver bands round their waists, many varieties of neckware and ornaments round their wrists, arms and ankles, even a ring or a jewel on the side of the right nostril and sometimes even on the bridge of the nose.⁶⁵

Religious Freedom and Education

There was complete religious freedom, and both Hindus and Muslims could attain the highest office in the state at the bidding of the Sultān. In some respects the knowledge and skill of the Brahmans made them indispensable to the administration, because while they were "employed by the Moores for writing and keeping accounts on palm leaves with a pen of iron, they are competent astronomers observing the course of the seven planets through twelve houses, hours of eclipse and other astronomical predictions", and "not even the Moores will undertake a great journey without their advice."⁶⁶ Polygamy though permitted was not generally practised. It is interesting that the practice of *satī* was not merely discouraged but actually prohibited and women were sometimes prevented from burning themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands.⁶⁷

Education seems to have been fairly general for, "the Moores have their children taught to read and write if they are capable." "Some of the gentoos have also their children taught to read and write, and when they are fit, to learn the craft pertaining to their hereditary caste."⁶⁸

Festivals

The Sultān took great interest in two Muslim religious anniversaries, namely the Birthday of the Prophet and the Day of the Martyrdom of Imām Ḥusain. The second anniversary was sacred

65. Ḥaidar Ḥasan Mirza, *op.cit.*

66. Moreland, *op.cit.*, 13-16.

67. *Ibid.*, 12, 75.

68. *Ibid.*, 54.

to the Shi'ah, the persuasion to which the Sultān and the royal family belonged, and continued for ten days of the month of Muḥarram, the first month of the Hijrī year; the other in the month of Rabī'ul-awwal, the celebration of which had gone out of use during the reign of the King's father, Sultān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh. 'Abdu'l-lāh laid great stress on the proper routine prescribed by tradition for Muḥarram, doubly hallowed by 'Abdu'l-lāh's grandfather Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. We are fortunate in having a detailed description of the celebrations, which lasted for forty days, in Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad Sā'idi's *Ḥadiqatu's-Salāṭīn*, extending to about nine printed pages. They consisted of illuminations, processions of ta'zias, reviews, beating of the breast, grand concourses of the people and free food to the needy. The King had thirty or forty palaces in the capital and suburbs and each of them vied with the other in these celebrations. The drinking of wine as well as meat eating, cutting of hair, and the sale and purchase of betel-leaf, was prohibited for fifty days. It is further specifically related that the first ten days of Muḥarram were held sacred not only by the Muslims, Shi'ahs and the Sunnīs, but also by the Hindus.⁶⁹

These celebrations were intertwined with the grand *langar* procession. It is related that when the Sultān was still a boy, he was once riding his favourite elephant, *Man-mūrat*, on the way to Golkonda. The river Mūsī was in spate, and while crossing the *Purānā Pul*, the elephant became mad, threw *mahāwat* to the ground and took the young King right into the jungle. This naturally upset the Queen Mother, especially as the King could not be traced for many days, and she vowed that if her son would return safe and sound she would have a golden chain, *langar*, manufactured equal to the weight of the elephant, place it in the building which accommodated *Husaini 'Alam* and then have it broken into pieces the proceeds of which would be distributed among the poor and the indigent. The Prince returned after about a week, on the fifth of Muḥarram, and the Queen kept her vow. The rejoicings connected with this happy and prosperous event had to be dovetailed with the Muḥarram celebrations and were

69. *Ḥadiqa*, 49-57; *Thèvenot*, 148-49.

continued even after the conquest of Golkonda by Aurangzeb and the establishment of the Aṣaf Jāhī rule.⁷⁰

The other great festival was the Prophet's Birthday. It is strange indeed that even on this sacred occasion the general rejoicings and illuminations lasting for a whole month and almsgiving which reached the limit of thousands of *hons*, were accompanied by song and dance; musicians and dancers from "Hindustan and Iran" performed before eager audiences. We are also told that wine drinking was the order of the day during the month, scents were used by all and sundry and betel leaves distributed in lakhs. The depth which morality had reached is evident from the fact that even in this sacred month drink and merriment went on and everyone "waited for nightfall when there would be ample opportunity for a life of *abandon* and reckless pleasure."⁷¹

This recklessness went to even greater extremes at least in court circles when the birthday of the King was celebrated in the month of Shawwal. "Dancers from Haidarabad and Tilang, beautiful women from Karnatak, pātars (Hindu *demi-mondaines*) from Ahmadabad", all joined hands (and hearts) to make the occasion memorable. Flowers of hues and scents of different varieties abounded, betel leaves and condiments were distributed and gaiety reached its apex.⁷²

Pomp versus Power

The progress of the royal cavalcade to the east coast in 1639 with its thousands of followers, its gaiety and glitter, which is described in detail in *Ḥadīqatu's-Salāṭīn*, illustrates a strange phenomenon. While political power had reached its lowest ebb

70. The *langar* procession is described in detail by Amīru'l-lah, *Ṣaulat-i 'Uthmāniya*, 103-9, and by Nasīru'd-dīn Ḥāshimī in his *Dakhnī Kalchar*, 343-8. The description in both these books pertains to the developed picture of the *langar* during the Aṣafjāhī rule. Ḥusainī 'Alam is supposed to be a copy of Imām Ḥusain's standard made from a sword which is said to have belonged to Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq. It was housed in a special building erected during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh. The *langar* procession was taken to Ḥusainī 'Alam on the fifth of Muḥarram.

71. *Ḥadīqa*, 58 ff.

72. *Ibid*, 40 ff, where the celebrations are described in great detail without reserve.

and was fast heading towards the quagmire in which it was destined to sink, so far as superficial grandeur was concerned the court of Golkonda-Haidarabad had few equals. When the Sultān was making his grand progress eastwards he had already made his obeisance to the Mughal Emperor in 1636 and was writing abject letters to the Mughal Princes and Ministers.⁷³ Among his vast entourage during his six weeks' tour eastward it was the Mughal Envoy who, along with the Iranian Ambassador, had precedence over Qutbshāhī officials and whenever a new Envoy arrived from the Mughal capital he was received by His Majesty in person many miles from the city.

73. See footnote 54 above.

Socio-Economic and Geographical Background of Khajuraho

BY

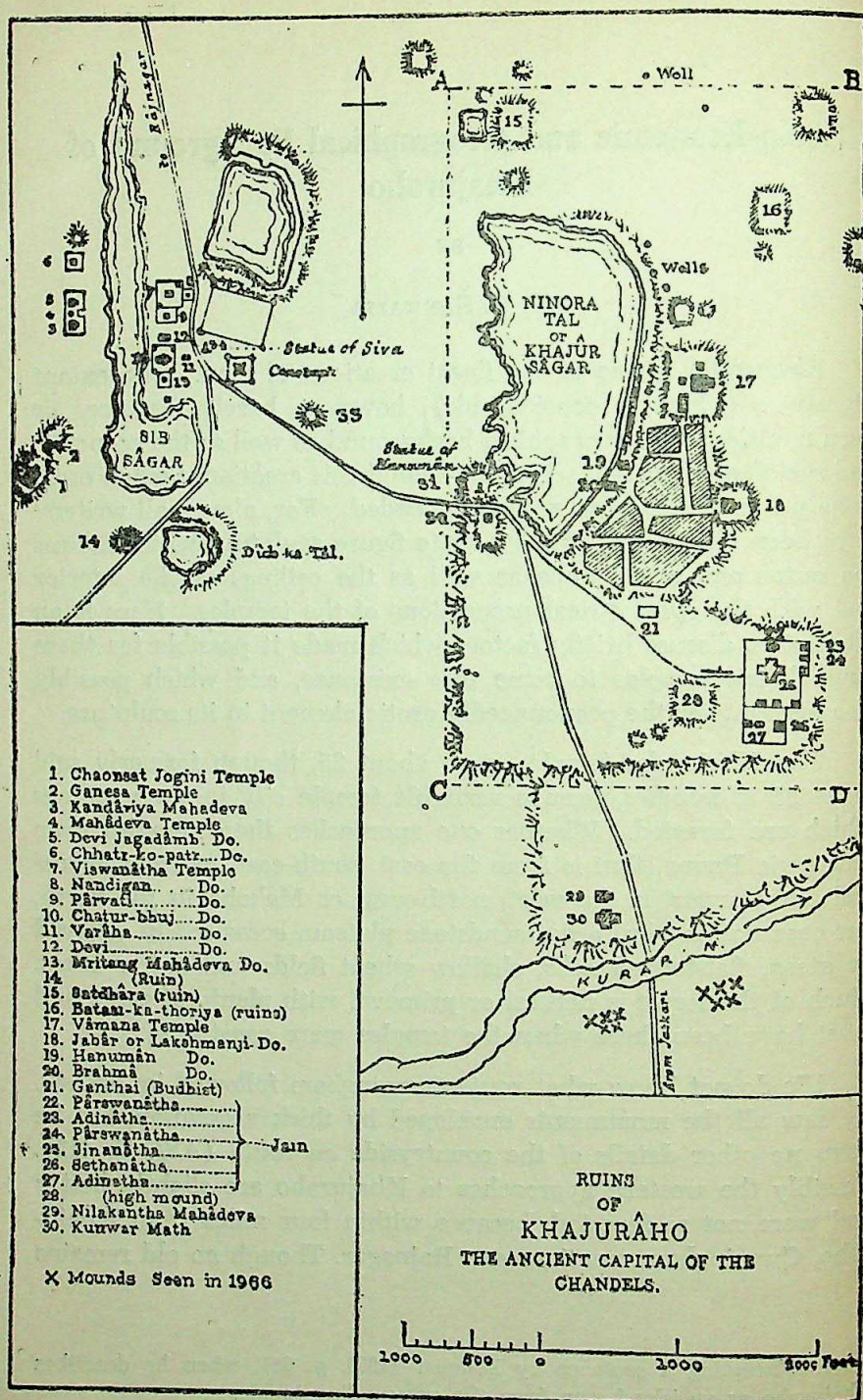
H. D. SANKALIA

Khajuraho is one of the finest creations of man. The extant literature (which is considerable), however, barely discusses or even mentions the geographical background as well as the economic and sociological factors which lie behind this creation, though occasionally a brief historical note is appended. For, almost all writers¹ have been charmed by the exquisite figure sculpture which adorns the outer and inner walls as well as the ceilings of the interior and with the symmetrical proportions of the temples. Here is an attempt to discuss briefly factors which made it possible for these magnificent temples to come into existence, and which possibly also account for the pronouncedly erotic element in its sculpture.

The Khajuraho temples, now about 25, though formerly said to be 85 in number, form a veritable temple city in surroundings which are forested. Whether one approaches these temples from Satna *via* Panna, that is from the east, south-east, or from Jhansi and Chhatarpur in the west, north-west or Mahoba in the north, one sees nothing but a flat sandstone plateau, occasionally relieved by steep, flat-topped hills, shallow wheat fields and a few lakes. Much of the forest is natural or primeval with plenty of game and must have been there when the temples were constructed.

We do not know what route Cunningham followed in 1862-63. He saw all the monuments enveloped by thick vegetation, but he gives no other details of the countryside *en route* (ASI, II, 412). Possibly the western approaches to Khajuraho are slightly better and were not so forested, because within four miles from Khajuraho, Cunningham mentions one Rajnagar. Though no old remains

1. Excepting a sentence by Fouchet (1959, p. 66), when he describes Khajuraho as an island won from the surrounding jungle.



at or from this place are referred to, the name is very significant. And if the place is *really* old, it might be the site of the ancient city of Khajuraho, the present site being the religious centre only. This indeed is an important point which can only be determined by a thorough exploration.

Near Khajuraho there is a solitary granite hillock, which supplied stone for the earliest crude temples there, viz., the 64-Yogini temple. Much earlier, some thousands of years ago, man utilised the dyke basalt in these hills and made polished stone axes, (unfortunately these have not been reported in official publications) whereas another stone age man made small tools (microliths). These have been found in hundreds by a former guide-lecturer, Shri Kumar, on the banks of the river Khuddar. Thus there is little doubt that this forested region, the extent of which is considerable, was the abode of stone age man, and the tribal people, until the Chandellas built the temples.

This statement is of course, subject to correction. For, if we agree with Cunningham then the region around Khajuraho was included in Jajhotia (Sanskrit Jejābhukti), supposed to be mentioned by Yuan Chwang. Its extent, according to Cunningham, was the same as that of Bundelkhand, and indicated by the distribution patterns of Jajhotia Brāhmaṇas (ASI, II, 413). In 1862, there were 162 houses occupied by 7 different divisions of these Brāhmaṇas and 11 houses of Chandel Rajputs, the chief claiming descent from Paramal Deo.

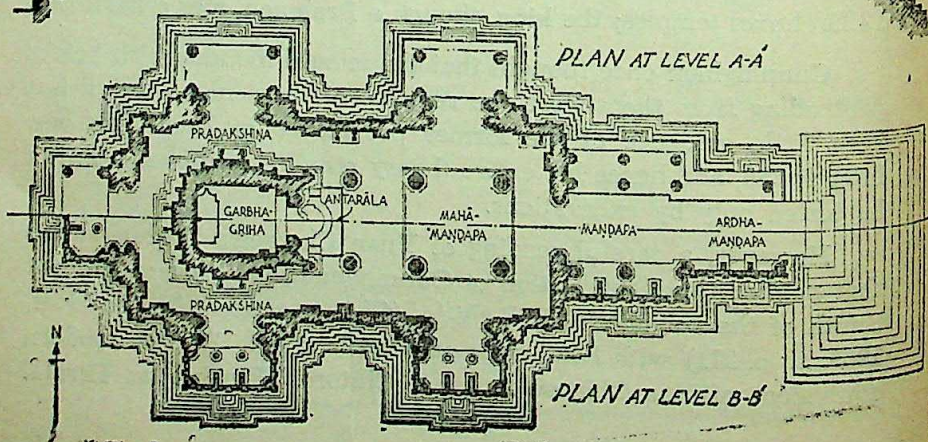
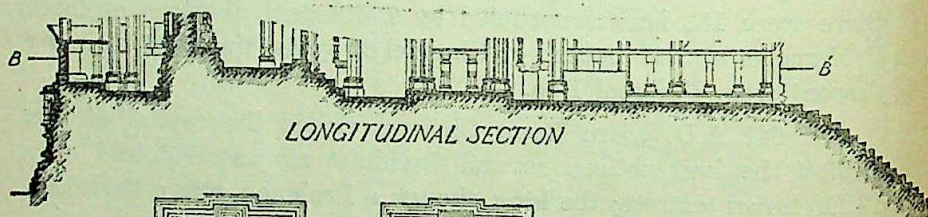
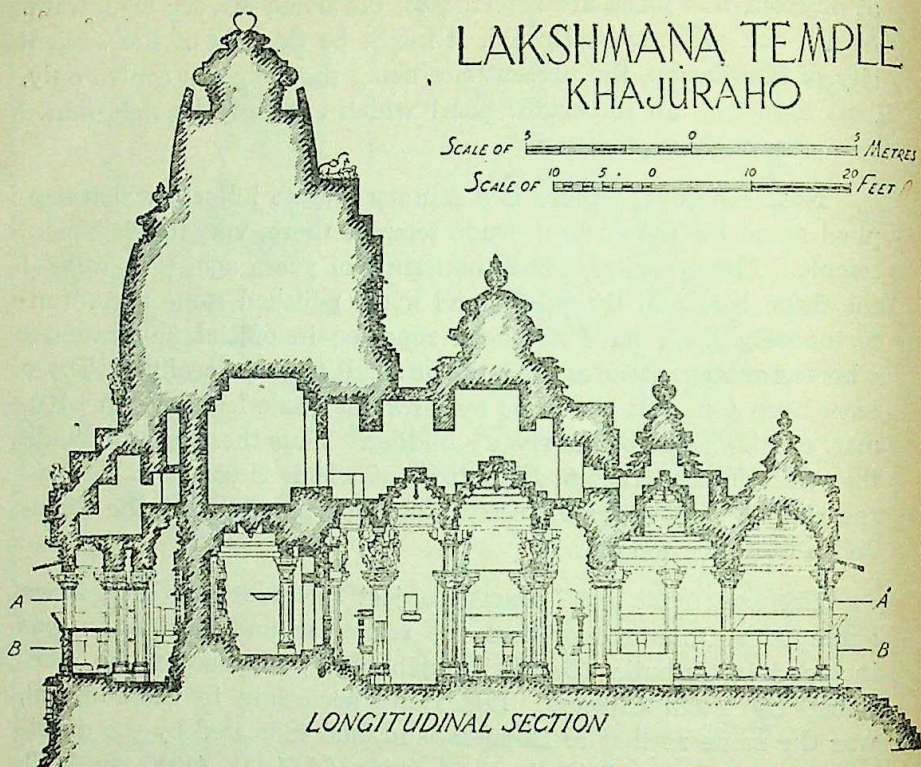
In 641 A.D. when Yuan Chwang visited the capital of this Jajhoti, he had noticed several Buddhist monasteries, and only 12 Brahman temples; the king, though a Brahman, was a Buddhist.

Cunningham once thought that the several mounds with bricks protruding from them were the remains of these monasteries, but very little evidence of the former prevalence of Buddhism was later found, and hence his entire theory remains unproven. It can be tested only by excavations.

However, a careful reading of Yuan Chwang's *Travels* shows that neither the identification of Cunningham, nor that of Vincent Smith of the traveller's *Chih-chi-to* (*Chi-ki-to*, according to Beal, 1906, II, p. 271) with Khajuraho or Eran is right. For the modern equivalent of this Chinese name is Chitore. Further as Hiralāl

LAKSHMANA TEMPLE KHAJURAHO

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(EI, XX, p. 126) has pointed out the name of the capital in Yuan Chwang's times cannot be *Jajhoti*, for this according to Smith (IA, XXXVII, p. 114) was from the first ruler 'Jejāka', but this was two hundred years after Yuan Chwang!! Again both these places have not yielded anything of Buddhist nature, while the area around Khajuraho is not fertile, though Eran does lie within a fertile belt. Smith, however, seems to be right in holding that the place first sprang into prominence under the Candellas, who racially might be a mixture of aboriginal tribes and Kṣatriyas.

In their inscriptions the place is called Khajuravāhaka (one having a grove of date palms), though now not a single date palm is to be seen here. A few date palms were seen by Cunningham, and he also cites a legend according to which the city gates were adorned with Khajura trees, one each on either side of the entrance (ASI, XXI, 55).

Why was it then that the Candellas, who were in the 9th century feudatories of the powerful Gurjara-Pratihāras, after asserting their independence in the next century, chose to build temples in this remote forested region? The reason seems to be that near about Panna, they found not only excellent sandstone but also diamonds. Otherwise, as mentioned above, the region is not fertile, the soil cover being very thin.

This has also been noted by Misra (p. 11), who says that compared to Malwa, the soil of Bundelkhand is poor, being sandy and often strewn with boulders. Hence, we are unable to understand Yuan Chwang's observations that Bundelkhand was famous for its fertility.

No doubt, one does behold some wheat fields in the eastern parts of modern Khajuraho, but these probably occupy the place of former Khajura lake seen and illustrated by Cunningham.

So mere land revenue, and tributes from their vassals would not be sufficient for such a stupendous building activity extending over two centuries and more. It was possible that with Panna diamonds the Candellas could mint gold coins, as their surviving coinage testifies.

The extant coinage belongs to Kirtivarman and his successors. This comprises of gold drammas (between 61-63 grains), half

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drammas (c. 31 grains) and quarter drammas (15 grains) and copper quarter drammas. It is not clear whether it is to this gold coinage that the Candella inscriptions refer when they speak of *pala* and *hūṭaka*. (Mitra, p. 182).

Candella epigraphs themselves provide some evidence to this effect, though hitherto it has not been interpreted, as done by me. Mitra has cited a late Candella inscription, which specifically refers to *Nikṣepa* (underground deposits) and *Pāṣāṇa* (stones). (*E.I.*, xx, p. 136, 1.12; Mitra, p. 165). These were two of the eight sources of the states' share of the profits (*bhoga*) derived from the possession of the particular kind of land. Though these eight are well known and oft-repeated sources of revenue, still it is not a little significant that Candella inscription should pointedly mention these sources of states' revenue.

There is another factor as well. The kings had not to spend anything for the stone, for the quarries belonged to the state according to immemorial Indian law and also sanctioned by Hindu law then and repeatedly mentioned in inscriptions. And these stones were probably transported by forced labour, as a very fine frieze in the Khajuraho museum brought to my notice by Shri Sarveshvarananda, the present Curator, shows.² In this frieze a large number of labourers is shown carrying stones by tying them on to a long wooden pole.

The only expense the kings had to incur was the payment to sculptors. This payment might have been done in kind, in gold or even in diamond. We know that the famous Jain ministers Vastupāla and Tejahpāla of 12th century Gujarat paid their workers in gold dust for building the temples at Mt. Abu.

The Khajuraho temples unlike some of the famous temples like Modhera, and Somnath in Gujarat, or Halebid and Belur in Mysore, or those in further south, seem to have been meant exclusively for the king and his small group of courtiers. The temples are said to be "compact", and though the *Sikhara*s of the Kandariya Mahādeva and the Lakṣmana temples soar up like a Himalayan peak, still they are *unimpressive* from the point of view of their size.

2. See Sivaramamurti, C., *Indian Sculpture*, pl. 1.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF KHAJURAHO 35

This is true notwithstanding the fact that these temples show a logical development from the very small, early Gupta temples, situated a little further south, southwest, southeast, at Bhumara, Nachna, Deogarh, to be followed by the 7th and 8th temples at Nachna, Tigowa and the Gurjara Pratihāra temples at Barwasagar, District Jhansi and at Mankhera, District Tikamgarh and the early 10th temples at Sandara, Ruhavi in North Gujarat, and others in Saurashtra, Rajasthan, south U.P. and Orissa.

Percy Brown (1956, p. 136), Stella Kramrisch (1946, pp. 210-12, 254-55), Krishnadeva (1959, pp. 55-57) and Saraswati (1957, pp. 56-72) in recent times and Cunningham, Coomaraswamy, Fergusson (1910, pp. 49, 143), much earlier have rightly bestowed paeans of praise on the admirable proportions of the various architectural numbers of Khajuraho temples, particularly the Lakṣmaṇa and Kandariyā temples and the effect they produce in their totality on the onlooker though Cunningham (*ASI, II*, p. 423) did point out the grotesqueness about the fore part of the elephants suddenly protruding from the base of the *Śikharas* out into the sky; still no one seems to have touched the functional aspect of these or other contemporary temples. What Kramrisch has done in the *Hindu Temple* pertains to the architectural aspect of the temples, but not to their usage.

At Khajuraho, the various parts of the temple, the entrance passage (*ardhamandapa*), flanked by balconies at a very high level, then the *mandapa*, followed by the *mahāmandapa*, and *antarāla* are unusually small. The *garbhagrha* was traditionally small, and is so here. For it was meant only for the chief *pūjāri*, who performed the daily ceremonies from morning till night at fixed hours. But what about the special *pūjās* when at least three or four additional *pūjārīs* are necessary? In summer months, even a couple of *cāmāra* bearers would be necessary (both for the deity and the priests!).

The *antarāla* might accommodate a few devotees, and a few might stand in a row in the *mandapa*, but the *mahāmandapa* is unusually small. The *mahāmandapa* of the Lakṣmaṇa temple is 3.5 metres or about 12 ft. square. That of the Kandariyā Mahādeva is not much larger, whereas in the Jain temple the *mandapa*, *mahāmandapa* and the *garbhagrha*, for some reason, are of the

same size (ASI, X, 17), but nevertheless small. The fact is also noted by Percy Brown (1956, p. 136).

Thus only a few persons could go in these temples at a time. However, what would be the function of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*? Some of the functions, as we observe from the practices which have survived—are the holding of religious discourses, discussions, singing of devotional songs, and above all, the performance of dances by the temple dancers (*devadāsī*), probably daily. These dances, though meant primarily for the entertainment of the deity and its attendant priest, should have been witnessed by the king, his queen, a few courtiers and some section of the public.

But looking to the size of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, one has to admit that at Khajuraho after this *maṇḍapa* was furnished with carpets and pillows—or even if it was not furnished for it being a temple all persons including the king and his queen were expected to stand all the time that the dance or other performances went on—it would hardly accommodate 10 persons comfortably, and would leave little room for the dancer to move about freely.

That the dances did take place in the temple is certain. The best evidence is provided by the figure sculpture, both inside and outside the temple. Practically every female figure, and some male ones too, exhibit some sort of dance pose, whereas there are sculptures and scenes which depict specific dance poses. Indian dancing at its best and in its wildest manifestation is portrayed at Khajuraho. And this could not have been possible without the more-than-ordinary patronage by the king and intense love for and interest in dancing by the people.

There is also documentary evidence that the institution of the dance existed in the Candella kingdom. An inscription on a pillar in the Nilakanṭha temple at Kalanjar, dated Samvat 1186 (A.D. 1129-30) in the reign of Mahārāja Śrī Madana Varmadeva refers to the Mahāpratihāra Saṅgrāmasinha and Mahānācani Padmāvati (ASI, XXI, 34, pl. X). Besides giving us a Prakrit (or NIA?) form of the word *nartakī*, viz. *nācanī*, the record tells us in unambiguous terms that there was a regular hierarchy of temple dancers in the Candella temples. Other Candella inscriptions allude to dancing and singing on special festive occasions, to *suratakriḍā* (love-sports) *krīḍāgiri* and *kelisarasi* (IA, XVI, p. 201,

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1.5, and *EI*, I, 125, verse 13, and Mitra, p. 179). These do not seem to be conventional references. For this is exactly the picture which the Khajuraho temples create before us, though as mentioned below, the figures of men and women are idealized. Though pulsating with life, few of these figures are from life, and much less from the region around Khajuraho.

All these considerations force us to conclude that these temples were built primarily for the king and his nearest courtiers and/or the certain sects which besides worshipping deities like Śiva and Viṣṇu, also engaged in esoteric rites which might be regarded now as highly questionable.

Such a conclusion might further explain the absence of vestiges of any *large* town or city near about Khajuraho. Cunningham, as shown above, had inferred about the existence of an earlier habitation with a number of Buddhist monasteries. This conclusion remains unproved in the absence of any attempt to locate the actual habitation site by systematic excavations at Khajuraho. During my second visit, I did notice a number of small mounds along the banks of the Khuddar river. These certainly hide brick structures but whether these are square or round stupas and/or residential houses is anybody's guess. Small excavations should clarify the problem, (though whether the mounds will reveal traces of earlier habitation is doubtful, for the mounds indeed are small).

This much is however certain that at least two groups of temples, the western row represented by Viśvanātha, Lakṣmaṇa, Kandariyā and Jagadambā and the eastern represented by the Ghaṇṭāi and other Jaina temples once stood on the edges of two lakes, called Sib Sagar and Ninora tal or Khajur Sagar respectively by Cunningham (*ASI*, II, pl. XCV). One of these lakes, "about a mile in length and surrounded by idol temples" was seen by Ibn Batuta in about A.D. 1335. These lakes must have made a temple city still more beautiful, besides reducing the heat and making the area habitable during the summer. If the lakes and their precincts could be kept clean, then it would not be a bad idea to revive these lakes, though the present lawns with glorious bougainvillas make the site beautiful.

That a comparatively small number of people—a temple priest and other Brahmanas, king's courtiers (and the king himself with

his wives on special occasions at least) and other necessary staff—a few merchants and shop-keepers and farmers and a fairly large colony of sculptors and labourers—must have been staying at Khajuraho goes without saying. Unfortunately no attempt has been so far made to collect this evidence, which can come from planned excavations alone.

The remote situation of these temples and their exclusive use for the kings might also explain the rather unusual erotic element in these temples, though there are other explanations as well. In the first place, Hinduism has given an equal place to love (*kāma*) in its four-fold scheme of life. And that is the reason why we have works like *Kāmasāstra*. Secondly, the erotic figures have a long history in India. Some of the terracottas of *mithunas* (couples) are as old as the 3rd century B.C. However, what is unusual at Khajuraho next to Konarak, in Orissa, is the depiction of men and women in most unnatural positions. A woman in a sitting position is being held by two of her attendants and a man with his head and shoulder on the ground is copulating with her. Actually this pose of the man recalls a yogic āsana, called *Śirṣāsana*, and is recommended for the retention of the semen. Here, of course, is its most unusual use. (Plate I).

It is not impossible that here the Khajuraho sculptors had in view a Tantric practice wherein in spite of copulation the man is believed to have controlled the ejection of the semen. This possibly explains some of the Tantric poses in Khajuraho temples.

These further had a much higher aim than mere physical enjoyment of the senses. As Pramodchandra (*Lalitkala*, Nos. 1-2, 1955-56, pp. 98-117) has explained in some details, the sects of the Śaivas—the Kaula and Kāpālikas—enjoined the use of five *makāras* for the realization of the *kula*, "the state in which the mind and the sight are united, the sense organs lose their individuality, *śakti* becomes identical with *jīva*, and the sight merges into the object to be visualized".

This is conceded by Kramrisch and Mulk Raj Anand (*Marg*, X, pp. 24 and 45). Khajuraho not only depicts the final stages of spiritual and physical oneness—complete and full union of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*—but the earlier stages, right from the first initiation of men and women before a *guru*, and even the orgies committed

by the *guru*, *śiṣyas* and their attendants. However, artistically represented, they certainly appear revolting and cannot be explained away philosophically.

It is in this respect that the Khajuraho erotic scenes differ markedly from the Tantric Buddhist *Yab-yum* images, or images of god and goddess in close embrace of Vajradhara, Vajrasattava (Bhattacharyya 1924, pp. xxviii, 6). This is nothing but *Prajñopāya*, knowledge (*prajñyā*) embraced by *upāya* (universal compassion). Whether seated or standing the latter do indicate inner oneness, and not voluptuousness and sensuality; a little smile on the face of the figures, the result of *ānanda*, as opposed to physical delight. Above all, these are cult images to be worshipped, and the *Yab-yum* image particularly was to be meditated upon and worshipped in secret. This is in marked contrast to the various stages of physical oneness (love-making) portrayed at Khajuraho and at Konarak. However, it is possible that the source of all such cults was Bihar-Bengal, Orissa, Nepal-Tibet, or Eastern India in general. And what we have at Khajuraho is their western and southernmost expression, *nothing like that* being found in the Kalacchuri monuments in the immediate neighbourhood or monuments further afar, except conventional love scenes.

The portrayal of orgiastic scenes as at Khajuraho is likely to tempt and excite the onlooker as they indeed do, proved by the interest with which men and women look at the sculptures at Khajuraho or read books about them. However, this corruption of the mind on a mass scale was not possible a thousand years ago for the remote situation of the temples and that too in an otherwise forested environment would preclude a large number of people from visiting the temples. Hence the Śaiva sects of the Kaulas and Kāpālikas under the patronage of the Candellas but not actual participation by the kings and their wives as inferred by Goetz (Pramodchandra, 1961, p. 63) practised and left for the posterity to have a view of these secret practices on the walls of the temples at Khajuraho. These scenes vary from the revolting to the sublime. But whatever their character, some of them are the finest specimens of plastic art and in these one has to include a few of the orgiastic scenes depicted on the walls faces of Kandariyā Mahādeva and Lakṣmaṇa temples. For these are perfect pictures of composition, each figure a living one and having its individuality.

Compare, for instance, the tranquillity on the face of the man performing *Sirṣāsana* with the gentle smile on the face of the woman shown in profile. She is indeed delighted, as indeed she should, according to Vātsyāyana, in spite of the very unusual pose, while the man has to perform a most different task physically as well as emotionally as required by the Tantric rite and objective.

With regard to scenes depicting unnatural acts between man and man, woman and man, between man and beast, these but reflect what an average man in India thinks and talks. There is not a sentence where these unnatural acts are not mentioned, and this practice has a history. Though absent in classical dramas of Kālidāsa and others, the 5th century one act plays, known as *Bhāṇas* refer to a large number of abuses and vulgar expressions. The *Pādatadīṭakam* and others depict real life, as was lived by common man and even aristocrats and monks (Motichandra and Agrawal, 1960). Whereas, the unnatural act between an ass and a woman was regularly depicted and described all over India, at least by the 10th century to protect land grants from being taken away by the succeeding generations of kings (Sankalia, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVI). This is popularly known as "the ass curse" and its wide-spread use in official documents shows how Hinduism had fallen from "grace."

It is, however, quite possible, though the intermediate links in the chain are missing, that this is a late popular or vulgar and debased version of the practice described in the Vedic texts like the *Taittīriya Saṁhitā* in the *Āśvamedha* (horse-sacrifice), where the queen is said to have sexual relations with the sacrificial horse.³ (Dumont, *L'Āśvamedha*, 1927).⁴ The *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* also tells us that Kauśalyā spent one night with the horse. (*Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍa*, Sarga 14.34).

Such a practice, though having a religious sanction behind it must have been abhorred by all sections of the people, even in Vedic times! Hence, no wonder that when this religious aspect

³. Keith in a footnote to this translation of the *Taittīriya Saṁhitā* says, on what authority I do not know, that the queen also protested against this practice, and it was regarded as obscene even in Vedic times.

⁴. I am indebted to my colleague Dr. N. M. Sen for this reference.

PLATE I



A unique use of Śīrṣāsana at Khajuraho

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was forgotten in much later times, the practice was rightly regarded as a "curse", which was not only invoked at the end of a land grant but also depicted in sculpture. And to make the curse more telling or effective, the horse was substituted by an ass. Fouchet, in his otherwise fairly exhaustive survey, has missed such erotic sculptures, as well as their likely Vedic origins.

Khajuraho does not begin but mark the end of a thousand and more years of architectural and sculptural activity in the red Vindhyan and Kaimur sandstone. It began at Sanchi and Bharhut under the Mauryan and Sungas (and later spread to Mathura under the Kushanas) who built Buddhist stupas and adorned them with scenes from the life of the Buddha. These monuments were truly for the masses, as the Buddha's gospel explicitly was. Some of these sculptures—particularly the nude tree nymphs—show the frank delight in life, and one does get a glimpse of the contemporary life—houses, the true physiognomy of the people, their dress and ornaments, games, trading methods, (the then current coins), tools and weapons.

With the emergence of classical Hinduism under the Guptas, this folk art disappeared. Their small temples at Bhumara (in the former Nagod State and within a radius of 50-70 miles from Khajuraho) introduce spiritualized figures of gods and goddesses. The faces exhibit an inward calm, whereas the supple, graceful limbs pulsate with life.

At Khajuraho more than anywhere else in India these classical Gupta features have been taken to perfection. One has only to behold figures of Śiva and Pārvati or Revati and Balarāma looking at each other, "almost eating each other up with soul consuming love." And the artist has taken the next logical step to show them in close embrace, their bodies gracefully entwined like freshly sprouted creepers. No better example of ecstatic joy can be found in Indian sculpture.⁵ But this the artist had done endlessly and consequently fallen. Within two hundred and fifty years, he has exhausted himself, (as any art tradition would be, unless rein-

5. My colleague, Dr. S. B. Deo cites a slightly later, but identical attitude from Jñāneśvara.

forced by new ideas), as we feel satiated after beholding these figures on temples after temples. These remarks are well illustrated by the figure sculpture on Duladeo temple, where the former grace and suppleness of form have begun to decline. The figures are stereotyped and overburdened with decoration. (Cf. also Pramodchandra, 1961, p. 63).

Unlike Bharhut, all figure sculpture at Khajuraho, as elsewhere in India, symbolises eternal youth, and that too of an idealized type with slender and supple body with sharp aquiline facial features. In the Khajuraho world, there is no room for a matron, a child or an old man, (barring one exception) or the people in whose midst this temple city was planted. No doubt, the frieze round the *adhiṣṭhāna* (basement) of the Lakṣmaṇa temple does portray several scenes—an army on march with camels, horses and elephants, or a sage, dancers or orgiastic scenes. But many of these scenes are conventional. Likewise, faces of a few women are slightly rounded, and the figures seem a little heavy but nevertheless these are of young women. The observation of Ganguly (1957) is not quite right. The human form is idealized and is perfect to a degree, but far removed from life. Later, these figures too become wooden, without any life. Strange as it may seem, even these wooden forms are in demand in the world art-market, and just before I visited Khajuraho, two of the bracket figures in the Duladeo temple had been violently broken from above the feet and trucked away. Thus if the Khajuraho world was one-sided, so is ours. Its appreciation is blind.

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Ancient Bodha

BY

B. D. MIRCHANDANI, I.C.S., (Retd.)

Pāṇini, the great Sanskrit grammarian, in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* mentions a *janapada* called Bōdha, but he gives no indication of its location. Where exactly was that ancient *janapada*? Patanjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* (II.4.58) calls the people of Bōdha *Baudhis*, and he mentions them along with the Udumbaras,¹ whose coins of the first century B.C. bearing Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions are found in the Kangra and Hoshiarpur districts,² where apparently they were settled. As the grouping of names by the Sanskrit grammarians is not intended to suggest geographical contiguity,³ we are not entitled to assume that Bōdhas were neighbours of the Udumbaras in eastern Punjab. The *Mahābhārata* (Bhīṣma-parvan, ix, 317-378) in its long catalogue of peoples or clans in India mentions 'Bōdhas', but the enumeration in the Epic does not proceed along geographical lines.⁴ The *Bōdhis* mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Ayōdhyā Kāṇḍa, LXX, 15) were also perhaps the people of Bōdha. Only two of the *Purāṇas*—*Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*—mention Bōdha, which in their lists of the constituent districts of each of the five divisions of India, viz. the Middle Country (Madhyadēśa) and those of the four cardinal points, they place

1. Udumbaras are probably the same as the *Odonbeores* of Pliny—*Natural History*, vi. 23.77.

2. Vincent Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. i, pp. 160-161; Allan, *Coins of Ancient India*, Introduction, p. lxxxvii.

3. Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar: "In teaching the formation of names of places and of the inhabitants thereof, Pāṇini, as is usual with him, gives general rules where possible; and where not, he groups together certain names, in which the grammatical peculiarity is the same"—"Pāṇini and the Geography of Afghanistan and the Punjab", *Ind. Ant.*, vol. i, (1873), p. 21.

4. Vaidya, *Epic India*, pp. 246-47. Cf. Wilson: "The lists of the *Mahābhārata*, *Bhāgavata* and *Padma* are given without any arrangement"—*Vishnu Purāṇa*, tr. Wilson, ed. Hall, vol. ii, p. 131 n.

in Madhyadēśa.⁵ The *Matsya Purāṇa* (ch. cxiv) mentions 'Bāhyas' among the central nations, which Pargiter⁶ and Law⁷ consider a wrong reading for 'Bōdhas'. The topographical lists in the *Bṛhat Samhitā* of Varāhamihira⁸ and the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsa* of Rājaśekhara⁹ do not mention Bōdha. According to Buddhist texts, in the time of the Buddha, there were sixteen *Mahā-janapadas* in India, but Bōdha was not one of them.¹⁰ Nor does Jain literature make any allusion to Bōdha.

Agrawala locates Bōdha in the "Punjab-Rajputana region."¹¹ Dey identifies it with the country around Indraprastha (old Delhi) where on the banks of the Jamna is situated the celebrated *tīrtha* *Nigambōdha* (mentioned in the *Padma Purāṇa*), which he thinks was "perhaps briefly called Bōdha".¹² Pargiter places Bōdhas on the eastern confines of the Punjab.¹³ Law¹⁴ and Puri¹⁵ also maintain that these people dwelt probably "somewhere in the eastern districts of the Punjab."

The mediæval Arab geographers describe a district on the north-western borders of Sind called Budha, which in the *Chach-Nāma*¹⁶ is designated as Budhiya. The district so named corresponds with modern Kachhi or Kachh Gandāva, which comprises the low-lying flat region in Baluchistan extending for 150 miles

5. See Alberuni's *India*, vol. 1, pp. 299-300 and *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii, p. 341 ff.

6. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Pargiter's translation, p. 309 n.

7. *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 397.

8. See Alberuni's *India*, vol. i, pp. 300-303.

9. Stchoupak and Renou, *La Kāvya-mīmāṃsa*, pp. 224-250.

10. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 23.

11. *India As Known to Pāṇini*, p. 58.

12. *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India*, pp. 40, 140.

13. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, translation, p. 309 n.

14. *Op. cit.*, p. 397.

15. *India In The Time of Patanjali*, p. 75.

16. The *Chach-Nāma* is a Persian version, made in A.D. 1216, of an original Arabic chronicle now lost, which Elliot believes, was composed in the first half of the eighth century A.D. Selected extracts from it translated into English appear in the first volume of Elliot's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, ed. Dowson. Kalichbeg's *Chachnamah* is a complete English translation of the chronicle.

from Jacobabad to Sibi, with nearly as great a breadth at its base on the Sind frontier. "The history of Kacchi", says the *Gazetteer* of the district, "centres round two towns of Sibi and Gandāva or Kandābil as it is called by the Arab geographers. From the earliest times both places appear to have formed part of the same district".¹⁷ 'Budha' and 'Būdhiya' seem to me to be corrupt or Prākṛt forms of the ancient Indian appellation 'Bōdha'. As pointed out by Fleet in his note on early Indian geography, the gradual transition of names from the Sanskrit to vernacular forms is a common phenomenon (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. ii, pp. 76-82). In that process, usually of contraction, apart from any change or elision of consonants, the vowel o not infrequently becomes u; for instance, Dāmodara = Dāmudā; Gomatī = Guntī (Dey, *op.cit.*, Preface, pp. i-ix). It is, however, equally probable that 'Buddha' and 'Būdhiya' are the Arabicized forms of 'Bōdha' for the Arabic (as also the Persian) alphabet has only the vowel signs a, i and u; the last, when short, sounding nearly as o (as in *obey*) and, when long, as oo (as in *boot*).¹⁸ That explains why Gildmeister (*De Rebus Indicis*, p. 163) in transcribing 'Budha' from Arabic texts spells it *Bodah* and Reinaud (*Memoire sur l'Inde*, p. 157) as *Bodah*. If I am right in my surmise about the phonetic or orthographic change in the name, the ancient Bōdha was in Baluchistan, though its limits may or may not have coincided with those of modern Kachhi. Nor is there anything surprising in Pāṇini's mention of a district on the western confines of Sind and the Punjab. The celebrated grammarian was a native of Salātura in North-West India,¹⁹ and some of the places which he mentions in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* were even further west, in Afghanistan.

G. Le Strange in *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (pp. 331-2), writes: "On the north-eastern frontiers of Makrān, and close to the Indian border, the Arab geographers describe two districts;

17. Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series, vol. vi—A, p. 13.

18. J. Catafago, *An English and Arabic Dictionary*, Introduction, p. viii, S. Haim, *New Persian—English Dictionary*, vol. i, preface, p. xi.

19. Salātura (So-lo-tu-lo of Hiuen Tsiang), the birthplace of Pāṇini, is identified by Cunningham with the village of Lahor, 3 miles north-west of Ohind—*Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 66-67.

namely, Tūrān, of which the capital was Kuṣḍār, and Budahah to the north of this, of which the capital was Kāndābil..... Kāndābil has been identified with the present Gandāva, lying south of Sibi and east of Kelāt." The Arab travellers Istakhrī (A.D. 951) and Ibn Haukal (A.D. 978) tell us that Kāndābil, the capital and commercial centre of Budha, was 10 days' journey from Multan and 8 from Mansūra, and from the latter place the nearest frontier of Budha was 5 days' march.²⁰ Mansūra, it may be noted, was the city built by the Arabs to the east of the Indus in Sind, in the vicinity of the old Hindu city of Brahmanabad.²¹ Both the cities have long since disappeared. Masūdi, called the *Arab Herodotus*, who visited the Indus Valley in A.D. 916, also mentions Budha, but his references to that district are rather confused.²² Curiously he treats that geographical name also as the name or title of the Hindu kings of Kanauj.²³ And, to add to the confusion, Elliot transcribes the name presented by Masūdi in Arabic characters as *Bawūra*. Dowson,²⁴ however, remarks: "The name is so given in the Paris edition,²⁵ but Sprenger²⁶ reads it 'Budah'; and the reference immediately afterwards to a place of the same name among the dependencies of Multan can hardly refer to any other than the country commonly called Budha." Raverty, like Sprenger, also reads it 'Budah'.²⁷ Idrīsī (A.D. 1154) and Kazwīnī (A.D. 1263), whose geographical works are mere compilations from the writings of earlier authors no doubt give the name of the district as *Nadha* or *Nudha*,²⁸ but these forms of the name are obvious

20. Elliot, *op.cit.*, vol. i, pp. 29, 30, 38, 39.

21. According to Bilāduri the two places were 7 or 8 miles (two parasangs) apart—*Ibid.*, p. 122. Lambrick, suggests that "Mansūrah was built actually on the site of the older city"—*Sind, A General Introduction*, pp. 86-7.

22. Elliot, *op.cit.*, vol. i, pp. 21-22.

23. Hodivala has explained how Masūdi probably fell into that error—*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, vol. i, p. 25.

24. Elliot, *op.cit.*, vol. i, p. 22 n.

25. Meynard and Courteille in *Le Prairies D'or* (vol. i, p. 78) in fact give *Bauorah*.

26. *Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*, pp. 190, 380.

27. "The Mihran of Sind", *JASB*, vol. lxi (1892), pp. 206, 208.

28. Elliot, *op.cit.*, vol. i, pp. 83, 84, 388.

corruptions of 'Budha'.²⁹ "These later authorities", Elliot remarks, "are of no value when arrayed against repeated instances to the contrary from the *Chach-Nāma* and the great majority of readings from Ibn Haukal and Istakhrī".³⁰ The historian Bilādūrī in his *Futūh-l Buldān* (A.D. 869) also refers to the district as 'Budha'.³¹ I think there can be no doubt that the correct Arabic form of the name was 'Budha'. In support of this I may mention that in the Kachh Gandāva district, there is still a place called *Buddah*, the exact position of which is shown on the map of 1814 which accompanies Pottinger's *Travels in Beloochistan and Sind*.

Majmalu-t Tawārīkh, a Persian historical work of the twelfth century, also mentions Budha. It tells us that, "in the life time of Gustāsf, king of Persia, Bahman led an army to Hindustan and took a portion of it. Bahman founded a city between the confines of the Hindus and the Turks, to which he gave the name of Kandābil, and in another place, which they call Budha, he founded a city which he called Bahman-ābād. According to one account this is Mansūra, but God knows".³² Gustāsf of the Persian annalists is the Darius Hystaspes (B.C. 521-485) of the Greek writers.³³ Raverty identified the city founded by Bahman in Budha with Brahmanabad in Sind.³⁴ Elliot rejects that identification. "Bahman's city", he rightly remarks, "is expressly stated to have been built in the province of Budha which never extended so far as the Indus. Nor is it probable that, had he built a city on the Indus, he would have done so on the eastern, rather than the western, bank of that river. The fact is that Bahmanābād is a mere abbreviated form of Brāhmanābād; and is still a very common mode of elision throughout Western India and the Dekhin (Deccan), where

29. In Arabic orthography the difference between *ba* (B) and *nūn* (N) depends merely on the position of a diacritical point, the misplacement of which by careless scribes can easily account for the readings 'Nadha' and 'Nudha'. Cf. William Anderson: "I consider there to exist no reasonable form into which any given Arabic proper name may not be contorted under constant copying"—*Ind. Ant.*, (1892), Vol. xxi, p. 49.

30. *Op.cit.*, vol. i, p. 388.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

33. Balfour's *Cyclopaedia of India*, vol. i, p. 891.

34. *Art. cit.*, *JASB*, vol. lxi, (1892), pp. 196-204 n.

Brāhman, in common parlance, is usually converted into Bahman".³⁵ The excavations at the site of Brāhmanābād also have not uncovered any evidence which might justify the view that the place was of that great antiquity.³⁶

I now come to the *Chach-Nāma*. It is mainly a record of the Arab general's transactions during the invasion of Sind, but in the earlier portion the chronicle treats of Sind when it was ruled, for more than two hundred years, by the princes of the Rai and Brahmin dynasties, and takes us back to the closing years of the fifth century A.D. The Rai dynasty terminated in 622, when the kingdom was usurped by Brahmin Chach. He founded the Brahmin dynasty which in turn ceased to exist in 712, when it was overthrown by the Muslims under Muhammad Kāsim. The Hindu kingdom of Sind, according to the chronicle, extended on the north-east to the boundary of Kashmir, on the west to Makran, on the south to the sea and on the north-west to the mountains of Kusdār³⁷ and Kaikānān.³⁸ It was divided into four satrapies of which the satrapy of Siwistān (Sehwan), to the west of the Indus, included Būdhiya. The capital of Būdhiya under the Hindu chiefs appears to have been Nānārāj (or Kākārāj), and not Kandābil, which is mentioned in the *Chach-Nāma* merely as a fortified place. From the several references which the chronicle makes to Būdhiya Haig concludes that it included perhaps "the lands lying between the Western Nārā and the mountain ranges west of Sehwan".³⁹ Lambrick, for reason adduced by him, goes a little further and suggests that Būdhiya "probably included also the north-west portion of the plains of Sind."⁴⁰

35. *Op.cit.*, vol. i, p. 370.

36. Cousens, *Antiquities of Sind*, p. 48 ff; *Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities*, ed. Thomas, vol. ii, pp. 19-20.

37. 'Kārdān' in the texts is a corrupt reading for 'Kusdār'.

38. Kaikānān, Kaikān, Kikān and Kizkānān of the Arab historians are all identified with *Ki-kiang na*, the district west of *Fa-la-na* (Bannu) described by Hiuen Tsiang, which Cunningham (*Anc. Geo.*, p. 99) places "somewhere in the vicinity of Pishin and Kwetta", while Aurel Stein (*Memoir Arch. Sur. Ind.*, No. 57, p. 29) identifies it with the hill region now known as Waziristan.

39. *The Indus Delta Country*, pp. 57-9.

40. *Op.cit.*, pp. 156-7.

To sum up: 'Budha' and 'Būdhiya', according to me, are the phonetic derivatives of 'Bōdha'. If so, it follows as a corollary that Pāṇini's Bōdha *janapada* was situated on the western borders of the Punjab and Sind, though at the present day it is difficult to define its precise limit. The *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*, place Bodha, no doubt in Madhyadēśa and not in the western division of India. But that allotment cannot be regarded as conclusive, for the geographical arrangement of the Purāṇic lists (based probably on some old tradition)⁴¹ has not been found to be entirely free from mistakes or what Cunningham calls "displacement of names". For instance, as pointed out by Law, the *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇas* locate the Sālvas amongst the peoples of Madhyadēśa, but the *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma Purāṇas*, place them in the extreme west.⁴² Nor is the term 'Madhyadēśa' defined in the *Purāṇas*. Manu, no doubt, gives 'Vināśana' as the western boundary of Madhyadēśa,⁴³ but that reading has by no means passed unquestioned. "The Destruction (vināśana)", Rhys Davids remarks, "is an ambiguous term. It is really derived from a blunder in the older texts descriptive of another idea, that of the Āryāvarta. As Bühler (S.B.E., Vol. xiv, p. 2) already suggested, the reading of the oldest Brahmin law manual, that of Vasiṣṭa, presupposes a reading *adārśa*, which was corrupted into *adarśana*, 'the disappearance', and that into *vināśana* or *vināśana*, 'the destruction', an expression explained by the medieval commentators to mean the place where the river Sarasvatī disappears, or was destroyed, in the sands. But the original reading meant simply the Ādarśa Mountains".⁴⁴ How-

41. Cf. Agrawala: "This (Bhuvankōśa) was an important topic handed down from antiquity which received particular attention from Purāṇic writers"—*Matsya Purāṇa: A Study*, p. 184.

42. *Op.cit.*, p. 67.

43. "That (country) which (lies) between the Himavat and the Vindhya (mountains) to the east of the Prayāga and to the west of the *Vināśana* (the place where the river Sarasvatī disappears) is called Madhyadēśa. But (the tract) between these two mountains (just mentioned), which extends as far as the eastern and western oceans, the wise call Āryāvarta (the country of the Aryans)"—*The Laws of Manu*, ii, 22-23 (S.B.E., vol. xxv). The place where the river Sarasvatī disappears is in Hissar district.

44. "The Middle Country of Ancient India", *JRAS*, 1908, p. 92. The position of Ādarśa mountains is not known, but they must probably be to the west of the plains of the Punjab. Bhargava identifies them with the Sulaiman mountains—*The Geography of R̥gvedic India*, p. 25.

ever that may be, there is ground, at any rate, for believing that the Bōdhas, at early period, had moved westward from their original habitat in Madhyadēśa. The *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā-parvan, xiv, 25-26) relates that Bōdhas, from fear of Jarāsandha, the mighty ruler of Magadha, 'fled to the west'. Pargiter writes: "Only eighteen families of Bhōjas, who were settled in the neighbourhood of Mathura, under Kṛṣṇa's leading stood out against Jarāsandha's ascendancy. *These political developments unsettled many tribes and nations in Madhyadēśa and some of them are said to have shifted their position westwards...* Afterwards, however, Kṛṣṇa and his adherents fled in fear to the extreme west and established themselves at Dvāraka".⁴⁵ The *Chach-Nāma* (Elliot, *op.cit.*, Vol. i, p. 160) in turn recounts that "the rānās of Būdhīya had originally come from the banks of the Ganges." Do not these two statements, from sources independent of one another, suggest that Bōdhas and Būdhīyas were one and the same people, who had migrated westward and given their new home the name of their old habitat in Madhyadēśa? It is not uncommon that when a body of people leave their homeland and settle in another country, or even in another region in the same country, they carry with them to their new settlements the names of places for which they have an attachment.

M. Vivien de Saint-Martin in his *Étude de Géographie ancienne* (Tom. i, pp. 328-34) also seems to have surmised that the Būdhīyas of the *Chach-Nāma* were the Bōdhas of the Sanskrit literature. As a copy of that work is not available in any of the public libraries in Bombay, I am unable to quote the relevant passage from it. But Elliot (*op.cit.* Vol. i, p. 389), commenting upon the French geographer's view, writes: "It has been surmised, also, that these Budhiyas were the Bhodya (? Bodha) and Bhoja of the Purāṇic legends, and even the Bhotyas of Tibet. This is treading upon still more dangerous ground. It is far more probable that, if the name had any significant origin at all, it was derived from the possession of the Buddhist religion in its purity by the inhabitants of that remote tract, at the time when Brahmanism was making its quiet but steady

45. "The Nations of India at the battle between Pandavas and Kauravas", *JRAS*, 1908, p. 315.

inroads by the more open and accessible course of the river Indus". While there is *prima facie* a case for identifying Bōdhas with Būdhiyas, there are no grounds for equating them with either the Bhōjas or the Bhōtyas. Elliot's suggestion as to the origin of the designation 'Budhiya' of this remote region in Baluchistan is rather fanciful and scarcely such as to command assent. The name in its original form 'Bōdha', if my hypothesis is correct, dates from the time of Pāṇini who flourished long before any Brahminical revival in the Indus Valley.⁴⁶

46. The date of Pāṇini has been much discussed. D. R. Bhandarkar (*Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 3) believes that Pāṇini lived about 600 B.C. Macdonnel (*A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 17) places him in the fourth century B.C. Keith (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, p. 113) says that he lived "not later than 500 B.C."

Muiz-ul-Mulk; Governor of Surat

(1629-1636; 1637?-1649)

BY

DR. B. G. GOKHALE, M.A., Ph.D.,

Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem, N. C.

The port-city of Surat played a vital role in the economic history of Mughal India in the XVIIth century. From it sailed pious Muslims on their pilgrimage to the Holy Cities and through Surat flowed a large volume of exports and imports destined for Europe and South-East Asia as well as the cities of Northern and Western India. It was the home of some of the wealthiest merchants such as Virji Vohra and along its meandering lanes stood the factories of the English, Dutch and the French. Mughal administration at the imperial and provincial levels has been studied in great detail. The system of administration in the great cities of Agra and Delhi, Lahore and Lucknow has also been discussed in some detail in the existing studies on the Mughal administration.¹ But so far not much attention has been given to the administration of port-cities like Surat. The administration of Surat, in part, reflected the economic policies of the great Mughal Empire. The governorship of Surat was a "prize-post" and a case-study of one administration should be of interest to economic historians of XVIIth century India. The purpose of the present paper is to present one such case-study in the administration of Muiz-ul-Mulk during the reign of Shah Jahan (1628-1656). The material on which this study is based is mainly gathered from the *English Factory Records* which contain almost year by year entries concerning the administration of Surat for nearly half a century.

1. See for example J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration* (Calcutta, 1924); S. R. Sharma, *Mughal Government and Administration* (Bombay, 1951), *Cambridge History of India* (Delhi, 1957), IV, pp. 449-475; P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* (Allahabad, 1941).

It was on February 15, 1573 that the great Akbar (1556-1605) acquired Surat for the Mughal Empire in the course of his campaign in Gujarat. At that time Surat was constituted as a *sarkar* in the *subah* of Gujarat. The *sarkar* of Surat contained 31 *mahals* and had a revenue of 19,035,180 *dams* (about Rs. 720,000).² The commercial importance of Surat was duly recognized by the opening of a mint to coin silver and copper currency. Sometime between 1600 and 1615 the mint was closed but was reopened in 1620.³ The mint could turn out currency worth Rs. 6,000 a day but it worked rather irregularly for the officer in charge fixed only a few days in the month for the working of the mint and the English complained that sometimes they ran the risk of waiting for weeks or even months before they could accomplish their work.⁴

The administration of the port-city was the responsibility of an official called the *mutasaddi*, (often called governor by the English) directly responsible to Agra. He had the status of a provincial governor and worked under the direct orders of the imperial administration in Agra. Sometimes the *mutasaddi* was in charge of the port while the other areas were under the administration of the commander of the fort.⁵ Thevenot, the French traveller who visited India in 1666, refers to two officers at Surat as follows: "There are two governors or *Nabad* (*sic*) at Surat, who have no dependence one on another, and give an account of

2. H. Blochmann and D. C. Philliott, *The Ain-I Akbari* (Calcutta, 1939-1949), II, p. 261; P. Saran mentions that the *Mirat-I-Ahmadi* gives 31 as the number of *mahals* and the *Ain* figure is 73 *mahals* including 13 ports; *Op. Cit.*, pp. 215-216; *The Mirat-I-Ahmadi Supplement* translated by Syed Nawab Ali and Charles Norman Seddon (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda, 1928) contains the statement that Surat had 31 divisions, ports and *parganas*, p. 187 and the edition of the *Ain* used by me also has the same number of *mahals* associated with the *sarkar* of Surat.

3. William Foster (ed.), *The English Factories in India* (Oxford, 1906), 1618-1621, p. 36, note 5; this series contains 13 volumes and was published at Oxford between 1906 and 1927; it will be noted hereafter as follows: *EFI* (1618-1621) as I, (1622-1623) as II, (1624-1629) as III, (1630-1633) as IV, (1634-1636) as V, (1637-1641) as VI, (1642-1645) as VII, (1646-1650) as VIII and (1651-1654) as IX; also see Blochmann and Philliott, *Op.Cit.*, I, p. 32.

4. D. Pant, *The Commercial Policy of the Moguls* (Bombay, 1930), p. 189.

5. Saran, *Op.Cit.*, p. 216.

their actions only to the king. The one commands the Castle, and the other the Town, and they encroach not upon one another's rights and duties."⁶ The *muttsaddi* was appointed under an imperial *sanad* carrying the seal of the *Diwan-i-Ala* whereas the commander of the fort worked under the authority of the Commander of the Artillery. In addition to his duties connected with the work of the port the *muttsaddi* also acted as a civil judge and supervised the working of the mint. Under the authority of the governor worked several other officials like the *sadr* and the *qazi*, the *Bakshi* and the *waqia nigar*, the *Muhtasib*, various *Darogas*, the *Amin* and a host of superintendents.⁷ The most important part of the port administration was the working of the custom-house in charge of a superintendent directly responsible to the *muttsaddi*. The *muttsaddi* had the rank of "100 personal and 200 contingent" and the city with the mint and corn market earned a revenue of 15,000,000 *dams*.⁸

We may notice at the outset two characteristics about the administration of the port of Surat. One was that the post was farmed out to the highest bidder and the practice was replaced with the appointment of salaried officials only after 1641.⁹ The second characteristic was that the tenure held by officials was rather short for during a period of some 30 years (1630-1660) there were as many as seven changes in the port administration.¹⁰ These changes were largely due to allegations of corruption or inability to pay the amount pledged or as a matter of shifting patronage at the imperial court at Agra.

6. Quoted by J. N. Das Gupta in his *India in the Seventeenth Century* as depicted by European Travellers (Calcutta, 1916), p. 128.

7. Saran, *Op.Cit.*, p. 216.

8. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* Supplement, p. 188. According to the *Afn*, II, p. 262, the revenue of Surat with suburb was 5,530,145 *dams* which is about $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of that mentioned in the *Mirat*. This increase must be attributed to Western trade.

9. *EFI*, VI, p. xxvii.

10. These were Muiz-ul-Mulk, 1629-1634; Hakim Masih-us-Zaman, 1635-1638; Muiz-ul-Mulk, 1638-1645; Mirza Ali Amin, 1645-1647; Mirza Ali Akbar, 1647-1648; Muiz-ul-Mulk, 1648-1649 and Mirza Arab, 1649 to 1660.

Let us now turn to an examination of the career of our subject, Muiz-ul-Mulk. He is first noticed in an English letter from Ahmedabad to Surat dated November 29, 1623 under the name of Mir Moosa and is reported as being appointed to the *Jagir* of Cambay. He is described as a "friend to merchants and a man that delights much in *tophi* (*tuhapha*-gifts) but as hard as flint in bargain but a good paymaster."¹¹ In 1625 he was still in Cambay buying "jewels and other rareties" from the English to whom he offered Rs. 2,500 for some emeralds in May of that year. In December he bought two pieces of tapestry from John Hopkins, the English agent at Ahmedabad, to be presented to the Emperor as his own "*moozra*".¹² We next notice him in a despatch from Surat to Lahore dated February 6, 1627 as resident in his "*jaguire*" at Bardoli where his servants had detained some English goods for *rahdari*.¹³ Bardoli is mentioned as a *pargana* of Surat by the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* and along with Momra had a revenue of 5,000,000 *dams*.¹⁴ In 1628 Muiz-ul-Mulk is mentioned as a mediator in a dispute between the governor of Surat and the authorities at Olpad concerning customs dues to be paid by the English. The dues were claimed by the Olpad authorities on the ground that Swally was within their jurisdiction whereas Surat insisted that the moneys be paid to it as before. Muiz-ul-Mulk suggested that the dispute be referred to Agra and in the meanwhile the payment of dues be withheld.¹⁵ The *Mirat* states that the *Mutsaddi* of Surat looked after the port in the *pargana* of Broach.¹⁶ The *Ain* mentions Olpad as a *mahal* of the *sarkar* of Broach.¹⁷ Obviously there existed conflicts in the jurisdictions of administrations of Surat and Broach during our period.

At this time at least Muiz-ul-Mulk maintained cordial relations with the English. We have referred to his efforts at mediation on behalf of the English above. On January 4, 1628, he was stated

11. *EFI*, II, p. 329.

12. *EFI*, III, pp. 73, 79, 87, 113.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

14. *Op.Cit.*, p. 188.

15. *EFI*, III, p. xxvi.

16. *Op.Cit.*, p. 175.

17. *Op.Cit.*, II, p. 260.

to be in the process of buying some jewels from them and on January 21 he is reported to have spoken in their favour to Shah Jahan who was on his way to Agra for the coronation which took place on February 4, 1628. Muiz-ul-Mulk was in Agra at this time and advised the English to delay sending their caravans until the Emperor had time to enforce law and order along the route which was then in a dangerous state.¹⁸ In a communication from Surat to the Company dated April 27, 1629 Muiz-ul-Mulk is described as "our new Governor" indicating that the appointment must have come about not too long before that date.¹⁹ Soon after his arrival Muiz-ul-Mulk began to build up cordial trade and other relations with the English and the Portuguese. As an avowed friend of the English he connived at the English passing their goods like tobacco, cotton, wool and rice unchecked through his customs which practice, if it went on for long, must have cost the imperial administration a good deal of revenue.²⁰ Such a favourable treatment was based on expectations of suitable returns from the English, selling fine cloth to him for much less than its declared price or just taking English goods fancied by him without bothering to pay for them.²¹ While the English loved to evade payment of customs dues at the Surat port they did not relish the governor taking their goods without payment and by April 13, 1630 their communications begin to complain that the governor was sending false information to Agra against them and suggesting that an English representative be stationed in Agra to frustrate the governor's machinations.²² Muiz-ul-Mulk also began to negotiate with the Portuguese at Bulsar probably on behalf of the Emperor who was contemplating action against them in Bengal and elsewhere.²³ But the strained Mughal-Portuguese relations did not prevent the Mughal governor of Surat sending his merchandize in Portuguese ships, one of which was detained by the English in November, 1630.²⁴ It is very obvious that the governor.

18. *EFI*, III, pp. 201, 229, 234.

19. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 335-336.

20. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 26.

21. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 27, 36.

22. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 21, 34.

23. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 36, 88, 100.

24. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 69.

was carrying on an extensive trade on his own account in the Persian Gulf area and elsewhere. He had also tried to get Virji Vohra in some kind of a business partnership but without success.²⁵ During 1632-1634 he was reported to have established a virtual monopoly over trade in wheat, lead and indigo. In February, 1632 the governor, along with some other rich merchants, cornered the supply of wheat selling it at Rs. 4 per 40 seers whereas the normal price at Surat was 50% less.²⁶ A Surat letter of April 1632 complained that the governor "prevents all others from buying lead and will give what he pleases for it" insisting that the English sell it to him and none else.²⁷ His control over the trade in lead and indigo continued until December 1634.²⁸

Let us review briefly at this point the vicissitudes in the governor's career. Five years after his appointment in 1629 he is referred to not by his personal name of Mir Moosa but as *Muiz-ul-Mulk*, a title conferred on him by Shah Jahan not long before December, 1634.²⁹ Whether this was in recognition of some special services rendered by him or due to acts of kindness by his patrons in Agra we do not know. *Muiz-ul-Mulk* was obviously a very influential person in court circles. In 1630 he had a brother in a high position in Ahmedabad and a deputy in Cambay though he was then already the governor of Surat.³⁰ Towards the end of 1635 he was reported as having been replaced in his post in Surat by Hakim Masih-uz-Zaman and appointed as governor of Cambay.³¹ The reason for this shift in his post is reported to be the enmity existing between him and Asaf Khan.³² But *Muiz-ul-Mulk* remained in Cambay only for a short period for a report dated August 25, 1636 mentions the rumour of his appointment to Surat and this appointment seems to have materialized after September 7,

25. *Ibid.*, IV, 31, 179.

26. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 209.

27. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 216, 256; V, p. 143.

28. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 69-70.

29. *Ibid.*, V, p. 61.

30. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 62, 99.

31. *Ibid.*, V, pp. xv, 204, 263.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 262.

1636.³³ He appears to have remained in Surat until January, 1642 as there is a reference to a report of his removal on January 27, of that year. Another notice of April 5, 1648 reports his being back in Surat. He seems to have continued in his Surat post until November 16, 1649 when he was replaced by Mirza Arab. In spite of his friendship with Sadulla Khan Muiz-ul-Mulk could not avert the displeasure of Shah Jahan who revoked his *mansab* and removed him from imperial service on complaints that he had injured the merchants of the port-city of Surat and ruined some of the nearby villages by his administrative indiscretions.³⁴

Muiz-ul-Mulk was a typical product of his age and fairly representative of the character of Mughal district administration, especially in its commercial policies, during the last years of Shah Jahan. An English observation of April 13, 1630 sheds interesting light on an aspect of imperial policies. It says: "His own country is in peace and quietness, and for ought we understand likely so to continue, having politically wrought his own security by cutting off all the blood royal, without leaving any but his own sons that can lay claim to his crown; and then impoverishing his umrahs or nobles by taking from them all his treasure and livings, allowing no more than will maintain them barely in an ordinary state."³⁵ Such a policy of expropriation drove the nobles and officers to acts of cupidity and oppression and their most obvious victims were the merchants.³⁶ The old policy of royal monopoly over certain items of trade was continued by Shah Jahan for an English report from Swally Marine to the Company dated January 17, 1643 complains of the unavailability of freight for lading as the governor had prohibited merchants from lading any goods "until the king's great junk was full."³⁷ Another practice was that of farming out important posts and the payment of bribes for continuance in them. Muiz-ul-Mulk had to pay some three lakhs of *Mahmudis* (about £ 15,000) and a bribe of some £ 10,000 to secure his post at Surat and continue in it.³⁸ Another report has it that Muiz-ul-

33. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 281, 288.

34. *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 275, 287, 319, 334-335.

35. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 33.

36. See D. Pant, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 182-183.

37. *EFL*, VII, p. 91.

38. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. xvi, 193.

Mulk had to pay 72 lakhs of *Mahmudis* for his Surat post and even by 1641 he found himself short of his commitment by 31 lakhs. In October 1650 he still had an uncleared debt of many lakhs of rupees.³⁹ Such heavy demands for a post inevitably led the governor to resort to oppressive practices in revenue collection. A letter of January 27, 1642 refers with feelings of joy to Muiz-ul-Mulk's removal saying "For he, having this, Broach and Cambayat ports under his government, exacted most unreasonable and unjust customs, because merchants, having brought down their goods from the inland countries, must of necessity fall into his merciless clutches, if they at all intend either from Cambayat or Surat to embark them. Besides, his long continuance in these employments had armed him with so much experience that merchants suffered much thereby, as by his other oppressive dealings."⁴⁰ It may be argued that the merchants, whether European or Indian, were not exactly paragons of probity and that quite a few of them often resorted to bribery and corruption. But even if this was so the district administrators cannot be absolved of a major share of responsibility for an arbitrary and oppressive policy. This oppressive policy was most apparent in the administration of the custom-house as reported by Mandelslo. He says "we came ashore near the Sultan's Palace, and went immediately to the Custom House to have our things searched by the officers there (Surat) which is done with such exactness in this place, that many think it not enough to open chests and portmanteaus, but examine people's clothes and pockets. The Sultan or governor, nay the customers themselves, oblige merchants and passengers to part with at the price they shall think fit to put upon them, those goods and commodities which they brought for their own private use."⁴¹ Muiz-ul-Mulk's administration of the custom-house was not substantially different. Another of his practices was to fix, quite arbitrarily if we are to believe the English reports, prices of certain commodities in great demand. For instance in the case of coral he fixed its price in such a way as to extort higher duty and as for lead "he takes into his own hand and at what rate he pleases." The expedient used for achieving this purpose was to detain goods

39. *Ibid.*, VI, pp. xxvi-xxvii; IX, p. 8.

40. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 24.

41. Quoted by D. Pant, *Op. Cit.*, p. 192.

at Surat for a time enough to compel the merchants to sell it to him for fear of losing greatly by such detention.⁴² He charged double the normal duty on English goods on the plea that he had to raise the amount he had agreed to pay the king for his post.⁴³ He also used the mint for making profit for himself.⁴⁴

The governor also resorted to the practice of extorting gifts from the English and the Dutch.⁴⁵ He seems to have established rather cordial relations with the Dutch who used him to harass the English. In 1639 he profited to the extent of 12,000 *mahumudis* in a transaction in gold brought by the Dutch from China the year before.⁴⁶ But the governor used the Dutch as much as they used him. A letter of Dec. 9, 1639 reports "The Dutch have been very hardly used by him, and infinitely prejudiced whilst, under a pretence of buying their goods, he detains them two or three months without coming to a price for them, and then always underbuys the market." The Dutch retaliated against such tactics by refusing to issue passes to Surat traders to trade with Achin and Malacca.⁴⁷ In January 1632 the governor wanted to expropriate the English of some horses and in December 1640 he is stated to have bought broadcloth and coral from them at a very cheap rate presumably to have them sold at an enhanced price later.⁴⁸ He especially seems to have been on good terms with President Breton who was to return to England in 1649 when the governor tried to detain him. This was taken as an attempt to interfere with the internal affairs of the Surat Factory by the Mughal officer and protests were duly made.⁴⁹ Their opinion of him from 1633 onwards was far from favourable for they called him a "rogue" and "an old, corrupt, preverse and cunning fox, though seldom free from his opium intoxications."⁵⁰ It is possible that the English were not entirely blameless in their difficulties with the Surat

42. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 304, 323.

43. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 279.

44. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 103.

45. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 148.

46. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 207.

47. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 212.

48. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 194; VI, p. 281.

49. *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 226-228, 302.

50. *Ibid.*, IV, 288; VIII, p. 239.

administration though the relationships between the governor and the factors were such as to exceed bounds of administrative discretion and integrity.

We have referred to the inability of the governor to make good his pledge in payment of the amount agreed to by him with the Agra government. In 1639 the English report that "ever since Mir Moosa's entrance on this government, your affairs have had a most quiet and auspicious passage and we from him have received most courteous and respective usage. His evil ancient custom only of overrating your goods in custom house is rather augmented than lessened; and yet all that he can do, unless he should exceed all reason and custom, will not be enough to raise what he has engaged himself to make good unto the king for this Surat custom-house, viz. 800,000 (*mahumudis*), three-eighths more than his predecessor, Hakim Masih-uz-Zam paid. He will be an infinite loser by the bargain; and that he sometimes sorrowfully acknowledges, and yet comforts himself with this certain issue that the king cannot take from him more than he has, all which he knows sooner or later will be his."⁵¹ Two years after this report, in 1641 he was still short by 31 lakhs in his payment and even as late as October 1650 he had not cleared his debt.

The source of much of the corruption and oppressive administration in Surat, then, must be attributed, in a large measure, to the practice of farming out of offices by the Mughal government in Agra. Officers like Muiz-ul-Mulk made rash promises in their bid to secure lucrative posts and were then hard put to it to fulfil their pledges and also make some more money for themselves. They were, thus, driven to extortion of money from their traders and even influential merchants like Virji Vohra, did not escape from their clutches.⁵² Muiz-ul-Mulk too was accused of corruption and extortion in December 1650⁵³ though the decisive reason for his dismissal seems to have been his failure to pay his bid in full for his post at Surat. Such an administrative policy did not make for fair and honest bureaucracy. The business community on its

51. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 207.

52. In December 1638 Masih-uz-Zaman was dismissed as governor of Surat for extortion and was implicated in the imprisonment of Virji Vohra, see *Ibid.*, VI, p. xvi.

53. *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 334-355

own part gave bribes to the most prominent officials at the port-city to get their trade going. The arbitrary character of customs collection both in its method and incidence could not have been conducive to increased and prosperous trade. The decline in administrative standards appears to have set in as early as 1630, a mere 25 years after the passing away of the great Akbar. The royal monopoly over certain selected items of trade put the business community at a disadvantage and created serious problems for finding transportation, expeditious release of commodities through customs and securing a fair return on business ventures. To make matters worse governors like Muiz-ul-Mulk had their own extensive trade interests which naturally took precedence over the interests of the merchants to the detriment of the general mercantile community. The fixation of the quantum of customs dues from Agra had little meaning for the port-administrators often behaved as if they were a law unto themselves. Complaints against their exactions were made to the Court from time to time and in some cases punishments were quick and drastic but for a busy merchant it was much easier to bribe the official than take the course of complaining to Agra involving delays and expenses. Such administrative arrangements were indicative of the governmental attitude to trade and commerce which were regarded as sources of pecuniary benefit to individuals and not so much a source of prosperity to the community as a whole. These attitudes, whether in Agra or in Surat, were generally anti-mercantilist in practice, if not in intent, and the wonder of it all is that in spite of such exactions, corruption and oppression, trade flourished as it did. The intrusion of Western commerce provided a new avenue for acquiring riches for the port-city administrators and the collusion between Mughal officers and European traders could have meant harsher conditions of competition for Hindu merchants. It is this group of merchants, a majority of whom were Hindus, that was capable of developing into a class of mercantilist capitalists if their activities had been governed by equitable, impartial and fixed regulations. The attitudes of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, not to speak of Aurangzeb, towards trade and commerce and their role in national progress, are in sharp contrast to those of an Elizabeth I or Charles II. The Mughal attitudes and practices proved to be anti-capitalistic and profoundly influenced the direction of Indian economic history in the XVIIth century.

The Second Phase of the Hūṇa Invasion of India

BY

DR. UPENDRA THAKUR,
Magadh University, Gaya

The first phase of the Hūṇa invasion of India may be described as an episode in the history of the country without any far-reaching consequence. The Hūṇas came, they raided and they were thoroughly defeated and routed. Their withdrawal, though temporary, from the Indian scene marked the ultimate collapse of their first serious attempt to establish an empire in India. It, however, produced an indirect result. It accelerated the pace of the dismemberment of the Gupta empire by encouraging outbreak of rebellions in border provinces and fissiparous tendencies all around. In spite of all his efforts, Skandagupta could not save the Westernmost part of his empire from future troubles. It is true, during his life-time, he retained his hold over Saurāṣṭra, the Cambay coast and the adjoining portions of continental Gujarāt and Mālwa,¹ but it is also equally true that though he had arranged efficiently for the defence of his territories through scrupulous selection of his Viceroys, Governors, and Commandants of the army as is clear from the Junāgarh inscription, neither he nor his father before him had taken due care to guard the North-Western gates of India. They were completely neglected by Kumāragupta I and the Chinese historians have also recorded the destruction of the cities of Bactria and Afghanistan by the foreign invaders, first the Kuṣāṇas, and finally the Hūṇas. And, Skandagupta, too, cannot be said to have put an end to the further devastation of the country by the Hūṇas once and for all, he merely postponed that tragedy.² His successors, however, do not appear to have been so fortunate, for we have not a single inscription or a coin so far to show that those

1. PHAI, p. 397.

2. Dandekar, *A History of the Guptas*, p. 115.

frontier territories formed parts of the Gupta empire after his death.

The withdrawal of the strong arm of Skandagupta from the political scene was the signal for the disintegration of this mighty monarchy. With the provinces in turmoil, the foreign barbarians once again started pouring across the Western gates of the empire and a disunited people could not long resist the united forces of the foreign hordes led by a great general. Thus, with the passing away of Skandagupta in c. A.D. 467, the fissiparous forces were again unabashed and a dash and grab followed on all sides. The empire declined, especially in the West, but did not wholly perish. The sudden stoppage in silver currency in Western provinces after Skandagupta probably points to the termination of the Gupta authority in those regions, and the general debasement of gold currency suggests a time of troubles. Epigraphic and literary evidence unmistakably points to the continuance of the Gupta empire in parts of Central and Eastern India in the latter half of the fifth as well as the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. The Sāranāth inscriptions,³ the Dāmodarpur plates⁴ and the Eraṇ stone-pillar inscription⁵ of Budhagupta prove that from A.D. 473 to 495 the Gupta empire extended from Bengal to Eastern Mālhwā. Besides these, the Betul plates of Parivrājaka Mahārāja Saṁkṣobha (Gupta year 199, i.e., 518 A.D.) "during the enjoyment of the sovereignty of the Gupta king" speak of the Gupta sovereignty over Ḍabhāla (Dāhala) including the Tripuri Viṣaya (Jubbulpur region).⁶ The Khoh copper-plate inscription of Saṁkṣobha (Gupta year = A.D. 528),⁷ the Eraṇ stone-pillar inscription of the time of Bhānugupta (Gupta year 191 = A.D. 510)⁸ and other records⁹ prove that the Gupta empire definitely included some of the Central districts even in A.D. 528. Thus, a careful perusal of the epigraphic records of the successors of Skandagupta and those of

3. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. i, pp. 323-23.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 324-26, 328-30.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 326-27.

6. *El.* viii, pp. 284-87.

7. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 335.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 370 ff.

the contemporary kings leaves little doubt that even in A.D. 528 (the time of Prabhākaravardhana) the sway of the Gupta dynasty extended, though loosely, from Mālwa to Brahmaputra.

But, all told, the fact remains that the vast Gupta empire had started shrinking fast in dimensions after the death of Skandagupta (467 A.D.) and while the power and prestige of the Guptas was on the wane, that of the new rising kingdoms was on the wax. The hereditary character of the officialdom, particularly in some of the outlying provinces, let loose centrifugal forces which gathered momentum and strength as the Central authority weakened owing to the continuous onslaughts of the barbarian hordes. Skandagupta's successors, Purugupta and Kumāragupta Kramāditya (Kumāragupta II), had short reigns (A.D. 467-77) and it appears from epigraphic and numismatic evidences that they succeeded in maintaining the integrity of their loosely-knit empire during their life-time, although Ujjain is said to have been exposed to the invasion of the Hūṇas and the envy of the refractory chieftains of the West.¹⁰

Budhagupta, the son of Purugupta, was a vigorous ruler with a number of dated inscriptions and coins to his credit, which prove that he ruled for a long period, *ie.*, about 20 years (A.D. 476-96), and held sway over most parts of the empire including Central India as well as Kāśī and North Bengal. His Eraṇ inscription (A.D. 484) is an important document for, it sets at rest all controversies regarding the so-called occupation of Central India by the Hūṇas after the death of Skandagupta, or even during his life-time as some scholars would suggest. The inscription speaks of the installation of a *dhvajastambha* in honour of Viṣṇu (A.D. 484-85) by Mahārāja Mātṛviṣṇu, ruler of Eraṇ, and his brother Dhanyaviṣṇu while the *Bhūpati* (king) Budhagupta was reigning, and Mahārāja Suraśmicandra was governing the land between the Kālindī (Yamunā) and the Narmadā¹¹. This is further corroborated by numismatic evidence as the coins of this emperor dated A.D. 495-96 continue the Peacock type of the Gupta silver coinage

10. ABORI, 1946, p. 128; also cf. *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇ*. (JBORS, xxx, 1, 1-47); *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, ed. Jayaswal, IHI, p. 50.

11. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 326-27.

issued for circulation in Central and Western territories of Mālwa and Gujarāt. In fact, all the political convulsions and upheavals took place only after the death of Budhagupta when the Hūṇas, already poised for action on the North-Western border, had really a smooth run in many parts of the empire.

Thus, the period after A.D. 484 (i.e., towards the close of the fifth century) marks a turning point in the history of the Guptas when their suzerainty was successfully challenged not only by the local chieftains but also by the fierce Hūṇas who, after having settled their accounts with the Sasanid monarchs after the death of Firuz (A.D. 484), made another terrible dash towards the unstable and restless frontiers of the Gupta empire, as it were, with a vengeance. While the passing away of Skandagupta had seemingly removed all impediments to their steady advance, the death of Budhagupta finally removed the last obstacle in their naked aggressive designs. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Central authority, now utterly disorganised and dangerously exposed owing to the fissiparous tendencies among the warring ambitious provincial chiefs who had begun asserting their independence one after another, they swooped down upon the North-Western provinces of the empire and eventually made themselves masters of the Punjab (Siālkoṭ region), Kashmir, part of Rājputāna and Eastern Mālwa, the chiefs of which preferred security to resisting the new menace by humbly transferring their loyalty and allegiance to the new leader (the Hūṇa chief).

This was not at all surprising for, in an explosive situation like this, the provincial chiefs who largely constituted a class of rank opportunists and traitors always loved to worship the rising sun rather than remain loyal to and stand by their old masters in their hour of crisis. Devoid of all sense of patriotism and national honour, these bands of self-seekers and fortune-makers wanted to exploit the situation to their best advantage by meekly submitting to the advancing Hūṇas whose leader, Toramāṇa, was quick to seize this opportunity by grabbing large portions of the sinking empire without much effort on his part. Thus, the death of Budhagupta marked the end of that semblance of unity in the major part of the empire that was seemingly preserved till his time, and the erstwhile beaten Hūṇas once again spread in

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devastating hordes over some of the fairest provinces of the country which had now neither a Candragupta nor a Skandagupta to force them to lick the dust of their defeat and humiliation. What the Hūṇas under Hephthal II could not achieve in spite of their mighty arms, the Hūṇas under Toramāṇa achieved with the least effort on their part and they succeeded in building a kingdom as far as Central India. They were now destined to rule over it for some time, and play a significant role in the history of India, both politically and culturally.

Toramāṇa (c. 500-515 A.D.)

The leader of this second wave of the successful Hūṇa invasion of India was Toramāṇa, a general of remarkable personality whose political achievements in India were no less great than those of Alexander and Menander. Rather, he outshone them in many respects. He was the first great foreign conqueror in India to build up a vast empire from Central Asia to Central India. A ruthless follower of blood and iron, a veritable incarnation of hell and a born fighter and destroyer, he swept away everything before him like a surging storm, and at last gave the Hūṇas a stable home since their rout from their original home in Mongolia. After Attila, he was the only general who organised the Hūṇas under his inspiring leadership, stirred them on to move ceaselessly in search of a new home and established an empire which lasted for about a hundred years. Indeed, the story of Toramāṇa is the story of a nation re-born which makes a fascinating study in the history of India and forms a popular theme with many of the great contemporary writers, and after.

Like most of the great generals of history, Toramāṇa also emerged from obscurity and held no claim to high ancestry or glorious past. Like a meteor he shot up into the sky, shone brilliantly for awhile and soon consumed himself in the darkness of history. Through conflagration and death, battles and terrors, and cries across heaps of corpses and to the accompaniment of the agonised curses of the innocent, dying civilians and the exultant shout of plundering soldiers rose Toramāṇa, a new star in the political firmament of India, whose only companion was his sword, whose only love was plunder and bloodshed. Starting as an ordinary soldier he soon caught the eyes of his Ephthalite master

on account of his dash and courage and was appointed the *Tegin* or Viceroy of the newly-acquired territories of Gandhāra and Afghanistan or the North-Western frontiers from where he directed his ferocious attacks against the mainland of India. Though at first subordinate to the supreme Ephthalite ruler who still continued to reside in Bactria, this official so effected and extended his conquests in India as to become one of the greatest monarchs of the age and "by his glory completely overshadowed his nominal suzerain who remained the semi-barbarous ruler of Central Asia."¹²

His origin, as stated above, is shrouded in obscurity. We have no knowledge of his genealogy, of his parents and of their position and status in the Hunnish hierarchy. Almost all the sources of our information are silent on this point: they simply refer to his name and achievements in brief and mysteriously pass over. A veil of mystery surrounds his early career which has given rise to numerous speculations regarding his tribe and race. In all the ages, men of low beginnings rising ultimately to the highest stature through sheer perseverance and talents have been subject to such persistent inquiries, and Toramāṇa is no exception to this general rule. Some scholars have even questioned his Hunnish origin and have suggested that there was a revival of the Kuṣāṇa power in the latter part of the fifth century A.D. under the leadership of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. The two tribes being ethnically allied, were later merged into one nationality and came to be known as the Hūnas when they appeared on the Indian scene in the beginning of the sixth century A.D. In other words, the question arises—who was Toramāṇa? Was he a Kuṣāṇa or Hūna?

It is suggested that the possibility of his being a Kuṣāṇa chief cannot altogether be ruled out.¹³ Jayaswal¹⁴ and Fleet¹⁵ also

12. McGovern, *Early Empires of Central Asia*, p. 415; Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 225; J. Marquart, *Erānsāhr* (Berlin, 1901).

13. V.G.A., p. 182.

14. *JBORS*, xviii, p. 201 ff; xvi, p. 287 ff.

15. *IA*, xv, p. 245.

believe that Toramāṇa was a Kuṣāṇa. Sten Konow¹⁶ thinks that Toramāṇa was probably a Hūṇa, and not a Kuṣāṇa. The annals of the three Chinese dynasties assert that the Ye-tha or Ephthalites belonged to the race of the great Yue-chi,¹⁷ to which the ruling Kuṣāṇa tribe in India is said to have belonged. In other words, the Ephthalites or the White Hūṇas constituted a branch of the great Yue-chi and both the Kuṣāṇas and the Hūṇas came from the same stock, and there was striking resemblance in manners and customs between them and the Turks. His name 'Toramāṇa', which is neither Sanskrit nor Prākṛt, is probably of Turkish origin, where *Toremān*, *Tūramān* or *Toremen* means "a rebel or insurgent."¹⁸ The title *Jaūvla* accordingly should be connected with *jvl*, meaning 'a falcon'. Alberuni mentions a Laga-Turman as the last king of the Thibetan (?) or Turk Shāhi dynasty of Northern India among whom was Kanik (Kaniṣka)?¹⁹ These considerations have prompted Bühler, and following him Keilhorn, to suggest that the Toramāṇa of the Kurā inscription²⁰ is possibly not identical with the Toramāṇa of the Eraṇ inscription or with the Toramāṇa of Kashmir mentioned by Kalhaṇa or with the Toramāṇa of the coins found in different parts of the country. He was in all probability an independent king for, "the fact that this Toramāṇa bears the title or surname *shāha* or *shāhī* and receives the epithet *Jaūvla*, which may be a tribal name or *viruda*, is sufficient to prevent the identification with the other Toramāṇas who are not characterised in this manner."²¹ We, however, fail to understand what prevented Bühler and Keilhorn from identifying the Toramāṇa of the Eraṇ inscription and the Toramāṇa of Kashmir who, they agree, flourished during the same period (5th Century A.D. onward). The history of India records the rise of only one Toramāṇa as a great conqueror and monarch, and, therefore, the question of the so-called other Toramāṇas does not arise at all in this context.

16. *IHQ*, xii, p. 532.

17. M. A. Stein, *IA*, xxxiv, p. 84.

18. Bühler, *EL*, I, p. 239.

19. Alberuni, (Tr. Sachau), ii, p. 13.

20. *EL*, i, p. 238 ff.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 239 ff.

Smith,²² Rājendralāl, Bhāhu Dāji and others have, however, no doubt of the identity of this king with the Toramāṇa of the Eraṇ record while Cunningham²³ expresses doubts and regards the Toramāṇa coins which he ascribed to Kashmir, as the unauthorised issue of a pretender, but at the same time he also feels sceptical as to the existence of two contemporary Toramāṇas in Northern India during this period.

The two inscriptions of Mihirakula from Uruzgan (Central Afghanistan)²⁴ and the Kurā inscription of Toramāṇa from the Punjab (Salt Range) bearing the sur-name *shāhī* or *shāha* and the epithet *Jaūvla* speak of the early occupation of these areas by the Hūṇas and their settlements in that region. These records were engraved by the royal order whereas the later inscriptions such as the Eraṇ stone inscription and the Gwalior stone inscription were inscribed by the Indian feudatories of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula respectively who refer to their overlord as *mahārājādhirāja*, without mentioning the tribal surname and the dynastic epithet, which seemed quite redundant in this context and was not always considered necessary. We have numerous instances of such deliberate omissions of royal prerogatives in the epigraphic records issued by feudatories in the name of their suzerains, as well as the royal records themselves. The inscriptional evidence is further supported by numismatic evidence as some of the coins of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula also do not bear the above titles. This does not, therefore, mean that the Toramāṇa of the royal records is distinct from the Toramāṇa of the unofficial records issued by his feudatories. The adoption of the title *shāhī*, borne by Kaniṣka and his successors, by Toramāṇa and his successors, may also be explained by the fact that the Hūṇa king wished to appear as the rightful successor of the Kuṣāṇa monarchs²⁵ whose territory he had conquered, and the so-called tribal *viruda Jaūvla* or *Zabol* really stands for a section of the Hūṇas who on their way to India first settled in a land called Zabulistān to the south of the Hindu-kush (i.e., modern Afghanistan) of whom Toramāṇa was a scion

22. JASB, 1894, p. 186.

23. *Transactions*, p. 232, *Num-Chron*, 1894, pp. 276-78.

24. A. D. H. Bivar, *JRAS*, 1954, p. 112 ff.

25. Stein, *IA*, 1894, p. 83.

and later a *Tegin* or *Viceroy*. The literal meaning of his name well reflects his activities as a Viceroy who later severed all his relations with the Ephthalite monarch living in Bactria, and founded an independent kingdom of his own in India. There is thus no cogent reason for assuming that Toramāṇa of the Kurā inscription is different from Toramāṇa of the Eraṇ inscription. They denote really one and the same person.

The account of the Chinese traveller Sungyun who visited Gandhāra in 520 A.D. also indirectly confirms the identity of the two. He says: "This is the country which the Ye-thas destroyed and afterwards set up a *Tegin* (Viceroy) to be king over the country since which events two generations have passed." It was during this time that Mihirakula, the son and successor of Toramāṇa, was ruling (A.D. 520) and thus this Chinese account would point to a time when Toramāṇa had been living (i.e., c. 498 A.D.). We have noted above that Toramāṇa started his career as a *Tegin* under the supreme Ephthalite king in Bactria and later severed all his relations with him in c. 500-510 A.D. These scattered pieces of evidence, when knit together, make it absolutely clear that Toramāṇa of the Kurā record is identical with Toramāṇa, the father of Mihirakula.

As there is no mention of the term *Hūṇa* either in the epigraphic records or on the coins of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, scholars have raised doubts regarding the identification of Toramāṇa. The Eraṇ inscription of Dhanyaviṣṇu, dated in the first year of Toramāṇa calls him, *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Toramāṇa*, while the Kurā inscription refers to him as *Rājādhirāja Mahārāja Toramāṇa Shāhi Jaūvla*. The two records, when read together, mark two distinct phases in his career. The latter unmistakably points to his status in the beginning as a feudatory chief when he was in possession of Afghanistan and Gandhāra or the Punjab whereas the former establishes him as a full-fledged Indian monarch who had conquered Mālwa, Rājasthān, Kāshmir and other territories, besides his earlier acquisitions, and advanced as far as Kauśāmbī, Kāśī and Magadha and played a dominant part in the politics of Northern India by extending his sphere of influence in other parts as well.

Even the show of this so-called feudatory status was not real but pretentious. In fact, he was now an independent king, having

practically no relation with his erstwhile master residing in Bactria. But, he seems to have continued his nominal allegiance to the Ephthalite ruler for some time in order to consolidate his position and territorial exploits in India. Supposing, however, that *Jaūvla* was his feudatory title which he continued to use, there is reason to believe that he no longer held a feudatory status. The continued use of feudatory titles like *Mahākṣatrapa* and *Senāpati* by the Śaka kings of Ujjain and Puṣyamitra Śuṅga²⁶ even after the latter's celebration of the Aśvamedha sacrifice speaks of the conventional camouflaging tactics adopted by the rebel chiefs to dupe their masters as well as the subjects, even when they actually became independent. But unlike the above feudatory titles, *Jaūvla* does not in the least convey any such sense. Even if it be so, this is understandable only in the case of Toramāṇa, but there is no reason why Mihirakula should have continued this humiliating practice²⁷ even when his nominal link with the Bactrian monarch was long snapped with the result that he was regarded as a great Indian monarch who had completely taken to Indian way of life. The inscriptions of Mihirakula found in Uruzgan also bear the titles *Saho Zobol* or *Sāho Jabula* which, as Bivar suggests, was the official title of the dynasty.²⁸ The whole of the great mountainous district of the upper waters of the Helmand and Kandahar (i.e., Arghandeb) rivers was known to the Arabs as Zabulistān, a term of vague application.²⁹ Hamdullah Mustaufi says: "Zabul is a province, both broad and long, which was of old a kingdom".³⁰ Firdausī makes repeated reference to Zabulistān, and since he wrote at Ghazni, close at hand, he must have been well aware of its location. He describes it as grouped with Kābulistān, Bust and Ghazni under the charge of a *Marzbān*.³¹ Whatever the exact boundaries of these regions, there can be little doubt that Mihirakula's Uruzgan inscriptions lie at the heart of Zabulistān. In our opinion, therefore, *Jaūvla* or *Zabol* symbolises

26. Sircar, *op.cit.*, p. 398 fn. 4.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *JRAS*, 1954, p. 115 ff.

29. Le strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 349.

30. Tr. Le Strange, p. 144.

31. *Valāsh* (ed. Mohl.), i. 27.

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his new home in Zabulistan, and *Shāhi* the official title of the dynasty, and not his feudatory title.

Moreover, the use of the title *Jaūvla* in one record and its complete omission in the other is quite significant as it symbolises the two distinct phases in the life of the man who had started as a petty local chief of an independent principality and had eventually made himself master of a vast territory. Thus, he was now not only a king of Zabol, but a prominent monarch of Northern India in his own right and as such no longer posed to appear as the rightful successor of the Kuṣāṇas. This attitude is also reflected in the different types of silver and copper coins issued by Toramāṇa and Mihirakula.³² Some of these coins bear the titles *Shāhi* and *Jaūvla* but there are others which altogether omit them. We, therefore, believe that these titles have actually no relation to his feudatory status: on the other hand, they speak of the stock to which the Hūṇas belonged and of the original home where they first settled after their departure from Persia for India.

Whatever the Hūṇa records may have to say, the contemporary epigraphic records make it abundantly clear that Toramāṇa was a Hūṇa. The Mandsoṛ stone-inscription of Yaśodharman (c. 525-35 A.D.), the victor of Mihirakula, refers to the latter as *Hūṇādhipa*.³³ Moreover, the successors of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula are invariably mentioned as *Hūṇa* in the later epigraphic records such as the Udepur *Praśasti* of the kings of Mālwa,³⁴ the copper-plate inscription of Vākpati Muṇja from Gaonri (Ujjain),³⁵ the Nālandā plate of Dharmapāla,³⁶ the Unā grant of V.S. 956 of the Pratihāras, the Ajmer *Harikelanātaka* inscription of V.S. 1210 of the Cāhamānas, the Atpur inscription of V.S. 1034 of Guhila Allāṭa, the Khairha inscription of V.S. 823 of Kalacuri Karṇa³⁷ and others. The *Harṣacarita*³⁸ of Bāṇa refers to the Hūṇas having been sub-

32. For their coinage, see *JASB*, 1894, p. 185 ff.

33. Sircar, *op.cit.*, pp. 394-95.

34. *EI*, i, pp. 225, 228, 237.

35. *IA*, XXIII, p. 108 ff.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

37. Sircar, *op.cit.*, p. 315 fn. 1.

38. P. 326: "Atha Kadācidrājā Rājyavardhanam Kavacaharam Hūṇān-
hantun Uttarāpatham prāhīṇit'.

dued and conquered by Rājyavardhana in Uttarāpatha or the Punjab. All these evidences are sufficient to prove that Toramāṇa was a Hūṇa and was known as such to the Indian tradition for long. The recent discovery of his two seals in Kauśāmbī should finally set all the controversies at rest. These seals were discovered in the excavations of the monastery at Ghosītārāma, one counter-struck by letters *To Ra Mā Na* and the other with the legend *Hūṇa-rāja* evidently referring to the same king.³⁹ The arrow-heads of type (K) provide another evidence of Hūṇa conquest of Kauśāmbī under king Toramāṇa, sometime during c. 510-515 A.D. Further, in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* he is clearly addressed as *Hakārākhyo mahānṛpataḥ* (or "H-initialled") and is described as coming from the West and as a great king of the Śūdra caste.⁴⁰ There is no doubt that the expression *Hakārākhyah* (or "H—initialled") describing the Śūdra king stands for Toramāṇa, the Hūṇa.

There is yet another controversy regarding his identity. The Ephthalite coins record the name of a king, Rāmanila. His portrait is depicted on the coins facing left, not right, which speaks of his independent status. Ghirshman identifies this king with Toramāṇa but hardly advances any argument in favour of his contention.⁴¹ It is also suggested that probably Rāmanila flourished earlier than Toramāṇa and founded the new kingdom of Zabulistān in c. 455-56 A.D.; when the other Ephthalites were still fighting with the Sassanians and were gradually swarming on the North-Western frontiers of India under the leadership of Hephthal II, and as such the family of Rāmanila might have been different from that of Toramāṇa.⁴² In this connection we have to note that our only source of information is the meagre numismatic evidence which merely gives his name, and nothing more. Further, we have the account of Sung-yun which speaks of the kingdom of Gāndhāra (evidently under the later Kuṣāṇas) as having been destroyed by the Ye-thas or the White Hūṇas and the setting up

39. G. R. Sharma, *The Excavations at Kauśāmbī*, (1957-59), pp. 15-16.

40. P. 57; Jayaswal, *IHI*, p. 64.

41. *Les Chionites Hephthalites*, p. 35.

42. Buddhaprakash, *Kālidāsa aur Hūṇa* (Hindi), p. 66. Also cf. his paper, "Kālidāsa and the Hūṇas" in *JIH*, 1957.

of Lae-lih as their king, about two generations earlier.⁴³ These statements, coming from two independent sources, when pieced together, may tempt one to suggest that the Rāmanila of the coins is probably identical with the Lae-lih of Sung-yun. But, the difficulty is that the numismatic evidence makes it clear that Rāmanila held an independent status and could not have been subordinate to any one as otherwise he could not have issued coins in his own name. The Chinese source, however, definitely indicates that Toramāṇa was a *Tegin* in the beginning and as such his father (if he is to be identified with Lae-lih) could not have been an independent king or chief. Lae-lih is not known to us from any other source except the account of Sung-yun. We, therefore, suggest that Rāmanila was an independent local king of Gandhāra prior to the coming of the Ephthalites who, having established their supremacy, later borrowed the technique of the coinage of the local rulers under Sassanian influence just as Toramāṇa and Mihirakula issued coins in their newly-acquired Indian territories on the pattern of the Gupta coinage. On the strength of these evidences it may further be suggested that Lae-lih was a petty chief or governor appointed by the Ephthalite king of Bactria to rule over the area. That "he was father of Toramāṇa and led the Hūṇas into India and succeeded in occupying Mālwa in c. 500 A.D."⁴⁴ is all the more doubtful as in that case he ought to have been referred to in the inscriptions of Toramāṇa just as the latter is expressly mentioned in the epigraphic record of his son and successor, Mihirakula.⁴⁵ Had he enjoyed independent status there is no reason why we would not have come across either his coins or epigraphic records, though Cunningham suggests that "the Udayāditya coins may have been struck by Lae-lih, the father of Toramāṇa."⁴⁶ But this ascription is merely conjectural for, there is absolutely no reason to suppose that he ever adopted the title of Udayāditya which is purely Indian and all available evidences suggest that it was Toramāṇa who first of all assumed the Indian title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. Cunningham's view may be

43. Beal, *Records*, i, Intro. p. xcix.

44. B. P. Sinha, *DKM*, p. 87.

45. Cf. his Gwalior inscription (*Sircar, op.cit.*, pp. 400-02).

46. *Transactions*, p. 228; *Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 285 ff.

accepted only when we assume that *Lae-lih* is identical with *Toramāṇa* himself. Marquart has also shown that the name *Lae-lih* given to this ruler in Beal's translation is purely apocryphal, based solely on a misinterpretation of the Chinese characters rendering the Turkish title *Tegin*, 'prince'.⁴⁷ Thus, in the absence of any positive historical data, it seems that *Lae-lih* was either an Ephthalite chief in this newly acquired area prior to the rise of *Toramāṇa*, or more probably, he was *Toramāṇa* himself as suggested by Marquart. Moreover, the conquest of *Mālwā* was effected by *Toramāṇa* in c. 500 A.D. as an independent ruler and *Lae-lih* as a predecessor of *Toramāṇa* can on no account be associated with this later phase of Ephthalite achievements. The suggestion of Marquart seems most convincing that the terms *Lae-lih* and *Tegin* have been confused by the translators and these really stand for one person only and this identification almost clears the confusion and quite conforms to the facts of the contemporary history.

Wars and Conquests

Toramāṇa is credited with having fought many battles and won victories first as a *Tegin* and then as a monarch. He established a vast empire and greatly influenced the politics of Northern India through his direct and active participation. He started as a soldier and died as a soldier spending his whole life in bloody warfare and exploits, and at last gave the *Hūṇas* a new home as well as a new stature. He was also a great organiser and administrator. But his cultural achievements are far greater than his political exploits as it was with him that the process of Indianisation of the *Hūṇas* began which was completed with *Mihirakula*, with the result that the *Hūṇas* were no longer considered as foreigners in India but were ultimately absorbed in Hindu society in early mediaeval period.

The conquests of *Toramāṇa* may be placed in two distinct phases: in the first, he consolidated his authority in Kabul, *Gāndhāra* and the North-Western provinces as far as the Punjab and Kashmir⁴⁸ before 496 A.D. which is strongly supported by his *Kurā* inscription in the Salt Range, the *Harṣacarita*, the *Rājata-*

47. *Erānsahr*, p. 211 ff.

48. Sircar, *op. cit.*, No. 35, pp. 326-27.

raṅgiṇī, the *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotana Sūri and the numerous silver and copper coins found in those regions; in the second, he advanced on the Gupta territory after the death of Budhagupta towards the end of the fifth century A.D. (i.e., after 496 A.D.), wrested a good part of the Western portion of the Gupta empire, established his authority in that area and built up a strong principality of the Hūṇas up to Mālwā. It was during this period of his stormy march that the great ancient republican tribes like the Yaudheyas, the Mālavas, the Madras and the Ārjunāyanas inhabiting the Punjab and the adjoining tracts of Rājputāna, so long spared and respected by the great Gupta monarchs, were completely engulfed in the Hūṇa avalanche⁴⁹ and finally wiped off the map of India.

Dashing beyond Toramāṇa took Magadha, Banaras and Kauśāmbī in the course of a lightning march causing terrible depredations. Thus, within twelve years of their existence in India proper, the Hūṇas under Toramāṇa established their main centres of power at Pavvaiyā on the Chenāb, Sākala (modern Sialkot), Eraṇ (in Madhya-Pradeśa), Mālwā (Central India), Magadha, Kāśī and Kauśāmbī. It was doubtless a wonderful feat for any conqueror to have accomplished within so short a period.

But here again we are confronted with another important problem: when did the Hūṇa conquest in the interior of India begin? A critical perusal of the available sources bearing on the conquests of Toramāṇa would suggest that the Hūṇas or the Ephthalites entered India proper between c. 500 and 510 A.D., and a comparative study of the three inscriptions from Eraṇ—Eraṇ stone-pillar inscription of Budhagupta (A.D. 484), Eraṇ stone-pillar inscription of the time of Bhānugupta (A.D. 510) and Eraṇ stone-boar inscription of Toramāṇa (c. 500-510 A.D.)—definitely points to the beginning of Toramāṇa's rule in 500 A.D. or immediately after it, although he may have succeeded to the leadership of the Hūṇas about A.D. 470 or perhaps even earlier as a *Tegin* and he appears to have had a long reign-period. The Eraṇ inscription of Budhagupta of 484 A.D. says that the region lying between the Yamunā and Narmadā was governed by one Mahārāja Suras-

⁴⁹. V.G.A., pp. 35-36.

micandra while one Mātrviṣṇu was *Viṣayapati* of the division of Airikiṇa or Eraṇ. The inscription of Bhānugupta (A.D. 510) from the same place informs us that he went there with the purpose of conquest and his general, Goparāja, fell in battle there and his wife committed *satī*.⁵⁰ The inscription of Toramāṇa dated in the first year of his reign speaks of one Dhanyaviṣṇu, the brother of Mātrviṣṇu, who had acknowledged the supremacy of the Ephthalite ruler.⁵¹ These epigraphs show that the *Viṣaya* of Airikiṇa (Eraṇ) passed from the Guptas to the Ephthalites, for Dhanyaviṣṇu transferred his loyalty to Toramāṇa who has been glorified as a great monarch (*mahārājādhirāja*) who "caused the mountains to tremble with the blows of his hard snout."⁵² As we know, Budhagupta died after 496 A.D. during whose time Eraṇ was for all purposes an integral part of the Gupta empire. The tragedy overtook the empire only after his exit from the political scene which paved the way for the realisation of the long cherished dreams of Toramāṇa's conquest and aggrandisement. We do not know when Dhanyaviṣṇu came to succeed his brother, but there seems little doubt that the event had occurred sometime during Budhagupta's reign (after 484 A.D.). Following the examples of other ambitious local chiefs, Dhanyaviṣṇu also asserted his independence after Budhagupta but he was not destined to live long in peace. The long poised armies of Toramāṇa rushed unchallenged and unobstructed and soon overran the whole tract including Eraṇ which lay on their advancing route. The episode must have taken place in c. 500-502 A.D. when Dhanyaviṣṇu, considering discretion to be the better part of valour, submitted to the new lord instead of taking the risk of fighting the mighty foe and losing his newly-won independence—a fact which gets confirmation from the Eraṇ inscription of Toramāṇa himself.

The Eraṇ inscription of Bhānugupta says that he fought against Toramāṇa after a decade of Budhagupta's reign, i.e., in 510 A.D. along with the brave Goparāja who fell in the battle. The record is vague about the fight with the Hūṇas and the ultimate victory

50. Sircar, *op.cit.*, pp. 335-36, verses 3-4.

51. *Ibid.*, No. 55, pp. 396-97.

52. *Ibid.*, No. 55, verse 1.

thereof. It does not even mention the enemy by name and is silent on the outcome of the battle itself. In other words, it simply refers to the battle, and nothing more.⁵³ It is presumed, and rightly so, that the enemy must have been the Hūṇas who had by this time established themselves as masters of those regions as the very tone of the record suggests. In fact, he does not seem to have advanced to check the thrust of the enemy: on the other hand, he made a bold attempt at routing the enemy from those conquered areas but failed in his mission. Had it been the other way about, the epigraph must have recorded this great victory over a great enemy in no uncertain terms. The lack of positive expression in the record leaves us in no doubt that the disintegration of the empire had gone too far to be checked and the goddess of fortune had deserted the Guptas for good. In view of this, the suggestions that "the Ephthalite conquest of Eran and the interior of India began in c. 510 A.D.; and the inscription of that year shows that Bhānugupta came to check the inroad but failed" and that their "occupation of India came to an end in 510 A.D. by the conquest of Bhānugupta"⁵⁴ seem quite erroneous, and the suggestion of Chavannes, on the authority of the Chinese sources, that "no part of India proper"⁵⁵ was included within the Ephthalite empire as late as 500 A.D., though partly untenable, seems, however, nearer the truth.

While the Eran inscription of Toramāṇa mentions his first regnal year, two of his British Museum silver coins (Fantail Peacock hemidrachm type) are dated in the year 52.⁵⁶ To this Hoey's coins add two more dates, 54 and 58.⁵⁷ The former suggests the beginning of his rule in India proper whereas the latter possibly mark the reckoning of some white Hūṇa era beginning in 448 A.D. or near about. A critical study of the two British Museum coins and those of Hoey throws interesting light on this problem. The legend on the coin dated 58 is damaged and every letter of the king's name cannot be read with certainty. But, there is no doubt

53. *Ibid.*, No. 38, verses 2-4.

54. S. Chattopadhyaya, *EHNI*, p. 193.

55. *Documents sur les Toukine Occidentaux*, pp. 224-25.

56. *JASB*, 1894, p. 194 ff.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

that the name begins with ś and Smith asserts that the reading is *Śrī Śarvva-varma deva jayati*. Śarvavarman was the son and successor of Īśānavarman Maukhari. But the era in which all these coins are dated is yet undetermined and problematical. Fleet takes the 52 date to be a regnal year and suggests that "reckoning back from 515 A.D., which is very closely the latest terminal date that can be applied, it follows that the commencement of his reign, at his own capital in the Punjab, is to be placed approximately in A.D. 460."⁵⁸

This interpretation of Fleet is not at all satisfactory and is rendered absolutely impossible by the discovery of coins of other kings dated evidently in the same era, and must for that, and for other good reasons, be rejected.⁵⁹ And, Cunningham's suggestion that the era used is Śaka, with hundreds omitted, is, for several reasons, equally untenable.⁶⁰ The best solution of this problem seems to be that the date is probably expressed in special White Hūṇa era commencing from c. 448 A.D., though Cunningham takes it to be A.D. 456-57, "the only remarkable date in the history of the White Huns" when "the final expulsion of the Sassanians from the countries to the north of the Oxus by Chu-Khan" was accomplished. If the year 52 is reckoned from the point, we get A.D. 508 or 509 for the establishment of Toramāṇa's rule in Mālwa.⁶¹

It is thus clear that the date on the coins of Toramāṇa is in a special White Hūṇa era, otherwise, unknown to us. M. Drouin dates this Hūṇa era from A.D. 448⁶² which fixes with tolerable precision the limiting dates for Toramāṇa. The date, when moved back, gives A.D. 502 (in the case of year 54) and A.D. 500 (in the case of year 52) which very nearly coincide with his first regnal year in India proper, as used in his Eraṇ record. It may, therefore, be suggested that while the regnal year in his only epigraph found in the interior of India indicates the beginning of his reign in India proper, the date on his coins is to be reckoned in

58. *IA*, xviii, (1889), p. 529.

59. *JASB*, 1894, p. 194.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

61. Quoted, *Ibid.*, p. 195. M. Drouin also dates the Hūṇa era from A.D. 448 (cf. his papers in *Journal Asiatique*, 1890 & 1893).

62. *Ibid.*, *IA*, xlv, p. 287.

the Hūṇa era started earlier by his predecessors in Gāndhāra and Zabulistān. Later the practice of dating in the Hūṇa era was substituted in India by the use of regnal year as is evidenced by his own inscription as well as the Gwalior inscription of his son and successor, Mihirakula. Moreover, a close study of these different dates reveals that there was practically no difference in calculation whatever between the system of dating from the Hūṇa era and that of the regnal year. This further shows that while the Hūṇa era replaced the Śaka era in those regions, it was not at all popular with the people of his newly-acquired kingdom in India, and he was probably obliged to adopt the age-old Indian system of dating in the regnal year, instead of imposing his own era. Or, it may be that with the conquest of the new kingdom in India, he had no more any charm for an era which he used as a subordinate chief and he parted with even that semblance. In view of this, the date of his Kurā inscription must be placed earlier, probably c. 497-98 A.D. And the period, 500-512 A.D., was that of the consolidation of the power and prestige of the Hūṇas under Toramāṇa in the interior of India.

Of the conquests of Toramāṇa in India, that of Eraṇ was effected soon after the death of Budhagupta which is clear from the study of the two inscriptions at Eraṇ along with the third inscription of Bhānugupta, noted above, in c. 500 A.D., and not in 510 A.D. The change of loyalty on the part of Dhanyaviṣṇu, soon after the death of his brother, further confirms this conclusion, as otherwise the episode would have found a definite mention in the Gupta records. Bhānugupta's struggle just preserves the memory of a struggle for supremacy between the Guptas and the Hūṇas for a territory which was lost to the Hūṇas much earlier than the actual occurrence of this episode which finally sealed the fate of the Guptas in that area for about a quarter of a century.⁶³

The battle for the supremacy of Mālwā was a turning-point in the history of the Hūṇas in India for, it was on the battle-field of Eraṇ that the conquering Hūṇas clashed, for the first time, with the resisting forces of the erstwhile victor, the Guptas, who

63. For other suggestions somewhat contradictory in nature see R. C. Majumdar, *VGA*, pp. 191-92.

were now fighting with their back to the wall. They had not yet forgotten their humiliating defeat at the hands of Skandagupta who had struck such a terror into their hearts that they dared not cross the frontiers of the Gupta territory for long. Even after the passing away of Skandagupta, the past military glory of the imperial forces served as a deterrent, with the result that the foreign forces shuddered at the very prospect of meeting them in an open armed encounter. But, the death of Budhagupta had turned the scale and the subdued Hūṇas once again issued forth from their hide-outs to measure swords with the disintegrating imperial armies to settle their old accounts once for all, under the leadership of their brave general, Toramāṇa. The mantle of Skandagupta's leadership had now fallen on the weak shoulders of Bhānugupta who was no match for the Hūṇa leader. The result was tragic. The weak Gupta resistance broke to pieces under the terrific pressure of the violent Hūṇas thoroughly exposing their weakness as a fighting nation. The man-eater had now tasted the human blood and it was now impossible to curb his lust for more blood. The Hūṇas now became all the more ferocious because they no longer entertained any illusion about the so-called invincibility of the imperial arms. The victory as such was fraught with dangerous consequences for the tottering empire as it was from this strategic base in Mālṡā that Toramāṇa could confidently probe the defences of the Gupta empire towards Saurāṣṭra in the West and the Eastern provinces in the North-East. Thus, the battle of Eraṇ sounded the death-knell of the Gupta empire and marked the beginnings of the great departure of the Guptas from the political scene. All that was good, all that progress which had been achieved since the establishment of the dynasty, all that gave life to the mechanism of the State, bade good-bye to the land, and the great Guptas gradually disappeared from the country by the end of the sixth century A.D. unwept and unsung.

After the successful conclusion of the Eraṇ episode, the conquering Hūṇas under Toramāṇa ultimately burst out of Eastern Mālṡā and swooped down upon the very heart of the Gupta empire. The Eastern countries were overrun and the city of the Gaudas was occupied. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (8th century A.D.) gives a graphic account of this phase of Toramāṇa's conquest. It says that after Bhānugupta's defeat and discomfiture, Toramāṇa

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led the Hūṇas against Magadha and obliged Bālāditya Narasiṃha-gupta, the reigning Gupta monarch to retire to Bengal.⁶⁴ This work constitutes our only source of information which is neither corroborated nor supplemented by any literary or archaeological evidence. No inscriptions or coins of Toramāṇa or of his son Mihirakula have been discovered in this part of the country nor have we any relative evidence to rely upon. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*-story was told and re-told by scholars without any corroboration whatever. But, in recent times, two seals of Toramāṇa (bearing the legends *Toramāṇa* and *Hūṇarāja*) have been discovered by G. R. Sharma⁶⁵ during the Kauśāmbī excavations which certainly confirm the conquering march of Toramāṇa up to Kauśāmbī and fully support the story as narrated in this work. The discovery of certain deadly weapons in the shape of barbed arrow-heads further shows that Toramāṇa waged numerous wars and sacked and burned several cities causing indiscriminate pillage and unprecedented devastations. Their distinctive nature, their close analogy with those from Taxila and their sudden appearance at Kauśāmbī clearly indicate that they were introduced here by the invaders from the North-Western regions.⁶⁶ From the excavations it is further clear that Kauśāmbī could never fully recover from the terrible Hūṇa depredations.

From the narrative of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* it seems that Toramāṇa marched upon Kauśāmbī and sacked the prosperous city, although his Kauśāmbī expedition does not find explicit mention in the Tāntric text. We are simply told that after "having safely entrenched his authority behind the legitimacy of Prakaṭā-ditya (at Pāṭaliputra) Toramāṇa returned Westward to look after the affairs of the State. But as he cooled his heels at Kāśī, he fell ill unexpectedly and expired. In his last moment he summoned his son Mihirakula to his bedside and appointed him as his successor."⁶⁷ This shows that he advanced from West towards East, overran the territories on the way, attacked Pāṭaliputra, conquered Kāśī, sacked Kauśāmbī and having achieved his mission turned

64. Edited in K. P. Jayaswal's *IHI*, p. 57.

65. *The Excavations at Kauśāmbī*, pp. 15-16; *Indian Archaeology*, 1954-55, p. 18.

66. G. R. Sharma, *op.cit.*, pp. 15-16, 37, 46.

67. *IHI*, p. 51.

again towards the West to stabilise the affairs of his conquered territories.

The sack of Kauśāmbī was preceded by his conquest of Kāśī and adjoining territories. It is true that we have no direct and positive evidence bearing on this phase of the struggle for power in North-Eastern India, but the Tāntric work makes it clear that he overran Magadha also which finds a mention in Śyāmalika's *Pādatādikam*,⁶⁸ a Sanskrit work composed during the Gupta period, which gives some very interesting information about the activities of the Hūṇas in Pāṭaliputra and Ujjayinī. During this time Magadha was being ruled over by Narasimhagupta Bālāditya whose identity has been disputed by several scholars on the basis of Yuan Chwang's account which preserves a long story about Mihirakula, the son of Toramāṇa, who was later captured and imprisoned by one Bālāditya.⁶⁹

Raychaudhuri suggests that the conqueror of Mihirakula was not the son of Purugupta but an altogether different individual.⁷⁰ Others suggest that this Bālāditya is to be identified with Bhānugupta who put up strong resistance against the forces of Toramāṇa.⁷¹ Recently it has been suggested that this Bālāditya is to be identified with Narasimhagupta Bālāditya, the son of Purugupta, who seized the Gupta throne after a temporary eclipse, following his defeat by the Hūṇa conqueror. This Bālāditya is also credited with many seals and coins and therefore, it is absurd to postulate the existence of another imperial Gupta ruler with the title 'Bālāditya'.⁷² Other considerations apart, we feel that a close perusal of Yuan Chwang's account itself makes it absolutely clear that the Bālāditya who was defeated by Toramāṇa, later on defeated and imprisoned his son and successor, Mihirakula. Yuan Chwang says that Bālāditya-rāja "refused to pay tribute" to Mihirakula, whereupon the latter pounced upon him furiously but was defeated and imprisoned and was obliged to remark that "the subject and the master have changed places." This remark gives

68. *Caturbhāṇī* (edited Moticandra and V. S. Agrawal), p. 15.

69. Beal, *Records*, i, pp. 167-69; Watters, i, pp. 288-89.

70. *PHAI*, p. 497 fn. 1-5.

71. Dandekar, *op.cit.*, pp. 153-54; Buddhaprakash, *ABORI*, 1945-46, pp. 134-36.

72. *DKM.*, pp. 80-92, fn. 8.

us a definite clue to the identification of this Bālāditya-rāja and leaves no doubt that the same person who was his vassal, was now by turn of events his victor and master. Had it been some other Bālāditya, this remark would never have come from Mihirakula who was mortally distressed at his tragic discomfiture by one who was only the other day his subordinate and tributary. Moreover, in view of the great significance of this episode, we cannot just postulate the existence of a 'Bālāditya' who finds no place in the imperial Gupta lineage, is almost an obscure figure and has no seals or epigraphs or coins to his credit. The identification with Bhānugupta is absurd, for we do not know what happened to him after his defeat in the battle of Eraṇ. Whatever the fact, he was certainly not holding the throne of Magadha during this period. The Bālāditya of Yuan Chwang was no other than Narasimhagupta Bālāditya who played both the vanquished and victor during this critical phase of struggle with Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, the father and the son.

Coming to the conquest of Magadha, we find that it was comparatively an easy affair and Toramāṇa had a smooth run. Narasimhagupta no doubt offered resistance but it was too feeble to arrest his onward march. He was defeated and forced to accept his vassalage. The episode took place only a few years after the conquest of Mālwa, probably in c. 511-12 A.D. Besides arms, Toramāṇa seems to have also resorted to the master stroke of divide-and-rule policy. The internal dissensions in the royal family and rebellious tendencies of the feudatories were naturally encouraged and exploited by him to facilitate his smooth run and consolidate his power and influence in this newly conquered territory. We have an interesting passage in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* which says that one "Pakārākhyā or Prakārākhyā, who was of refractory nature and whose conduct was throughout rebellious, had been imprisoned by Goparāja (probably the Generalissimo of the empire who had fought against Toramāṇa and was subsequently killed in the battle), and for seventeen years continuously languished behind prison-bars. Now, in the hurly-burly of the Hūṇa invasion he was somehow released at Bhagavatapura and in the guise of a trader, he entered Tirtha with a merchant in the dead of night. As the next day dawned, he was apprehended and Toramāṇa, with great perspicacity, returned

him to Nandapura (Pāṭaliputra) and enthroned him as king of Magadha at Kāśī.⁷³

The full name of the Gupta prince 'Pra' of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, described as son of Bhakārākhyā (probably to be identified with Narasimhagupta), has been rightly restored by Jayaswal as Prakaṭāditya who, when a boy, was imprisoned by king Gopa, possibly with the connivance of Narasimhagupta himself or his chief queen, Sumitrādevī. We have also an inscription of Prakaṭāditya known as the Sāranāth inscription,⁷⁴ which throws some light on his lineage. He is said to have belonged to a family in which nṛpati (king) Bālāditya was born and Prakaṭāditya himself was son of another Bālāditya by his wife Dhavalā. Thus, it may be suggested that Prakaṭāditya (which seems to be an *āditya* title assumed by him as in the case of other Gupta rulers, e.g., Kramāditya, Vikramāditya, Mahendrāditya, Prakāśāditya, Bālāditya etc.), was another son of Narasimhagupta Bālāditya by his queen Dhavalā and was reduced to hard straits because of the intrigues of the chief queen who wanted to secure the interests of her own son for succession to the Gupta throne, though it is impossible to be positive about one or the other possibilities in the present state of our knowledge. But, there is no doubt that Toramāṇa had a strong hand in encouraging the different scions of the imperial family to embark on a career of adventure and carve out independent principalities.

It was in pursuance of this policy that Toramāṇa encouraged Vainyagupta against Narasimhagupta to become the ruler of the Eastern provinces of the Gupta empire (Gauḍa) and further installed Prakaṭāditya as king of Magadha at Kāśī while encouraging Kṛṣṇagupta or his successor to gain some influence in Magadha proper, probably to offset the rebellious activities of Narasimhagupta who, in spite of his defeat, had not yet reconciled and continued his hostility towards his conqueror. Toramāṇa was too quick to grasp the deteriorating situation which, if allowed to develop further, would have dangerously affected his authority and prestige in Magadha. He was, therefore, determined to wreak vengeance on his Magadhan vassal by completely shattering his

73. *IHI*, p. 51.

74. *CII*, iii, No. 79, p. 284.

power and status and compelling him to go into wilderness. As a result of this new move on his part, Narasimhagupta had to flee from Magadha and live in exile for some years, till the death of Toramāṇa.

The distribution of political patronage by Toramāṇa unmistakably points to his great influence in practically the whole of North-Eastern India the kings of which now sought his help and patronage to stabilise their⁷⁵ status in their newly acquired principalities. The discomfiture of the Gupta monarch had tremendously augmented his authority and made him the real arbiter of the destiny of many a king in this part of the country. It was probably a part of this diplomacy that he accepted Harivarman or Harigupta, a scion of the Gupta dynasty, turned a Jaina monk, as his preceptor in order to win over the sympathy of the followers of this sect in Magadha as we learn from the *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotana Sūri (A.D. 777-78). He showed toleration towards other religious sects obviously for political expediency and increased his influence and popularity with the general mass who accepted him as their master and benefactor and turned away from their erstwhile masters whose mutual feuds and bickerings had shaken their confidence and produced demoralising effect throughout the empire.

The above survey shows that Toramāṇa was a great conqueror, greater than many of his predecessors in many respects. He had conquered practically the whole of Northern India and a good portion of Eastern India and made it possible for the Hūṇas to dominate the political scene for about a quarter of a century. His invasion and subsequent conquest of Magadha was an event of profound importance for the whole of Northern India which changed the course of contemporary history and let loose the forces of disintegration, dealing a fatal blow to the prestige of the Gupta empire by directly as well as indirectly encouraging centrifugal tendencies all around to assert themselves with success. Even the Maitrakas of Valabhī after Droṇa Siṃha who had been loyal to the Gupta rulers all through these years of stress and strain, assumed more high sounding titles like *Mahāsāmanta*, *Mahāprati-*

75. The Sāranātha inscription informs us that besides Magadha, Kāśī and Madhyadeśa also were under him and he was crowned at Kāśī.

hāra, *Mahādaṇḍa-nāyaka* and *Mahākartakṛtika*⁷⁶ suggesting definite improvement in their status and the further loosening of the tie with the imperial dynasty.

But, unfortunately for the Hūṇas Toramāṇa could not survive long after his victorious march to Gauḍa and Magadha. He died immediately after this event. From the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* we learn that the powerful Śūdra king, Toramāṇa, after the installation of Prakatāditya in Kāśī, fell ill suddenly, summoned his son, Graha (Mihirakula) to his bedside and crowned him as his successor⁷⁷ and expired in c. 513-14 A.D.

A great conqueror, Toramāṇa was undisputedly a very wise ruler and shrewd statesman who had revived the lost fortune of the Hūṇas, built up a vast empire from Central Asia to Pāṭaliputra through his prowess, foresight, cool-mindedness, diplomacy and conciliatory attitude. He made no change in the existing administrative pattern and disturbed none unnecessarily. He enticed officers like Dhanyaviṣṇu and left in tact not only the old system of provincial administration but also the ancient official families and feudal hierarchy. This foresight on his part naturally facilitated his smooth run in his newly conquered territories without causing bitterness among the ruling families of the day. His conquest of a considerable portion of Northern India within such a short time was rather phenomenal, having few parallels in history. It was a wonderful feat which even Aśoka and Samudragupta would have just envied. He remained tolerant in religious and administrative affairs and stabilised his administration, issued coins and accelerated the pace of the disintegration of the Gupta empire. All that was now left of the empire was a carcass which was soon devoured by political vultures who are always on the look-out for such opportunities. Toramāṇa retired but the glory of the Guptas never returned, and the following century saw their final exit from the stage of history. The political unity of the country was shattered beyond repair and from 550 A.D. onward Indian history loses a common string of national and common life. True, the Hūṇas also quitted the political scene by this time, but the old life refused to return.

76. JBBRAS (NS.), i, p. 16; IHQ, iv, p. 462.

77. IHI, pp. 64-65.

The Ananda Math and Phadke

BY

DR. BIMANBEHARI MAJUMDAR

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Ananda Math* is as much an epoch-making work as Rousseau's *Social Contract* and Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*. "The Secret Societies", writes Lord Ronaldshay, "modelled themselves closely upon the society of the children of Ananda Math. 'Bande Mataram'! the battle cry of the *children*, became the war cry not only of the revolutionary societies, but of the whole of nationalist Bengal."¹ Romesh Chandra Dutt states that the *Ananda Math* "was published in 1882, about the time of the agitation arising out of the Ilbert Bill."² The book, however, began to appear in the famous Bengali monthly journal, the *Bangadarsana*, from Chaitra 1287 B.S. corresponding to April, 1881, and its last chapter was printed in May, 1882 in that journal. It was not written in the heat of the controversy of the Ilbert Bill. Akshoy Chandra Sarkar, a close associate of Bankim Chandra records that while the author was posted as Deputy Magistrate at Hooghly he allowed Sarkar to read the manuscript of the novel describing the last battle between the Santānas or the dedicated children of the Motherland and the forces of the Government. The *Calcutta Gazette* states that Bankim Chandra was transferred from Hooghly to Howrah and joined the post at the latter place on February 14, 1881. The *Ananda Math*, therefore, was practically completed in 1880 before his transfer to Howrah and not just begun, as has been imagined by the editors of the Centenary edition, published by the *Bangiya Sahitya Parisat*. The same writer informs that Bankim admitted to him that he had taken the theme from the Sannyasi Insurrection, but had wilfully changed the place of its occurrence to Birbhum and the banks of the river Ajoy.³ No one

1. Ronaldshay—*The Heart of Aryavarta*, p. 114.

2. Encyclopaedia Britannica, article on Bankim Chandra Chatterjee.

3. *Bangadarsana*, (new series) Bhadra, 1319, i.e., August-September, 1912.

has as yet cared to enquire why he shifted the scene from North Bengal and Bihar to West Bengal. There must have been weighty reasons for this change. A detailed comparison of the original reading of the novel as published in the *Bangadarsana* with that of the first edition and the fifth edition, 1892, the last during the author's lifetime, reveals the secret of this as well as of many other significant changes. The editors of the Centenary edition have taken infinite pains in comparing the variations in readings of the first three editions, which show little change, with the fifth edition, but they have not compared the version published in the *Bangadarsana* with that of subsequent editions. This, however, is highly important, especially in view of the fact that the date of composition of the book is strikingly contiguous to the date of conviction of Wasudeo Balwant Phadke (1845-1883), who has been described as the father of militant nationalism by an eminent historian.⁴

Phadke was arrested in the Nizam's territory on July 2, 1879 by Major Daniel and Syed Abdul Hak, Police Commissioner of Hyderabad, on the charge of raising an army of 200 men for looting the Khed Treasury. The looting was designed with a view to equipping himself with men to raise an army for "destroying the English". At the time of the arrest he was dressed as a Sannyasi and was known as a "Kashikar Buwa", a hermit of Benares. The Legal Remembrancer advised the Government of Bombay to prosecute him for "exciting feelings of dissatisfaction to the Government", and for the "collection of men, arms, ammunition or otherwise preparing to wage war with the intention of either waging or being prepared to wage war against the Queen". He also wrote that charges could be framed against Phadke for individual robberies committed by him, but he could not be punished with death because no death occurred at any of the dacoities. He further opined that Phadke could not be charged with "attempt to wage war against the Queen" under Section 121, as "no avert act of any kind was ever committed against the Government." The common people were sympathetic towards him. Very few persons appeared before the court to give evidence against him.

4. Dr. R. C. Majumdar—*British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, Part I, p. 913.

But the Autobiography he had written between the 19th and 26th April, 1879 and his Diary from February 15 to the 27th May, 1879 fell into the hands of the Police and furnished the clearest proof of his intention of freeing India from the British Government. The Diary was published in the *Bombay Gazette* on November 1, 1879. Bankim Chandra was a keen student of contemporary affairs and it is not unlikely that he came across this Diary, which gives an insight into the high patriotic character of Phadke. In any case, Phadke's case created a great sensation at that time and the newspapers published a vivid account of his reception at the Poona railway station at the time of his transfer from the Yerwada prison to the Thana jail. On the 23rd of November, 1879 the *Deccan Star* wrote that in the eyes of his countrymen Phadke did not commit any wrong and that all true Englishmen must sympathise with him. It added: "This is evident from the fact that an English lady thought proper to present Wasudev with a nosegay at the railway station when he was carried away from Poona." The editor compared Phadke's conduct with that of Dean Tucker, who wrote a pamphlet advocating the separation of the American colonies from England and stating that such a measure would be a clear gain to the latter. In conclusion it was said: "Wasudev deserves the highest praise not only from all natives, but even from Englishmen who wish for the prosperity of Her Majesty's Eastern Empire. By sacrificing himself he has averted a danger which sooner or later must follow intolerable oppression. We consider him as the harbinger of a bright future for India."⁵ The *Indu Prakash* wrote on November 24, 1879, that when Wasudev was carried from the court house after his conviction, some people in the crowd which had assembled to witness his trial shouted out 'success to Wasudev'. This paper used to be quoted in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. There is no direct evidence to show that Bankim Chandra was aware of the life and writings of Phadke. But there is strong circumstantial evidence to show that he had the knowledge of the fruitless attempt of Phadke to liberate India and that the unsuccessful attempt of the Santānas of the *Ananda Math* bears to a certain extent the impress of this event.

5. Quoted from the Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, collected from Bombay Government Records I, p. 127-28.

The question can be discussed from the standpoint of the positive factors and that of negative evidence. The latter implies that there exists no proof to show that the leaders of the Sannyasi Insurrection had even the remotest idea of patriotism or nationalism and as such they could not have supplied the model to Bankim. This side of the problem will be discussed fully later on. On the positive side there are five points to consider. The first and the most important point is that of date. Phadke was transported for life in November 1879,⁶ and we have already adduced proof to show that Bankim completed writing his *Ananda Math* in 1880. Secondly, the immediate cause which drove Phadke to take the vow of 'destroying the English', was the terrible famine of 1876-77 which took place in Western India and caused unbearable sufferings to the people. The spectacle of their sad plight confirmed Wasudev in his belief that all that evil was a direct consequence of a foreign rule; and he decided to end that rule as quickly as possible. The background of Bankim's *Ananda Math* is the devastating famine of 1768-69. Thirdly, Phadke went about preaching against the British domination in the garb of a Sannyasi. He writes in his Autobiography: 'Having hung the mendicant's bag over my shoulder and allowed my hair to grow long I went to Nasik, Nagar, Khandesh, Berar, Nagpur, Indore, Oojein, Kolhapur, Tasgaon, Miraj, Sangli, Baroda, etc., and strove hard.'⁷ He was intensely religious. He spent much of his time in prayers. Having failed to collect an adequate number of men, he determined like Bhavananda and Jivananda of the *Ananda Math* to sacrifice his life. Going to the altar of Parvati at Sri Shaila in the Karnul District, Phadke decided to put an end to his life and wrote: "Finding there is no success to be obtained in this world, I having gone to the world above should plead on behalf of the people of India." On the 20th April, 1879, he wrote in his Autobiography: "I have only seven days to live, so I think; therefore, I bow before the feet of all you, my brethren, inhabitants of India, and give up my life for you and

6. *Ibid.*, p. 102, giving the account of the Judicial proceedings from the note of J. R. Naylor, the Legal Remembrancer, dated September 27, 1879 and p. 77, letter dated December 16, 1879 stating that the High Court rejected the appeal of Phadke. The editor of the volume is evidently mistaken when he writes in p. 74 that Phadke was sentenced in Nov. 1880.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

will remain pleading for you in the just Court of God.... I pray to God that He may take my life as a sacrifice for your welfare, and of you all I take farewell." The Santānas of the *Ananda Math* bear a much closer resemblance to Phadke than the Sannyasis of the Insurrection who went about naked, were mostly illiterate and caused nothing but havoc and depredation in the areas through which they passed in large bands of several thousands.

Fourthly, these Sannyasis are not known to have made any attempt to loot the treasury, whereas Phadke writes: "If I had assembled 200 men I would have looted the Khed Treasury and got much money, as at this time the revenue was being collected, and had I got more money I could have got the assistance of 500 horses". Bankim describes the looting of the Government revenue in Chapter VIII of the first part of his book. The *Ananda Math* depicts the fulfilment of an unrealised desire of Phadke. Fifthly, the novel relates in Chapter XVIII how the Santānas broke open the prison, killed the guards and released the prisoners. We do not find any such incident in the history of the "Sannyasi and Fakir Raiders in Bengal" compiled from official records by Jamini Mohan Ghosh. Phadke, on the other hand, discloses his plan of action in the following words: "Having obtained Rs. 5,000 from a Sawkar I proposed to send to all sides three or four men a month in advance that small gangs might be raised by them from which great fear would come to the English. The mails would be stopped, and the railway and telegraph interrupted, so that no information could go from one place to another. Then the jails would be opened and all the long-sentenced prisoners would join me because if the English Government remained they would not get off. If I obtained 200 men, even should I not be able to loot the treasury I should carry out my intention of releasing criminals." Here too, Bankim Chandra appears to have satisfied the desire of Phadke in fiction, if not in fact. It may be mentioned in this connection that M. N. Roy relates in his *Memoirs* how the Revolutionaries during the First World War made an attempt to attack the Andaman Islands and release the political prisoners there. He writes: "I made yet another attempt to bring help overseas from Indonesia. The plan was to use the German ships interned in a port at the northern tip of Sumatra, to storm the Andaman Islands and free and arm the prisoners there, and land the army of liberation on the Orissa

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coast."⁸ It may not be wholly illogical to come to the conclusion that Phadke's plan of action inspired Bankim Chandra to describe some of the incidents in the *Ananda Math* in the way he has done and this again spurred on the militant nationalists to conceive heroic, though fantastic, plans for driving out the English.

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee served the Government in the capacity of a Deputy Magistrate continuously for a period of more than 32 years, from 1858 to 1891.⁹ He had to be extremely careful in his writings, especially in view of the fact that the Press had been effectively gagged by Lord Lytton. Sirish Chandra Majumdar, an intimate friend of Rabindranath, came in close contact with Bankim Chandra. He writes that Bankim published the first edition of the *Ananda Math* after a good deal of deliberation. As has been pointed out before, the last instalment of the book was published in the *Bangadarsana* in May, 1882. The first edition of the book must have been published a little earlier, because we find that the *Liberal* dated April 8, 1882, published a review which was nothing but an attempt to convince the English people that the book was entirely loyal in tone. Bankim took care to quote it *in extenso* in his Preface to the second edition. The major portion of the so-called review consists of the translation of the Apologia Bankim wrote in the last chapter of his book. The importance of this review, the earliest to be published, justifies its quotation in full. It ran as follows: "The leading idea of the plot is this—should the national mind feel justified in harbouring violent thoughts against the British Government? Or to present the question in another form, is the establishment of English supremacy providential in any sense? Or to put it in a still more final and conclusive form, with what purpose and with what immediate end in view did Providence send the British to this country? The immediate object is thus briefly described in the Preface—to put an end to Moslem tyranny and anarchy in Bengal,¹⁰ and the mission is thus strikingly pictured in the last chapter: "The Physician said,

8. M. N. Roy—*Memoirs* (1964), p. 4.

9. Lord Ronaldshay is evidently under-estimating this fact when he writes: "for some time he was in Government service". *Op.Cit.*, p. 106.

10. The Preface to the First edition did not contain any reference to the Moslem tyranny. It, however, stated that revolutions are generally processes of self-torture and rebels are suicides and that the English have saved Bengal from anarchy. "These truths are elucidated in this work".

Satyanand, be not crest-fallen. Whatever is, is for the best. It is so written that the English should first rule over the country before there could be a revival of the Aryan faith. Harken unto the Counsels of Providence. The faith of Aryas consisteth not in the worship of three hundred and thirty millions of gods and goddesses; as a matter of fact that is a popular degradation of religion—that which has brought about the death of the true Arya faith, the so-called Hinduism of the Mlechhas. True Hinduism is grounded on knowledge, and not on works. Knowledge is of two kinds—external and internal. The internal knowledge constitutes the chief part of Hinduism. But internal knowledge cannot grow unless there is a development of the external knowledge. The spiritual cannot be known unless you know the material. External knowledge has for a long time disappeared from the country, and with it has vanished the Arya faith. To bring about a revival we should first of all disseminate physical or external knowledge. Now there is none to teach that; we ourselves cannot teach it. We must needs get it from other countries. The English are profound masters of physical knowledge, and they are apt teachers too. Let us then make them kings. English education will give our men a knowledge of physical science, and this will enable them to grapple with the problems of their inner nature. Thus the chief obstacle to the dissemination of Arya faith will be removed, and true religion will sparkle life spontaneously and of its own accord. The British Government shall remain indestructible so long as the Hindus do not once more become great in knowledge, virtue and power. Hence, O wise man, refrain from fighting and follow me!’” This passage embodies the most recent and the most enlightened views of the educated Hindus, and happening, as it does, in a novel powerfully conceived and wisely executed, it will influence the whole race for good. The author’s dictum we heartily accept as it is one which already forms the creed of English education. We may state it in this form: India is bound to accept the scientific method of the west and apply it to the elucidation of all truth. This idea beautifully expressed, forms a silver thread as it were, and runs through the tissue of the whole work.”

Nobody will question the Reviewer’s conclusion regarding the acceptance of the scientific method of the west. He, however, did little else than rendering into English the Preface and the conclusion, both of which seem to have been written as a coating to

hide the real intention of the author. To make the book still more acceptable to the British authorities he added in the second edition another sentence after the line predicting the indestructibility of the British rule as follows: "Subjects will be happy under the English rule—they will be able to practise religion without any obstacle." This also has been put in the mouth of the great Physician. But the question is: Did Bankim really condemn the revolutionary activities of the Santānas? He depicts their idealism, heroic deeds and nobility of character not only with genuine sympathy but also with great enthusiasm. In the last but one chapter he exclaims at the departure of Santi and Jivananda: 'Oh Mother! Will such persons come back again? Will you ever bear in your womb a son like Jivananda, a daughter like Santi?' This does not look like a condemnation of the work of the Santānas, whose activities have been described as suicidal in the Preface. As a matter of fact the beauty and symmetry of a perfect work of art was marred by the lengthy didactic lecture of the Physician and the brief Preface of the author, explaining the so-called object of the book.

Bankim Chandra once told Sirish Chandra Majumdar that he would like to write a book on the Rani of Jhansi, but he refrained from doing so because the English officers had already become cross with him for writing the *Ananda Math*.¹¹ Bankim tried to save the situation by toning down the remarks which might be interpreted as a reflection on the conduct and character of the English. The following examples will illustrate this point. In the *Bangadarsana* (Ch. X) Bankim's Bhavananda tells Mahendra that in all the states the duty of the Raja is to protect the subjects, but 'our Raja' does not protect the people.¹² In the fourth edition he added the word 'Moslem' before the term 'Raja' thereby absolving the English from all responsibility for misgovernment.¹³ In the *Bangadarsana* Thomas was described as enjoying the charm of the Santal maidens.¹⁴ This was dropped in the second edition and in its place it was written that Thomas devoted his time in enjoying the

11. Suresh Chandra Samajpati—*Bankim Prasanga*; Somen Basu Kachher Manus Bankim Chandra, p. 15.

12. *Bangadarsana*, 1287, p. 587.

13. *Ananda Math*, Sahitya Parisat ed., p. 23, line 16.

14. *Bangadarsana*, 1288, p. 154, 4th line.

cooking of the Moslem cook, who was as expert as Draupadi.¹⁵ In the *Bangadarsana* a small band of Santāna soldiers is described to have defeated a few English and Telangee soldiers.¹⁶ But while publishing the first edition the word 'English' was substituted by the term 'Sepoys'.¹⁷ The reason was obvious. Then again fifty or sixty English soldiers were described in the *Bangadarsana* as being overpowered by the Santānas.¹⁸ While publishing the first edition the number was changed to twenty or thirty.¹⁹ For a small number of British soldiers like 20 or 30 it was considered no disgrace to be defeated by Indians, but not for 50 or 60 such soldiers. Then again in the *Bangadarsana* the Santānas were described as cutting jokes with Watson who was being fired at from the tree. One of them told him "Just wait a little, Mister; it is said that Jivananda will embrace Christianity; there! he comes". Five thousand of the Santāna soldiers hotly pursued the fleeing battalion of Watson. Jivananda exhorted the Santānas to destroy the army, wearing red, black, blue and multi-coloured uniforms and composed of Foujdari, Badshahi and English soldiers all of whom were to be offered as sacrifice to the Vaishnavas.²⁰ The last sentence was omitted in the first edition and the rest from the second edition. The *Bangadarsana* as well as the first edition referred to the opponents of Jivananda as the English,²¹ but in the second edition it was changed to Yavana and in one place to Nede, implying low class Moslems.²²

The changes introduced by Bankim Chandra served their purpose. The book was not proscribed and the English officers were pacified. Their attitude towards it may be illustrated from the writings of Lovett and Ronaldshay. In describing the contents of the book Lovett writes that the Sannyasi rebels became "victorious against Mussulman sepoys, even though led by Englishmen. They bring Muslim rule to a close." Among the concluding passages of

15. *Ananda Math*, p. 72.

16. *Bangadarsana*, 1288, p. 250.

17. *Ananda Math*, p. 91.

18. *Bangadarsana*, 1288, p. 256.

19. *Ananda Math*, p. 94.

20. *Bangadarsana*, 1288, p. 252.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 252-255.

22. *Ananda Math*, pp. 93-94

the book are the following: "Satyananda," said the Physician, "grieve not! In your delusion you have won your victories with the proceeds of robbery. A vice never leads to good consequences and you may never expect to save your country by sinful procedure. Really what may happen now will be for the best. There is no hope of a revival of the true Faith if the English be not our rulers. . . . The English are a friendly power; and no one, in truth has the power to come off victorious in fight with the English."²³ Lord Ronaldshay also quotes with approval these very words and observes: "The essence of the story is a Hindu revival, necessitating the overthrow of the enemies of Hinduism — at the time of the events narrated, Mussulman rule — which was to be achieved by a body of men pledged by solemn vows to the service of the Motherland. It provided the revolutionaries with an ideal which made a strong appeal to their imagination, and with the framework of an organization admirably designed to meet the circumstances of their case. For the Mussulman rule of the novel they substituted British rule,^{23(a)} and by so doing they ignored the conclusions drawn by Bankim Chandra Chatterji at the close of the book on two points — the benefits of British rule, and the fallacy underlying the assumption that the attainment of any particular end justified the

23. Lovett: *A History of the Indian Nationalist Movement*, pp. 260-61.

23.a. Lord Ronaldshay did not know that Bankim Chandra himself had originally written 'British rule' at some places and substituted it by 'Mussalman rule' later on. When Lord Ronaldshay (Marquis of Zetland) was the Secretary of State for India he read the present writer's *History of Political Thought from Rammohan to Dayananda*, Vol I, and wrote to him on January 7, 1935: "I had always supposed that the famous poem 'Bande Mataram' appeared for the first time in his romantic story, 'Ananda Math', but I now learn from your book that it had actually been published sometime before". The editors of the *Sahitya Parisat* edition mention this fact as a hearsay. But Purna Chandra Chatterjee, the youngest brother of Bankim Chandra gives conclusive proof of this fact when he writes that one day the Pandit in charge of the printing of *Bangadarsana* came to Bankim and said that he wanted one page of writing to fill up a page which was vacant; he saw the Bande Mataram song lying on the table and suggested that it should be used for filling up the gap. But Bankim did not allow him to do so and said that the value of this song would be properly appreciated after his (Bankim's) death. The incident took place when Bankim was the editor of the *Bangadarsana* (Vide *Kachher Manus Bankim Chandra*, pp. 108-109). He resigned the editorship in March 1876, so the song must have been composed before that date.

employment of any means."²⁴ But ~~as it is known~~ by the fruit it bears. The *Ananda Math* is to be judged by the effect it produced not on the mind of a few Englishmen but on that of the thousands of Bankim Chandra's fellow countrymen.

Bankim Chandra has used the names of some historical persons like Mirjafar, Warren Hastings, Reza Ali Khan, Captain Thomas, Lieutenant Watson and Captain Edwards in the *Ananda Math*. The story is related in the background of the famine of 1769. The current version of the book, printed from the fifth edition, does not indicate the year of the last battle between the Santānas and the British army under Thomas. In the *Bangadarsana* as well as in the first three editions there occurred a sentence at the end of the first chapter of Part Three that in 1180 B.S. corresponding to the year 1773-74 the name of the Santānas resounded throughout Birbhum. This was dropped in subsequent editions.

Government records reveal that Captain Thomas fought against 1500 Sannyasis near Rangpur town on the 30th December, 1772. The Sannyasis at first gave way and the Captain pursued them in a jungle where the sepoys spent all their ammunitions in vain. When the Sannyasis found that the sepoys had no more ammunition, they surrounded them from all sides and then rushed upon them. Captain Thomas ordered the sepoys to charge upon the Sannyasis with their bayonets, but they refused to do so. At this juncture the orderly of the Captain requested his master to flee away on his horse, but Thomas declined to do so. Charles Purling wrote to the President of the Council on the 31st December, 1772, that is, the day after the battle, as follows: "Captain Thomas received one wound by a ball through the head which he tied, and next he was cut down. The ryots gave no assistance but joined the Sannyasis with lathis and showed the Sannyasis those whom they saw had concealed themselves in long grass and jungle and if any of the Sepoys attempted to go into their villages they made a noise to bring the Sannyasis and they plundered the Sepoy's firelocks".²⁵ This letter is important for more than one reason. In the first instance, it shows that the Sannyasis had the

24. Ronaldshay—*The Heart of Aryavarta*, p. 114.

25. Jamini Mohan Ghosh—*Sannyasi and Fakir Raiders in Bengal*, pp. 50-51.

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sympathy and support of the rural people behind them. Warren Hastings in his letters and despatches described the Sannyasis simply as bandits and wrote that they burnt and destroyed many villages. Some of these have been quoted by Bankim Chandra in an Appendix to the third and subsequent editions of his book. Secondly, Thomas is known to have fought against 1500 Sannyasis according to the letter referred to above; but Hastings wrote to Sir George Colebrooke on February 2, 1773 that Thomas encountered about 3000 of them near Rangpore.²⁶ Bankim Chandra magnified the number to ten thousand in the ninth Chapter of Part III of his book. Thirdly, the letter proves that Bankim Chandra deliberately shifted the scene of occurrence from North Bengal to Birbhum. We find in the *Bangadarsana* as well as in the first two editions of the book the name of the British Commander as Major Wood; but in the Preface to the third edition Bankim Chandra wrote that his real name was Edwards and also admitted that the battle took place in North Bengal and not in Birbhum. He said that these variations are not important, because he was writing a novel, and not a historical work. In 1884 he wrote in the Preface to his *Devi-Chaudhurani* that in his *Ananda Math* he did not attempt to write a historical novel but he would like to add a brief account of the Sannyasi Insurrection in the future edition of the work as many persons had asked him whether the book was based on any historical fact.

In Chapter IV of Part IV of his book Bankim Chandra describes the fight of the Santānas against Edwards, whom he calls Major, but the contemporary official records call him Captain.²⁷ In the *Bangadarsana* he made Birbhum the venue of the fight and wrote that it went out of the control of the English and the Moslems. In the second and third editions, he dropped the word English. In the fourth and subsequent editions the venue was changed to North Bengal, which is described as having slipped away from Moslem control. Bankim does not mention the date

26. Gleig's Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 282, quoted by Bankim Chandra himself.

27. Letter of Warren Hastings to the Collector of Midnapore, dated June, 22, 1773. The *Army List* by Dodwell and Miles gives the following information: "Timothy Edwards—Captain 1st Sept. 1769; drowned, March 1st, 1773 in nullah at Barrypore", which place has been identified with a hamlet of the same name near Serajganj.

of this fight. In the *Bangadarsana* he wrote that it took place on the bank of the river Ajoy on the full moon day in the month of Magha (January) when the famous fair associated with the name of the poet of *Gita Govinda* is held at Kenduli in the district of Birbhum. He dropped this reference and described the fair as being held on the bank of a river. He had a purpose in making this change.

The fighting against Edwards took place on the 1st of March, 1773. He had been directed by the Committee of Circuit, then at Dinajpur, to march against the Sannyasis in January. He reached Ulipur in the district of Rangpur on the 17th January with three companies of sepoy. He could not meet them but marched from place to place in hot pursuit. Hastings had not much confidence in the sepoy and was apprehensive of ill consequences on account of the smallness of their number. He, therefore, sent orders recalling Edwards. The latter made delay in complying with them as he learnt that the Sannyasis had re-entered the district. Hearing that they were stationed only at a distance of two miles, he formed his detachment into a division but as soon as he approached them he was fired at. He moved away a little. Captain Williams thus describes the fight: "When Captain Edwards thought himself within a proper distance for engaging he rode to the head of the column and beat to arms intending that the divisions should double upon the left of the leading divisions as they came up; but the men mistaking the orders wheeled to the left and formed in battalion which laid their right flank open to the enemy, he galloped to the left in order to draw them into line fronting the Sannyasis whilst Douglas exerted himself on the right for the same purpose; but it was too late for the enemy, perceiving the confusion, rushed in upon them with their swords and spears and dispatched a few, put the rest to flight. Douglas was the first that fell but the fate of Captain Edwards was not known, his hat was found in the Nulla before mentioned, but the body was never discovered."²⁸ This is the small incident which is supposed to furnish the model to Bankim Chandra's description of the battle of the Santānas with Edwards and his army on the full moon day. The *Ananda Math* (Part IV, Ch. 6) relates how Satyananda attacked Edwards with

28. Capt. Williams—*Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry* (1817), pp. 132-34.

twenty-five thousand Santāna soldiers and massacred the British army.

Bankim Chandra wisely omitted the line giving the date 1180 B.S. because it betrayed the absurdity of his plea that the Santānas were fighting against the Moslems and not the British. The Directors of the East India Company resolved "to stand forth as Dewan" and to direct the Company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenues. They communicated their decision to the President and Council at Fort William in their letter dated August 28, 1771. Warren Hastings became the Governor of Bengal early in 1772. He held that the cession of the Dewani in 1765 "had been merely a solemn farce, that the Company had in fact conquered Bengal, and that the emperor could not give what it was not in his power to bestow." According to the official records Thomas lost his life on the 31st of December, 1772 and Edwards on the 1st of March, 1773. Both these dates fall during the period of Governorship of Warren Hastings, who had already taken steps to discharge the duties of administration directly through the officers of the Company. Bankim Chandra was not unaware of these elementary facts of history. But he could not write that the Santānas took the vow of liberating their Motherland from the clutches of the British. He made the Moslem rule a convenient scapegoat. It was well-known to all intelligent people that political authority had passed from the hands of the Moslems to those of the British as soon as Mirjafar was installed on the *masnad* for the second time after the defeat of Mirkasim.

Originally Bankim Chandra selected Birbhum as the centre of the events described in the *Ananda Math* because of some peculiarity in the status of that region. He himself explained in the seventh chapter of the book as published in the *Bangadarsana* that while the rest of Bengal was nominally under Mirjafar, Birbhum was under the administration of the Muslim Raja of that place, though its revenue was sent to the English. The East India Company had appointed their officers at other places for supervising the collection of revenue but none was appointed in Birbhum. This is why Bankim Chandra considered it safe to make Birbhum the place of occurrence of the main events of the *Ananda Math*. He could say, he thought, that the Santānas were fighting against the Moslem power and not the English. But while bringing out the

third edition he considered this sort of veil almost transparent and frankly admitted that the fights took place in North Bengal and not in Birbhum. He added in that edition an appendix (in English) on the Sannyasi raid from the letters and despatches of Warren Hastings. As the book was becoming popular and attracting the attention of the Government he considered it safer to introduce in the fifth edition many sentences in praise of the British rule.

But his attempt to connect the *Ananda Math* with the incidents of the Sannyasi raids was not very successful. Relying on the version of the fifth edition Romesh Chandra Dutt wrote in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*: "The story deals with the Sannyasi rebellion of 1772 near Purnea, Tirhut and Dinapur. Bankim Chandra could not make a thorough change in the readings of the novel." In Chapter twelve of part three, the "bank of Ajoy" still remained. We have already shown that the fight against Edwards took place in 1773, when the East India Company had assumed direct charge of the administration. From all these we may surmise that on reading of the heroic resolution of Wasudeo Balwant Phadke to rescue his countrymen from the domination of the British, whose misrule had, according to him, produced the terrible famine of 1876-77, Bankim Chandra conceived the idea of depicting the exploits of the Santānas on the canvas of the famine of 1769. Being a Government servant thoroughly conversant with the trend of thought of the British Indian bureaucracy he tried to veil the patriotic efforts of the heroes of his novel by identifying these with the Sannyasis of a century earlier. He knew that the Sannyasi raids did not come to an end in 1772-73 as one would imagine from the conversation of the Physician with Satyananda. The Hindu Sannyasis and the Moslem Fakirs continued to make depredations on Bihar and Assam till the last decade of the eighteenth century. Neither Phadke, nor the Santānas of the *Ananda Math* could achieve success in their plan. But Bankim Chandra with prophetic vision observed at the end of the book: "The fire which Satyananda kindled was not extinguished easily. If I can, I will relate that later on." These two sentences occurred in the *Bangadarsana* and in the first edition but as the significance of these was ominous for the British rulers, he considered it prudent to omit them in subsequent editions.

Aurangzib's Rebellion against Shah Jahan

BY

SRI RAM SHARMA

There being no law of succession among the Mughal emperors, or among Muslim rulers either, the Mughal period witnessed several princely rebellions and intrigues for succession. Babur's prime minister tried to keep Humayun out, Jahangir rebelled against his father and some of Akbar's 'nobles' intrigued in favour of Khusrau against Jahangir. Jahangir's reign saw Khusrau and Khurram rebel in turn. After his death, the unfortunate Bulaqi was raised to the throne to keep it warm for Shah Jahan who, on ascending the throne, had him murdered.

But Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan had succeeded in occupying the throne. They were the eldest living sons of their predecessors and their success in ascending the throne seemed to establish a presumption in favour of the eldest son succeeding his father. Akbar and Jahangir were able to cope with their rebellious sons successfully and had, before long, become reconciled to them. Both indicated their preference for their eldest sons in several ways and allowed them to play at being heir-presumptives. Humayun and Akbar had no other son living at the time of their death and were thus spared a fratricidal war of succession after their death. Jahangir however left two sons and four grandsons living behind him. Shah Jahan and his supporters made short work of their pretensions and had them murdered, as they had murdered Khusrau, Shah Jahan's most serious rival, in prison during Jahangir's reign.

It was a bloody inheritance on which Shah Jahan entered in 1627. In 1656 he had four sons living, all of them governors of provinces. Like Akbar and Jahangir he had chosen to indicate the eldest son, Dara, as the heir-presumptive but unlike them both he tried to keep him at the capital instead of employing him in administrative or military jobs elsewhere. But unlike Salim or Khurram, Dara had presented no problem to his royal father. He

had never tried to pull down his father from his throne as both Salim and Khurram had done. Unlike Khurram again, he had not murdered a possible rival during the life time of his father. It is not surprising, therefore, that Shah Jahan was not afraid of keeping Dara near him.

But Shah Jahan may have had another good reason for keeping Dara near him. With his advancing years, Shah Jahan may have felt that this was the only way to keep the throne safe for Dara. Shah Jahan himself would have missed his chance to the throne if his father-in-law had not put up a blind in Bulaqi to act as an estoppel. He may have thought fates might not be as kind to Dara.

But those who blame Shah Jahan for keeping Dara at the capital, do not suggest an alternative which would have either made the rebellion of Shuja, Aurangzib and Murad against Shah Jahan impossible or avoided the war of succession which began after Aurangzib had made Shah Jahan a prisoner. Shah Jahan was faced with a problem which none of his predecessors had faced. He had four sons long past majority for whom he had to find continuous employment. Unlike Akbar's sons, none of them drank himself to death. Unlike Jahangir's son, Khusrau, no one disputed the throne unsuccessfully to die in prison. They were all alive and kicking.

Shah Jahan answered the question by distributing, towards the end of his reign, the government of the larger part of his empire among his sons. Aurangzib had the four provinces of the Deccan; Khandesh, Telangana, Bedar and Ahmednagar. Murad had Malwa and Gujarat. Shujah held Bengal. Dara was governor of the Punjab and Multan.

Of course it is possible to argue that if Shah Jahan had allowed Dara to remain in his provinces, Dara might have become a better leader of men and a more consummate diplomat.¹ He might have thus bettered his chances of survival in the war of succession. But this is something quite different from asserting that Shah Jahan could have avoided the rebellion of his sons by not

1. Cf., Dara's relations with nobles in *Anecdotes*, 34.35.

keeping Dara with him. As it was, Dara was blamed for everything that was supposed to go wrong at the court. The resentment which otherwise would have been directed against Shah Jahan now found a victim in Dara.

Shah Jahan became ill on September 6, 1657,² while in Delhi. Delhi was in commotion. Only the high officers of state were admitted to the royal bed chamber for some time. But by September 14, he was well enough to show himself at the window of his bed chamber to waiting multitude outside. This was followed by a court. Prisoners were set free, *Zakat* was remitted and Rs. 5000/- was given away in charity.³

Shah Jahan now remained in his chamber but disposed off urgent and personal matters as they arose. Problems connected with the war in the Deccan were decided here.⁴ Aurangzib's letter reporting the birth of prince Mohammad Akbar was read here and special robes of honour were ordered to be sent to him.⁵

It has been customary to accuse Shah Jahan of having resigned all authority into the hands of Dara or alternatively condemn Dara for usurping all royal power during this period. This accusation has arisen on account of a revised version of what happened during this period which Kambu added, possibly after Aurangzib's accession, to his account of Shah Jahan's reign. His first version makes no mention of Dara's exercising any authority on behalf of the emperor whereas the second version lays the foundation of the story as it was developed later on by Aurangzib's historians.^{5a} It is unfortunate that Sir Jadunath accepted the second version of the story⁶ and thus perpetuated the legend. But as the imperial orders issued during the time amply prove, authority was still in Shah Jahan's hands.⁷ Of course Aurangzib's letters to Shah Jahan justify his own rebellion by asserting what Aurangzib had no means

2. Kambu, III, 264.

3. Kambu, III, 265.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

5a. The Appendix reproduces in original Persian Kambu's account of Shah Jahan's illness.

6. Sarkar, Aurangzib, I, 281.

7. Kambu, III, 264, 272.

of learning - that he was marching north because Dara and usurped all authority in the state.⁸ Aurangzib could have offered no other explanation for his rebellious conduct but this is no reason for our believing that what Aurangzib asserted was true. He had even asserted that Shah Jahan was dead.

Tavernier reports a conversation between Dara and Shah Jahan in which the emperor suggested that Dara should seat himself on the throne. Dara naturally refused to follow this advice.⁹ It would have been suicidal for him to assume royal authority while Shah Jahan was still alive. It would have been nothing short of rebellion and would have considerably weakened Shah Jahan's scheme of helping Dara to succeed him.

Shah Jahan gave public audiences on October 15 and 17 and deemed himself well enough to move down to Agra, by river on October 18. Kambu would have us believe in his second account that the move was actuated by Shah Jahan's desire to end his days in peace at Agra within sight of the Taj Mahal, the tomb of his beloved wife.¹⁰ It has yet to be suggested that Shah Jahan intended to abdicate in favour of his son. But even if he did, he could not be sure of living in peace after abdication as there was no chance of his other sons accepting his abdication in favour of Dara. If anything such a move would have destroyed whatever chances Dara might have had of succeeding Shah Jahan. As Shah Jahan wrote to Aurangzib, the move was intended to restore order in the empire.¹¹ Kambu in his first version suggests that Shah Jahan moved down to Agra for reasons of health.¹²

Shah Jahan made several appointments before leaving Delhi and distributed a large number of presents. He travelled by slow stages reaching Ghat Sami, six miles from Agra, on November 5. He did not, however, enter the city till November 26. The delay was partly caused by astrologers' search for an auspicious day for the imperial entry into the capital. On December 5 a great

8. *Ruqaat*, I, 197 to 199, 211.

9. Tavernier, 327.

10. Kambu, III, 277; of Aurangzib, I, 278, 279; CHI, IV, 211.

11. *Ruqaat*, I, 298.

12. Kambu, III, 266. Cf. Appendix.

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public court was held in the fort when a large amount was given away in charity as a thanksgiving offering for Shah Jahan's complete recovery. Presents were given to several officials including Dara. Agra celebrated the emperor's recovery with great rejoicing.¹³

But elsewhere, Shah Jahan's illness in his advanced age opened the floodgates to rebellion. Aurangzib, Murad and Shuja all found in it an excuse—if one was needed—for treading the path of rebellion against Shah Jahan so that they could wrest the reins of government from his hands and hold on to them against other contestants. The struggle that followed differs from the earlier princely rebellions in two things; three of the princes simultaneously rebelled against their father and unlike all other Mughal princes in earlier rebellions, one of them was able to dethrone his father and keep him a prisoner for seven long years till his death. No princely rebellion had been successful so far. Mughal princes had rebelled against their fathers no doubt, but none had been able to lay his hands on the person of his father and make him a prisoner. This culminating honour in princely rebellion seems to have been reserved for Aurangzib alone!

It has been usual to describe the struggle that followed as a war of succession among four brothers.¹⁴ As long as Shah Jahan was alive, the question of succession did not arise. It suited the purpose of Aurangzib, Murad and Shuja to proclaim that Shah Jahan was dead and the throne vacant. But Aurangzib accepted Murad as a sovereign prince and promised Shuja independent government of the eastern provinces, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. Murad and Shuja who crowned themselves while Shah Jahan was alive, were certainly rebel princes claiming to oust their father from the throne. Aurangzib proclaimed himself the ally of Murad and thus became a rebel himself. As the abettor of Shuja's claim as well he cannot escape the title. When he entered Agra and wanted to proclaim himself the emperor while Shah Jahan was still alive, his chief *Qazi* would have none of it and refused to countenance his ascending the throne on the fictitious plea that Shah

13. *Ibid.*, III, 266 to 271.

14. Cf., Elphinstone, Sarkar, Saxena, Cambridge History of India, IV.

Jahan had become incapacitated for work. Such disqualification, the Qazi seems to have pointed out, arose out of Aurangzib's own action—his having made Shah Jahan a prisoner.¹⁵ No further proof of Aurangzib's being a rebel needs be looked for.

Of course Aurangzib succeeded in dismissing the Qazi and securing another more convenient successor who accepted his plea and blessed his ascending the throne. After his coronation, Aurangzib could certainly proclaim Dara and Shuja as rebels against his own authority and thus count the struggle that followed both as a rebellion and a fratricidal war of succession. He had already disposed of Murad by making him a prisoner. Shuja certainly disputed Aurangzib's title to the throne and may therefore be said to be fighting a war of succession. Dara's claim was not for the throne itself but for placing Shah Jahan on the throne. He was disputing Aurangzib's right to the throne while Shah Jahan was still alive, not fighting in his own right.

It has been said that the struggle originated because Aurangzib, Murad and Shuja thought that their chances to the throne would be affected if Dara was allowed to entrench himself further in authority. Even this did not make the fighting that followed a war of succession. Salim and Khurram had rebelled against their fathers on the same plea—apparent danger to their chances of succeeding their father.

Even the fact that three princes simultaneously rebelled against their father does not make it a war of succession. They were not disputing one another's claim. Left to himself Shuja may have been content to be an independent king of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Aurangzib did not dispute Murad's right to the throne, he conceded Shuja's title to the government of the eastern provinces. Look at it how we will, the struggle that followed was a rebellion of the Mughal princes against their father. Dara was not fighting to safeguard his claim to succession, much less to assert a right of succession to the throne. The armies that fought against Shuja in the east or the combined forces of Murad and Aurangzib in the west were Shah Jahan's armies.

15. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 248.

It is rather amusing to find Aurangzib appearing to be acting in opposition to Dara alone and seeking his brother's cooperation therein.¹⁶ He was able to deceive Murad thoroughly. Opinion has been divided on what exactly was the carrot that he dangled before this imperial ass. The evidence from Aurangzib's side gives one version,¹⁷ non-official historians supply another,¹⁸ neither flattering to Murad's intelligence. Aurangzib in a letter to Murad is said to have proposed a division of the empire between the two, Murad taking the Punjab, Kabul, Kashmir and Sind. Abdul Fazl, Bhimsh, Ishar Dass, Tavernier, Lal and Manucci are all agreed that Aurangzib offered much more attractive terms to Murad. Abul Fazl Mamuri has it that Aurangzib told Murad that he did not covet the throne for himself, but was only interested in keeping Dara out. He promised Murad, who had already crowned himself, that after helping Murad in defeating Dara and Shuja, he would retire to Mecca leaving Murad to the enjoyment of the crown and the empire! It has been suggested that Murad would have seen through Aurangzib's deceit if Aurangzib had promised to efface himself to this extent.¹⁹ But the critics forget that Aurangzib was out to deceive Murad in any case and that Murad had already crowned himself whereas Aurangzib had not. Any offer from Aurangzib had to start by accepting Murad's coronation. Foolish though he was, even Murad would have been offended if Aurangzib had offered him Dara's inheritance only adding, as Aurangzib's version of the negotiations does, that as soon as Dara was defeated Aurangzib would allow Murad leave to enter upon his inheritance. One does not if one is intelligent, as Aurangzib certainly was, deal in this way with crowned kings howsoever foolish crowned heads may be. Aurangzib had nothing to lose by making tall

16. *Letters. Ruqaat*, I, 352.

(i) Aurangzib to Murad (*Ruqaat*, I, 367); Murad to Aurangzib (*Ibid.*, I, 359).

(ii) Agents exchanged, *Ibid.*, I, 352, 364-65.

(iii) Promise of help to one another, *Ruqaat*, I, 351-52, 256-57.

(iv) Suggested reply to Dara, *Ibid.*, I, 256-257, 354.

17. Aqil Khan Razi, 25.

Adab-i-Alamgiri in *Ruqaat*, I, 265-69.

18. *Muntkhib-ul-Lubab*, II, 9; *Nushka-i-Dilkusha*, 18; *Fatuh-i-Alamgiri*; 17-A; Tavernier; 330-31; *Chhatar Prakash*, 45; *Storia*, II, 248.

19. Sarkar, II, 428.

promises to Murad: the taller the better, as they would take in Murad more completely. Aurangzib did not intend to keep his promises even though his letter to Murad said that he took God and the Prophet as his witnesses. The alleged agreement between the two brothers finds no place in the official history of the first ten years of Aurangzib's reign. The entire tenor of the letter is, so very condescending that it could have only exasperated Murad, instead of making him join Aurangzib.

As against this, the agreement given in *Lubb-ut-Tawarikh* and supported by other non-official historians, strikes just as the note which would have made a prince, who had already crowned himself and issued coins in his own name, accept the offer of help which Aurangzib makes in that letter. Aurangzib had to pretend taking Murad's coronation seriously. His entire attitude thereafter is governed by the assumption that he is dealing with a crowned king. He congratulates Murad for his kingdom when the two meet at Dipalpur.²⁰ After the battle of Dharmat, Aurangzib congratulates Murad, as one does a sovereign.²¹ When the battle of Samurgarh is happily over, Aurangzib congratulates Murad on the commencement of his reign.²² He asks all the commanders to go and wait upon Murad²³ as upon their king. When Aurangzib is about to set out in pursuit of Dara, he waits upon Murad and asks for his permission to do so.²⁴ As Manucci has it, during all this time, Aurangzib showed the greatest respect to Murad in public and in private and referred to him and spoke to him as to a king and sovereign.²⁵

Though Aurangzib was pretending to act against Dara alone, his rebellion came as a culmination of a series of defiant acts against Shah Jahan. He had been disobeying and defying Shah Jahan for long in the south. While he was on his way to assume his viceroyalty of the Deccan, Aurangzib displeased Shah Jahan by his conferring with Shuja at Agra and with Murad at Doraha.

20. Ishar Das, 17 b and 18 a; *Storia*, II, 253.

21. Ishar Das, 21 b.

22. Ishar Das, 26 a; Cf. *CHI*, IV, 214.

23. Khafi Khar, 19.

24. Ishar Das, 30 a.

25. *Storia*, II, 353.

While Shah Jahan was ordering him to assume charge of his province promptly by going straight to Daulatabad, Aurangzib spent nine months at Burhanpur.²⁶

When in the south, he added one act of disobedience to another. When Shah Jahan ordered that Aurangzib should close the huge gap between income and expenditure in the Deccan, Aurangzib saucily suggested that his staff and his armies be paid from the revenues of other provinces.²⁷ When some officials complained to Shah Jahan against Aurangzib's high-handedness, Shah Jahan was moved to admonish the latter, dubbing his conduct unworthy of a Musalman.²⁸ Shah Jahan would not accept some of Aurangzib's recommendations for appointments under him.²⁹ Aurangzib employed all the skilled weavers at Burhanpur in his own workshop. This led to Shah Jahan's ordering that all other weaving factories at Burhanpur except the royal factory should be closed.³⁰ When Shah Jahan ordered Aurangzib to secure some elephants from Qutb-ul-Mulk in lieu of his tribute, Aurangzib procured them³¹ but long delayed sending them to court.³² Shah Jahan got offended at Aurangzib's alleged failure to write in his own hand to the emperor.³³ But his final act of defiance made Shah Jahan suspect his good intentions. In order to strengthen himself for the inevitable contest for the throne he cleverly got Shah Jahan agree to Aurangzib's making war upon Bijapur and Golkonda but in specified circumstances. When he had thus slyly procured additional military and financial resources, he started disregarding all the imperial instructions in order—so Shah Jahan began to suspect—to aggrandize himself. Shah Jahan had asked Aurangzib to demand, in the emperor's name, the release of Mir Jumla's family from the king of Golkonda and if he disregarded the demand, then alone to invade Golkonda. Aurangzib invaded Golkonda without giving Qutb Shah the chance of accept-

26. *Adab-i-Alamgiri* in *Ruqaat*, I, pages 80, 84, 85, 86 to 102.

27. *Ruqaat*, I, pages 121, 122.

28. *Adab* in *Ruqaat*, I, pages III, 114.

29. *Ibid.*, I, 115.

30. *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 176 b.

31. *Ruqaat*, I, 160.

32. *Ibid.*, I, 166.

33. *Ruqaat*, I, 171.

ing Shah Jahan's ultimatum. When Qutb Shah agreed to release Mir Jumla's family, Aurangzib, in defiance of Shah Jahan's instructions, did not cease hostilities. Peace was made only when Qutb Shah had at last succeeded in establishing direct contact with Shah Jahan. Aurangzib crowned this act of disobedience by forcing a treaty upon Qutb Shah which made a grandson of Aurangzib born of Qutb Shah's daughter heir to Golkonda, to the exclusion of every other claimant. No wonder Shah Jahan became suspicious and refused to ratify this treaty.³⁴ When ordered to send to the court the rich prizes of war against Golkonda, Aurangzib flatly denied that any booty had fallen into his hands!³⁵

The same story repeated itself in Bijapur with a little variation, partially on account of the fact that anti-Deccanese Mir Jumla had by now become the prime minister of Shah Jahan. On the death of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur in 1656, Aurangzib played upon Shah Jahan's greed and anti-Shia sentiments to wring from him an order sanctioning invasion of Bijapur without any cause whatever. Imperial contingents were sent under Mahabat Khan and Chhatarsal to reinforce Mughal military resources in the Deccan. With their help Bijapur was invaded. Aurangzib however was told that should the king seek peace, hostilities should cease at the cost of annexing a part of Bijapur and exacting an indemnity. Aurangzib in his letter to Mir Jumla quotes Shah Jahan as authorizing him to conquer Bijapur, if he could, otherwise to be content with annexing a part of it and exacting an indemnity.³⁶ It is more reasonable to suppose that Shah Jahan put the second alternative first.

Bidar fell to Aurangzib in March 1657 and Kalian on August 1, 1657. When Bijapur was facing extinction, it seems to have dawned upon Ali Adal Shah II, that he might yet save himself, as Golkonda had done, by direct negotiations with Shah Jahan. An envoy was sent to the imperial court who seems to have succeeded in persuading the emperor that Bijapur had given him no cause for offence and therefore his war there was not justified. Shah

34. Cs. Kambu, III, 281-282.

35. Kambu, III, 281.

36. *Ruqaat*, I, 317.

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Jahan seems to have been taken aback by what the envoys represented to him and immediately sent orders to Aurangzib to cease hostilities. As was but natural, this order was accompanied by another order to imperial commanders to return in all haste with all the Mughal reinforcements sent south for the prosecution of the war. Shah Jahan seems to have been so upset by all that he was now told that he tentatively offered the government of the Deccan to Shuja.³⁷ Shah Jahan seems to have rightly suspected Aurangzib of intriguing in the south for an increase in his resources in order to follow the usual path of a Mughal prince in rebellion against his father. It is wrong to think of Shah Jahan being preoccupied in his design for securing for Dara the throne of Delhi after his own death.³⁸ The contingency of a civil war was remote and would not affect Shah Jahan very much. But a princely rebellion was one thing which his predecessors had had to face in their own life time. It was a prince toying with the idea of rebellion whom Shah Jahan sought to curb; it was a defiant governor that the emperor sought to bring to the right path. It has been sometimes suggested that Shah Jahan prevented Aurangzib from conquering Bijapur and Golkonda. Those who make this suggestion not only ignore the pertinent question whether Shah Jahan had any excuse for annexing these kingdoms but also forget that Aurangzib himself was not able to conquer these kingdoms till 1692. If the fruit had been ripe for plucking in 1657, it could have only become rotten when Aurangzib came to the throne in 1659. But Aurangzib sat still for 21 years after his accession and even when he was in the Deccan himself at the head of the imperial armies, the two states did not fall into his hands easily.

When the news of Shah Jahan's illness came, Aurangzib decided to play for the high stakes of the Mughal throne. He had long been preparing himself for this day. His objective was to become the emperor of India and he decided to allow nothing to stand in his way. It would have complicated matters and detained him in Gujarat if he had declared war on Murad. So he duped the unlucky prince just as Bulaqi had been duped in the interest of Shah Jahan. Rebel Mughal princes before him had never suc-

37. Kambu, III, 271.

38. Cf. Sarkar, Saxena and *Cambridge History*, Vol. IV

ceeded in their designs; Aurangzib therefore decided on more comprehensive plans.

The success of a rebellion depends very much on the resources of the rebel. Aurangzib, therefore, decided to cast his net wide for allies. He was sure to find them among dissatisfied ruling princes and disgruntled Mughal public servants and army leaders.³⁹ Fortunately for him, Dara had been so long at court that every grievance could be easily laid at his door and help sought against him.⁴⁰ Aurangzib wrote to Maharana Raj Singh of Mewar tempting him with the promise of returning the districts of Pur and Mandal Garh which the Rana had lost to Shah Jahan.⁴¹ He tried to entice the rajas of Devgarh and Chanda to his side so that they should not obstruct his path to Agra.⁴² He wrote to several nobles at court. Mir Jumla was in the south about this time but under an order of return to the court. Aurangzib tried to dissuade him from obeying the royal summons and on his refusal arrested him. Bernier and Manucci suggest that he was arrested at his own suggestion. Had this been the case, Aurangzib would not have tried to offer excuses to Mir Jumla for his arrest later on when he had no need to dissemble.⁴³

Aurangzib now decided to advance upon the capital. He left Daulatabad on February 5 and reached Burhanpur on February 18. Here he received a letter from Shah Jahan reprimanding him for his leaving the Deccan and marching north.⁴⁴ With his tongue in his cheek, Aurangzib assured Shah Jahan that he was only trying to serve Shah Jahan and restore order in the kingdom disturbed by Dara's actions.⁴⁵

It has been customary to see in Aurangzib a standard-bearer of Islam against Dara whom Aurangzib accused of being a heretic. But this did not mean that Aurangzib was setting himself up as the

39. *Ruqaat*, I, 339-40.

40. Cf. *Anecdotes*, Also *Dara Shikoh* by Qanungo, I, and *Aurangzib* by Sarkar, I and II.

41. *Vir Vinod*; II, 419 to 424.

42. *Amal-i-Salih*, Bernier, 31 ff, *Storia*, II, 249, *Adab in Ruq*, 428-29.

43. *Ruqaat*, I, 197-198.

44. *Ruqaat*, Cf. however *Aurangzib*, I and Ch. I, 211.

45. *Ruqaat*, I, 197 to 199, 211.

guardian of Islam in the sense in which he unfolded himself in the later part of his reign.⁴⁶ He could not afford to be anti-Hindu at this time. He needed all the help that he could get; Hindu rajahs wielded a lot of power in India at this time⁴⁷ and Aurangzib could not neglect this source of strengthening himself. He might have hoped to secure some Muslim commanders to his side by representing Dara as a heretic. His standing as a rebel prince is well brought out by the refusal of a Muslim mulla, Hazrat Haji, at Burhanpur to wish him well. Try as Aurangzib would, all that he could get from the saint was that Islam should succeed.⁴⁸

Aurangzib and Murad met the royal army sent to dissuade them from proceeding any further at Dharmat. Shah Jahan had accused Aurangzib of rebellious intentions but his orders to Jaswant Singh laid emphasis on Jaswant's securing Aurangzib's and Murad's retirement peacefully.⁴⁹ Much time was wasted by the royal commanders in parleys with the rebellious princes. This put life into the rebel army and to some extent demoralized the royal troops. The battle that followed was like so many other battles that had been fought between rebel princes and their fathers. Those in the royal army were torn between their loyalty to the king *de jure* and the suspicion that the rebel prince might after all succeed in making good his claim to government. If his sons would not be loyal to the emperor, why should his public servants imperil their lives in his cause? But it was Shah Jahan the imperial commanders were seeking to serve, not Dara.

Aurangzib's success in the battlefield made it possible for him to march to Agra and threaten his father. The battle of Samugarh on May 29, 1658, was waged by Dara on behalf of Shah Jahan. Much ingenuity has been wasted on what would have happened

46. Cf. *Religious Policy of Mughal Emperors*. Aurangzib's letter to Rana Raj Singh of Udaipur preserved in the Udaipur Archives and reproduced in *Vir Venod*, 10, 419 to 421 assures Raj Singh that Aurangzib, after becoming emperor, would govern as his forefathers had done before him so as to secure equal protection for all his subjects. Cf. *Mewar in the Second Half of XVII Century*, by Sri Ram Sharma.

47. Cf. *Ibid.*, 129, 130, Hindu contingents in Aurangzib's ranks include those from Toda, Deogarib, Chanda, Gohad and Bikaner.

48. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Azami, 159.

49. *Alamgir Nama*, 58, 64, 65; Cf. *CHI*, IV, 212.

had Shah Jahan marched against Aurangzib in person.⁵⁰ But Shah Jahan was restrained from marching at the head of his armies by the usual Mughal tradition of the emperor's not facing his rebel princes in person. If the rebel was defeated, the king's cause was served. But even if the rebel prince was victorious the father could still offer opposition and even try parley with the prince. But if the emperor was defeated in person no quarter was possible. He would have lost everything in one throw.

Samugarh apparently left the coalition of Aurangzib and Murad victorious. But Aurangzib had never intended to allow Murad any share in the government of the country. The luckless prince was invited to meet Aurangzib in his tent and there imprisoned.⁵¹ He was later on sent to prison in Gwalior. Then on December 4, 1661, he was surprised to learn that an old incident of his Governorship of Gujarat—his execution of Ali Naqi in 1657—had been revived. He was sentenced to be executed.⁵² Thus did Aurangzib keep his word to God and the Prophet!

After disposing of Murad's pretensions, Aurangzib marched on Agra. Here helpless Shah Jahan tried to play at still being the emperor. When this failed, he tried to act the part of an affectionate father.⁵³ Aurangzib matched Shah Jahan in his duplicity. He posed as both a loyal subject and a dutiful son.⁵⁴ Much ink has been wasted in determining who was trying to deceive the other and to what extent.⁵⁵ Neither of them was sincere in his protestation. Both were trying to gain time in one way or another. Shah Jahan's cause was however lost for ever. Aurangzib could not even pretend to be moved by Shah Jahan's offer of letting

50. Aurangzib's historians assert that Shah Jahan advised Dara not to fight and even moved his own advance camp between the two armies in order to avert war. *Alamgiri Nama*; 84 to 87. Aurangzib's letters to Shah Jahan reproduced by Aqil Khan advise Shah Jahan against moving in person against Aurangzib.

51. Bhim Sen, Cf. 33(a) and following.

52. Khafi Khan, II, 156.

53. Cf. Aqil Khan Razi, Salih, III, 303, 305 to 315, 317, *Fayyaz-ul-Qawanin* in Ruqaat.

54. Cf. Salih, III, 304, 305 to 315, 317; Aqil Khan Razi and *Alamgiri-Nama*.

55. Cf. *Aurangzib* by Shibli and *Aurangzib* by Faruqi.

Aurangzib run the empire in Shah Jahan's name. He aimed at both the form and substance of power and could not be content with one of these only. So Shah Jahan had to accept Aurangzib's assumption of imperial power on the twenty-first of July, 1658 and be content with being spared his life. He passed his days as Aurangzib's prisoner from the eighth of June, 1658, to die in 1665. Aurangzib thus began what became so common in the eighteenth century India—the sight of a former Mughal emperor spending his last days in prison. He spared his father the final humiliation of being executed which many Mughal 'emperors' suffered in the eighteenth century in the 'interests' of their successors.⁵⁶

56. This is a corrected, revised and extended version of the essay under the same title, first published in my *'Studies in Medieval Indian History.'*

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Aspects of War from the R̥gveda

BY

DR. SADASHIV AMBADAS DANGE, Nagpur

War-activity in the R̥gveda does not get restricted to the sphere of the cosmic. Under the garb of a well-formed mytho-poetic style we have descriptions of the terrestrial war at many places. In the finely fashioned blending of the cosmic and the earthly war-activity the psychological set-up behind war is discernible and presents an interesting study. War, in its fierceness, is finely described against the background of the *war of ten kings* (R̥gv. VII—18; 83). It is not always a happy affair; on the contrary it is dreadful. It appears that the ends of the earth would fall asunder (VII-83-2); and the tumult reaches heaven (*Ibid.* 3). The arrows are said to shoot like tuft-less children.¹ The bow vanquishes the desire of the enemy and defeat is expected (VI-75-2). The bow-string, being stretched, reaches the ear and embraces it, as does a damsel her lover; she (the string) whispers softly and darts on her target (*Ibid.*, 3). The ends of the bow are two mothers and take the arrow on their lap (V. 4). The hero going to war wears the armour and resembles the cloud (*Ibid.*, 1), which indicates that it was made of black leather or plates of iron.² The chariot roars as it is driven by the mighty horses. The soldier is, thus, materially well prepared for war, and his body is protected by various appliances.³

1. R̥gv. VI-75-14, Cf. *kumārā viśikhā iva*. The word never again occurs in the R̥gv. But this image of clean-shaven boys in the description of the arrows is interesting from another point of view; for, *viśikha* means an arrow in later Sanskrit.

2. VI-75-1, *jimūtasya iva bhavati pratīkam*
yad varmā yāti samadām upasthe

3. The hand-guards, quivers etc. See R̥gv. VI-75. The attire of the Maruts is to be noted.

A general survey of war in ancient India has been taken by scholars.⁴ But the whole approach is of historical or chronological interest. In the following pages we shall attempt to study the aspects of war from the R̥g Veda, taking note of the possible beliefs associated with them.

The Divine Leader

The R̥gVeda shows the belief in the divine leader. The king going to war is said to be protected by the pitṛs and various deities—such as Varuṇa, Agni, Brahmaṇaspati, Soma and Pūṣan (VI-75-18; 9; X-173-5; -6-174-3); but he is identified with Indra. Out of the five war-hymns that are traditionally enjoined at the consecration for war by the Āśwalāyana Gr̥hyasūtra, (III-12), two are dedicated to Indra. In one of these we have a mention of the fine qualities required by the leader. The king (Indra) should be of stiff command and the wielder of a terrible bow (X-103-3). He should have good assessment of the strength or the might of the enemy. (*Ibid.*, 5). He should be the bestower of weal in war and not the bringer of calamity (X-152-2). The belief in divine leadership is clear in the fact that Indra, with Varuṇa, is said to be in the forefront of the army (VII-82-9). This goes well with the belief that gods placed Indra in the vanguard of their army (VIII-12-22; also, *Ibid.*, 25). There is also a hint in the R̥gVeda as to why Indra was placed in the front of the army. It is because Indra is said to be immune to death (VIII-93; -7). This motif of Indra being actually present in the field of battle is fully exploited by the R̥gVeda which believes, not only in a constant intercourse between the human hero and the divinity, but also in the annihilation of the enemies of the human hero directly by the god. Sudās is, thus, said to be directly assisted by Indra (VII-18). It is Indra who is said to have killed the sons of Varasikha while helping Cāyamāna (VI-27-5). Indra figures prominently in the wars on the bank of Puruṣṇī, the Yamunā and the Hariyūpiyā (VII-18-8; -9; VI-27-5). It is because of Indra that the scattered armies

4. Hopkins, "Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India", *JAOS*, XIII, p. 57 ff. For weapons see *Ibid.*, 235; Chakravarti, "Art of War in Ancient India", Dikṣitar, "War in Ancient India". Also see Keith, "Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upanisads", p. 288; Ram Gopal, "India of Vedic Kalpasūtras" 184 ff, Apte, "Social and Religious Life in the Gr̥hyasūtras", p. 50 ff.

of the Sudās were again rallied together (VII-33-5). There is another point. Sometimes Indra is said to help Sudās; but at other times he helps his enemies. He helps Sudās as against Druhyu, Turvaśa, Puru, Yadu, etc. (VII-18-13; 14; 6, etc.), while he helps also the latter (I-174-9; IV-30-17; V-31-8, etc.). This suggests a belief among the Vedic people that the one who gets success is impliedly helped in the battle by Indra while the defeated one is forsaken. It is because of this belief that both the armies are said to invoke Indra for protection (II-12-8). There appears to be a regular competition for winning over Indra to one's side. Vasiṣṭha is actually said to have won over Indra from the side of one Pāsadyumna Vāyata (VII-18-2). In the wake of this belief in the divine leadership it will be good to examine the point whether this presence of the god was only a spiritual affair, or it had also a place in the ritual-practice. Out of the hymns for the consecration of the king for war,⁵ two (X-103 and X-152) have Indra as the deity, while the other three (VI-75; X-173 and X-174) are directly associated with the king, the deities being invoked to sustain him who is the central figure. As regards the Indra-hymns (X-10-3 and 152) it can be said that these identify the king and Indra; and, when the king proceeded to the battle-field he was consecrated as the very Indra. But then this would not go very well with the fact that the human king is *helped* by Indra, which differentiates the two. As on the spiritual plane Indra would be invoked to assist the king, it would be natural to have a depiction of him carried in battle, or at the advance of the army. It is granted that it is difficult to find a pointed reference to the custom of carrying the image of Indra in the front of the army; but the possibility cannot be entirely ruled out.

The Banner and Indra

That the R̥gVeda knew war-banners is beyond doubt. It refers to war-banner as *dhvaja* (VIII-85-2a; X-103-11a) and we also get a reference to the *ketu* with the war-drum (VI-47-31), which is said to be the first of Indra (Ibid-30). At another place, and in a different context, we have a reference to the effect that Indra

5. VI-75; X-103; X-152; X-173; X-174; also partly VI-47-29 ff.

is "hoisted" like a pole,⁶ which, probably hints at the erection of the representation of Indra in some form or the other. Now in the very next verse (I-10-2) we get the expression that, when Indra climbed from top to top, he shook in the company of his followers.⁷ The followers of Indra are, undoubtedly, the Maruts. The expression would, then, indicate Indra's movement at a height along with the Maruts, the wind-gods. This, with the idea of the hoisting of Indra, would give the image of a high staff fitted with a flag at the top, fluttering in the wind. The custom is clearly hinted at in the expression that compares Indra with the pole (*yūpa*) erected at the door of a house.⁸ It is likely, hence, that some representation of Indra was customarily used on auspicious occasions. The banner of Indra (*Indra-dhvaja*) has an ancient tradition and its erection was enjoined as a mark of royalty. The famous account of Vasu Uparicara bears testimony to this fact.⁹ The high position of Indra, as on a pole, is yet elsewhere suggested in the *R̥gVeda*. Thus he is desired to be bent as a container in a well (IV-17, 16). Even generally accepting that idol-worship was not prevalent among the Aryans,¹⁰ it cannot be said that the *R̥gVeda* does not support some kind of representation of the deity. The erection of the pole at the door and the hoisting of sacrificial posts which are said to be the banners of the sacrifice (III-8-8), and are hoisted for great prosperity (III-8-2, *mahate saubhagāya*), no doubt, contributed to the later custom of the *Indra-dhvaja*. War being the event of great importance, and an occasion for prosperity and the establishment of supremacy, it is natural that the *Indra-dhvaja* was associated with it later. As the custom of hoisting poles obtains in the *R̥gVeda* it is not improbable that some representation of Indra—the war-god—was erected and carried at

6. I-10-1—*ud-vanśam-iva yemire*. Sāyana—"as do the pole-dancers hoist the pole".

7. *yat sanoḥ sānum āruhat bhūryaspaṣṭa kartvam/tad indro artham cetati yūthena vṛṣṇr ejati*.

8. I-51-14, *indro aśrayi duryo na yūpaḥ*.

9. Mb. Ādi-63-18 ff; *Brhatsamhitā*, 43. The *Indra-mahotsava* seems to be a social form of the original royal rite. See also *Mṛcchakaṭika* V; *Raghuvamśa* IV-3.

10. Keith, "Religion and Phil. of The Veda and the Up.", Vol. I, p. 31.

the advance of the army, like that of Agni.¹¹ At another place we have a reference to a horse carrying a deity.¹²

The practice of hoisting the banners or poles of Indra, which is, thus, suggested in the ṚgVeda, is prominently seen in the later literature; and we have reason to believe that the war-banner was prominently an embodiment of Indra. The banner of *Aśvat-thāmā* is said to be like that of Indra,¹³ thus, showing the continuity of the belief. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* refers to the erection of the Indra-banner for the purpose of victory and protection of the soldiers in war.¹⁴ Though it may be taken to refer to the *Garuḍa-dhvaja*, the praise starts with the address to and the invocation of Indra; and here we have a clear case of the identification of Indra and *Garuḍa*. This would only show that, though the banner shows *Garuḍa* on it, its former deity was Indra. From the *Kāśyapa Samhitā* we know that at the preparation of the *Garuḍa-dhvaja* a *mantra* from the Indra-hymn, which traditionally

11. See Dange, "Ketu or the War-Banner in the ṚgVeda", J. Indian Hist., Vol. XLII, Pt. ii, No. 125. (Aug. 1964). The banner is often said to be like fire. Cf. *Rām.* VI-43-2; 44-7; *Mb.* Droṇa, 105-3 etc.

12. *ṚgV.* III-27-14, *aśvam na deva-vāhanam*. The word *deva-vāhana* occurs only once in the *ṚgV.*, and has to be differentiated from *havya-vāhana*, (an epithet of Agni) in spite of Sāyaṇa's rendering. See Geldner, "wie ein Roz die gotter fährt"—Der Rig Veda", I. Cf. *indraḥ pura etu naḥ* in the famous *mantra* (X-152-2) used for the erection of the banner. That Indra was the leader of the army on the terrestrial plane is clear from the fact that he alone is called *Senyaḥ* (I-81-2; VII-30-2). He is also *senaniḥ* (VII-20-5), an epithet shared only by Soma (IX-96-1) among the gods and *Manyu* (X-84-2) who is Indra himself.

13. *Mb.* Droṇa-105-11, where we have the expression *pavanoddhūtam śakra-dhvaja-sama-prabham*, which shows that the *Indra-dhvaja* known to the *Mb.* was fitted with a flying flag. Cf. *ṚgV.* I-51-2.

14. *Viṣṇu Dh.* p. II-160-10 ff—

śatakrato mahāvira suparṇas-tatsutāśritaḥ (tu tvadāśritaḥ?)

patatrirādvainateyas tathā nārāyaṇa-dhvajaḥ

kāśyapeyo'mṛta-hartā nagārīr-viṣṇu-vāhanaḥ

aprameyo durādharṣo raṇe caivāriṣūdanah

garutmnān māruta-gatis tvayi sannihitaḥ sthitaḥ

sāśvavarmāyudhān yodhān rakṣāsmān mahadripūn.

It can be seen that the praise is that of Indra (*śatakratu*) and *Garuḍa* is said to be on the flag.

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used at the consecration of the king for war, is used.¹⁵ This would not only show that as the symbol of victory Garuḍa was accepted by a later tradition, but, would also indicate the banner to be an emblem of Indra in the earlier tradition. It is to be noted that the *Garuḍa-dhvaja* is to be hoisted in the month of Bhādrapada according to the *Kāśyapa Samhitā*,¹⁶ which is precisely the month for the *Indra-mahotsava*.¹⁷

The above discussion will show that the banner with Garuḍa on it was an aspect of the *Indra-dhvaja*. It was not only an indication of royalty¹⁸ in peace, but also a harbinger of success in war as can be seen from the *Viṣṇu Dh. P.* The identification of Indra and Garuḍa as regards the banner has its seeds in the *ṚgVeda* itself, where Indra is often said to be the bird *śyena* or *suparṇa*.¹⁹ Though Garuḍa never occurs in the *ṚgVeda*, he is, later, identified with *suparṇa-śyena*.²⁰ In this connection the banner of Arjuna poses an important point, and appears to be only another form of the banner of Indra. Arjuna is said to have a monkey on his banner.²¹ It is important to note that, in spite of the account of how Hanūmat took his position on the banner of Arjuna,²² the latter is never called *Hanūmat-dhvaja*, the usual epithet being only *monkey-bannered*.²³ Now looking to the close association of Arjuna with Indra,²⁴ it will be well to see if there

15. Gonda—"Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism", p. 246. The figure of Garuḍa with stretched hands and in the *virāsana* position is painted on the banner as the *mantra* "*svastidā*" etc. is recited. Gonda notes the *mantra* as from the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*. The earliest source, however, is the *ṚgVeda*, (X-152-2).

16. Gonda, *op.cit.*, p. 247.

17. *Brhatsamhitā*, 43.

18. J. N. Bannerjea—"Development of Hindu Iconography", (Calcutta, 1956), p. 103 note.

19. *ṚgV.* IV—27-1; 4; 26-4. As a *śyena* Indra takes away *soma* from the mouth of the demon *Śuṣṇa* (*Kāthaka Samhitā*, 37-14).

20. The first notable identification is in the *Suparnādhyaṇya*. The account in the *ṚgV-khila* (II-1) is obviously later; it resembles the Mb.

21. Mb. Bhīṣma, 25-20; Droṇa, 105-8; 29.

22. Mb. Vana, 151-17.

23. As the generator of Arjuna (Mb. Ādi, 63-116); helping Arjuna by depriving Karna of his earrings, (*Ibid.*, 67-144) etc.

24. *Jaiminiya Br.* I-363.

is any connection between the monkey and Indra. Indra is actually said to have assumed the form of a monkey, when he stole *soma* from the sacrifice of Naimiṣa.²⁵ He is also said to have been propitiated with an oblation when he ran away with *soma* and sat upon a tree.²⁶ Now the banner of Arjuna has more than the monkey. It is said to be having a tail of a lion, and a fierce face.²⁷ This tallies with the description of the banner of Aśvatthāmā which also has the tail of the lion and is said to be like the banner of Śakra. The epithets *ugra* and *Bhīma* are primarily used in the R̥gVeda for Indra, with the few exceptions of Brahmanaspati and Agni who are also war-gods. He is also often compared with the lion (X-180-2; IV-16-14 etc.). It seems probable, hence, that the idea in the war-banner of Arjuna or of Aśvatthāmā is that of the *Śakra-dhvaja*. The same can be said of other war-banners, though in later times various figures appear on them.²⁸ The smaller banners—the *ketus*—represented Agni symbolically.

Being the representation of Agni or Indra, the banner was more than a mere mark of distinction for the army. It can be gathered that the banner was for the protection of the army. This will be clear from the fact that the *mantra*, *svastidā viśaspatih* etc.

25. Śatapatha Br. I-6-9-18.

26. Mb. Drona, 105-8, *simha-lāṅgūlam ugrāsyam dhvajam vānara-lakṣaṇam*.

27. Ibid., 10-11—

tathaiva simha-lāṅgūlam droṇaputrasya-bhārata

dhvajāgram sam apaśyāma bālasūryasamaprabham

kāñcanam pavanoddhūtam śakra-dhvajasamaprabham

with this compare R̥gV. IV-16-14, where Indra is said to shine like the lion in the vicinity of the Sun. With the concept of the tail of the lion in the banner may be compared the banners on Hindu temples in actual use even to-day, having a ball of wool or cotton at the end.

28. Mb. Drona, 28 ff, for various figures: "Yogayātrā", VI-I ff. An image said to be of Herakles was carried before the army of Porus; see Mac Crindle, "Invasion of India by Alexander the Great", p. 208-209. Dr. Shastri (J. Indian History, Vol. XLII, Pt. 1, April 1964, p. 120 ff) identifies the image as that of Śiva. But Śiva is usually associated with the skin of the tiger or the elephant while Herakles is associated with the skin of the lion and a staff, as Dr. Shastri rightly notes. In view of the references from the Mb. we have noted, the image appears to be that of Indra as Bevan thinks. See "Cambridge History of India" (Delhi, 1955), p. 328. It cannot be, however, of Kṛṣṇa as alternately suggested by Bevan.

(RgVeda X-152-2), in which Indra is praised and which occurs in one of the hymns for war-consecration, is directly preceded by another in the Taittiriya Br. (III-7-11-3) which invokes Indra for protection from one who would cause fear (RgVeda VIII-61-13). The verse does not come in the traditional war-hymns; but suggests the war atmosphere. In the verse just preceding (i.e. VIII-61-12) the terrible Indra is said to be *employed* in war as he is the destroyer of the enemies.²⁹ Probably, this *employment* refers to the actual ritual of hoisting some sort of an image—possibly on a banner—prior to the advance. The Atharva Veda has the same *mantra* (*svastidā* etc.)³⁰ and according to Sāyaṇa, it is used as a charm of safety prior to starting on a journey and so on. This belief in the banner being for protection in war is clearly seen in the verses from the *Viṣṇu-Dharmottara-P.*³¹ we have already noted. It is easy to understand that it is not the banner, in itself, that protects; it is the deity that it represents! The deity in the banner, thus has a two-fold purpose:—(i) to protect the army and (ii) to keep defeat away. In the second is the germ of the custom of making the banner look fierce, or imposing, by means of various figures. We have already noted how the monkey and the bird Garuḍa are associated with the war-banner. We learn from the Mb. that the banner of Arjuna was not merely said to be the *kapi-dhvaja*; but, also, was terrible. It had a terrible face and a tail of a lion. It is said to protect the army of Arjuna causing fear in the minds of the enemy.³² The same idea is reflected in the

29. Cf. *ugram yuyujma pṛtanāsu sāsahim*

30. A. V. I-12-1. (RgV. X-152-2). The *mantra* is—
svastidā viśaspatir vrtrahā vimṛṣo vadhī
vrṣendraḥ pura etu naḥ somapā abhayamkaraḥ

31. See note 14. See also *Yogayātrā* VI-3 which enjoins the following *mantra* from the RgV. (IV-31-3) when the image of Indra is being carried if the army advances to the eastern direction—
abhiḥ su naḥ sakhinām avitā jaritrṇām
śatam bhavāsy ūtibhiḥ.

The word *ūtibhiḥ* is to be marked. The idea of protection in war is clearly seen in—RgV. VII-27-1; 2; 4 28-4; 30-1; 2 etc.

32. *simha-laṅgūlam ugrāsyam dhvajam vānaralakṣaṇam* and *trāsayāmāsa tat sainyam dhvajo gāṇḍīva-dhanvanaḥ*. The word *trāsayāmāsa* is interesting. Though in later Sanskrit it means 'terrified', in the RgV. it has the connotation of 'protection'; See RgV. I-128-5; 7; V-62-6; 41-1; VIII-62-4; IV-55-1.

speech of Hanūmat who says that he would roar terribly from the banner of Arjuna so as to cause death in the rival army (Mb. Vana-149-17, 18). This belief in the divinity, that the banner represented, is to be marked from the account of the army of Porus, according to which it was an offence punishable by death to discard the image in the field of battle; for it was the god that would take revenge if so insulted.³³ The point gets support in the ṚgVeda in the fact that the arrows or the weapons were directed at the banners (*dhvajeṣu didyavaḥ patanti*—VII-85-2), obviously to smash the banner and nullify the divine support of the enemy.³⁴

The Ritual Drink and Offering

There is an indication that prior to starting on the expedition, the king offered to Indra and other gods. It is clearly said that the king is supported by the offering, and Indra supports him. It is said that, as the offering is *stable*, it will make the king firm in battle, thus establishing a cause-and-effect relationship.³⁵ The king is said to partake of the same *haviḥ* as was partaken of by Indra (X-174-4). This would make the king the victor and render him without any enemy. While partaking of this *havis* the king is enjoined to say that he has become the enemy-less victor (*ibid-d*). There is another epithet applied to the *havis*. Besides being *stable* (*dhruva*) it is said to be *abhivarta* (*ibid-i*), obviously because it is expected to give success as it did to Indra. The king himself

33. J. W. Mac Crindle, "Invasion of India by Alexander the Great", pp. 208.

34. For banners destroyed in war see Mb. Karna V-50; 15-39; Rāmāyana—VI-44-7 (monkeys tearing the banners). A more interesting reference is where Nila—the monkey-chief—is said to dart directly at the banner of Rāvaṇa (VI-79-79 ff). The fall of the banner indicated the death of the king (Brhatsamhitā—43-74); The Romans carried the banner in the front of the army; but in actual battle-action it was at the rear of the army, (Hastings—"Enclop. Rel. & Ethics", Vol. II, p. 349a), probably to save it from dishonour, and to avert an evil omen. The Assyrians had in the banner a deity placed within a disc at the top of the pole (Layard—"Monuments of Nineveh", I series, 1849, p. 14; 27; also Ragozin "Assyria"—1888, p. 252. The banner of the Hasmonaens was identified with Jahweh and had the inscription—"Who is like Thee among the mighty, Jahweh" Hastings *op.cit.*, p. 349-6).

35. X 173-3; *imam indro adīdharad dhruvam dhruveṇa haviṣā*.

becomes *abhivarta* by partaking of this offering (Ibid-4). The word or any other word of similar formation, never elsewhere occurs in the RgVeda and its occurrence only in the hymn for war-consecration leaves no doubt about its special use. The idea, obviously, is to infuse the king with some kind of power so that he could stand the onslaught of the enemy, and return victorious. Further, there is the suggestion of a ritual of touching *soma* (X-173-6), which is said to be stable (*dhruva*) by the *havis* which itself is *dhruva* (Ibid). This ritual of touching the *stable* things would magically make the king firm and advancing (*abhivarta*). If Indra has been the main protector and the ideal leader of the army, we may not be wrong in taking his war-preparation as a norm for that of the king. The ritual touch and drinking of *soma* by the king goes well with the special liking of Indra for the drink. There is reason to believe that *soma* was drunk by the king as a war-ritual for Indra, the norm of the king, is said to partake of the drink of *soma*, as a rule before war, whether it is the cosmic one or the terrestrial one, when he is said to help the human counterpart. Elsewhere it is said that Indra's infatuation (due to *soma*) is needed in war (VIII-46-8), and that drinkers of *soma* are said to be invulnerable to the enemy (VIII-48-3; X-26-9). It is this belief that makes Soma the *Senāniḥ* (leader in army), next only to Indra (IX-96-1).

It is useful to note in this connection that it is not only the drink (*soma*) which is said to be efficacious in rousing the might of Indra; but the chanting of *mantras* is also equally important. The RgVeda abounds in expressing this belief,³⁶ and shows the trace of the later belief that enjoins *mantras* to be chanted, not only at the war-consecration but also at other rituals as the support to the physical activity, which is believed to be incomplete without them.³⁷ The warrior, thus, is prepared both mentally and

36. Cf. *somasya tā mada indraś cakāra* the famous refrain (II-15); also, II-12-14; VI-44-14; 15; 17; VIII-17-18 etc.

37. V-29-6 where Indra is said to have got success by the *mantra* in the *triṣṭubh* metre. *Soma* and praise (in *mantras*) madden Indra for valour (IV-42-6; VII-19-11) for *mantras* helping and completing the physical activity see Nirukta, I-16; Aitareya Br. III-5 where the *ṛk* is said to be *abhirūpā*; see also Gonda "The Indian Mantra" (Orience, 1963).

physically and goes to war well protected. This protection is further aided by the wearing of various ornaments and by adornment.³⁸

War and Sacrifice

The presence of Indra and Agni symbolised by the *dhvaja* (the banner) and the *ketu* (smaller banner or the flag) in the war at once suggests it to be equal in motif to a sacrifice. It will be seen that the Ṛgveda concept of war is based on that of the sacrifice. This is clear from the fact that Turvaśa—one of the kings that rose against Sudās—himself became a *puroḍāśa*, though desirous of sacrificing a victim (VII-8-6), and Cāyamāna, the wise became the sacrificial animal (Ibid, 8). Indra is said to uphold the banner in the war when Agni is said to be sacrificing to the gods like a powerful sacrificer (VII-30-2). The mixing of the sacrificial atmosphere and that of the war is clearly seen from the fact that, the *ghoṣa* for Indra is said to go aloft in the battle-field when sacrificial food is kept ready; and Indra is to be highly praised, as the span of one's life is not known.³⁹ Indra is said to lead the sacrifice so that war may be won (IV-20-3). Brahmanaspati is said to collect debt (from the enemy) in the battle (i.e., help the king win the war) when the priest pours the offering in the fire in the sacrificial assembly (II-24-13).⁴⁰ The victory in war is said to be the direct result of the sacrificial performance of the priests. Thus Vasiṣṭha is said to invoke Indra and Varuṇa in the sacrificial assembly to accept the praise so that Bheda, the enemy of Sudās, might be vanquished in the battle (VII-83-4). This would suggest that sacrifice and war were connected in the ṚgVedic belief. This also shows that sacrifice was a continuous ritual as long as the war lasted, and gave sympathetic support to the war activity, a custom clearly testified in the later scriptures.⁴¹ There is a clearer testimony to this

38. See Dange, "Adornment as a Protective Measure" (Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume, 1965), p. 87 ff.

39. VII-23-1 & 2. For interpretation see Velankar, ṚgVeda Maṇḍala VII (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1963).

40. *utāśiṣṭhā anu śṛṇvanti vahnayaḥ sabheyo vipro bharate matī dhanā viḥudveṣā anu vaśa ṛnamādadiḥ sa ha vāḥi samithe brahmanaspatiḥ*
The next verse makes the point clearer, when Brahmanaspati is said to go to war and collect *ṛna*, i.e. the booty.

41. In the Horse sacrifice the sacrifice goes on for the whole year. Keith *op.cit.*, p. 344. Cf. Rāmāyaṇa VI 84-13, 14 where Indrajit is said

fact in the R̥gVeda itself; for, the Tṛtsus are said to be propitiating Indra and Varuna, where (i.e., in the battle-field) these gods were engaged in protecting the king Sudās, who was surrounded by the armies of the enemy.⁴² The close association of war and the sacrifice will be clear from the fact that Indra is said to be protected by sacrifice when he went to kill Vṛtra (III-32-12). The belief in the close association and the cause-and-effect relationship between war and the sacrifice results in having the common terms for both.⁴³

Aspect of R̥ta

War being only another form of sacrifice, it gets connected with the most important conception in the R̥gVeda—the R̥ta. The Vedic R̥ta is the principle of Arch Action, as the very name shows.⁴⁴ It is generally understood as the name for UNIVERSAL ORDER. But it should be noted that the order does not imply inaction. It stands for continuous ACTION, also imbibing steadiness. It is in this Action (that is R̥TA), *satya* is said to be established.⁴⁵ The whole idea behind sacrifice is that of connecting the earthly activities with the divine realm. It is through the ritual of sacrifice that the earthly actions are set into the cosmic sphere.⁴⁶ War,

to return to the sacrificial chamber *nikumbhila* during the course of the battle to gain renewed valour. The place appears to be right in the vicinity of the battle-field. Cf. R̥gV. VII-83-8, where the sacrifice in the vicinity of the battle-field is hinted at.

42. VII-83-8—

Cf. *dāśarājñe pariyattāya viśvataḥ
sudās indrāvaruṇāvaśikṣatam
śvityaṅco yatra namasā kapardino
dhiyā dhīvanto asapanta tṛtsavaḥ*

The word *yatra* is to be noted. The Tṛtsus are said to be the Vasiṣṭhas. For various opinions see Vedic Index.

43. Cf. *samarya*; *samitha*; *samat*; more pointed is *havīman* (VII-83-4); also *deva-vīti* (*Ibid.*, 19-4), where many enemies are killed; the word also means sacrifice (V-42-10; IX-96-14; 97-2 etc.).

44. For other interpretations of this term see Velankar *op.cit.*, iv, also J. D. Guillemin, 'Heraclitus and Iran' (*History of Religions*) — Chicago Uni. Summer 1963, Vol. III, No. 1.

45. Velankar, *op.cit.*, 6 ff.

46. Bergaigne, "Religion Vedique" (1878), Vol. I; pp. vii-viii. For this concept in ritual see the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* (I-10; II-11 etc.) where the human acts are said to be accomplished by divine hands.

being closely associated with the sacrifice, gets to be a phase of the Universal Action. Thus, Brahmanaspati (in the context of war, the presiding deity of the war-chants), has a bow with the string of *ṛta* (II-24-8). His chariot is of *ṛta* (Ibid, 23-3) and he is the punisher of the *brahma*-haters (Ibid., 4). He is said to bestow wealth upon the sacrificer (warrior) who upholds *ṛta* and kills the enemies (23-17). This activity on the part of Brahmanaspati of helping the warrior-sacrificer is connected at the end of the hymn with the cosmic exploit of the release of the waters, one of the most common and the most fundamental indications of *ṛta*.

The inclusion of the earthly activity in the sphere of the cosmic, thus making it an aspect of the Universal Activity (*ṛta*), is a conspicuous style of the ṚgVedic narration. The account of the divine help in war is often associated with that of the cosmic exploits. We have noted the fusion of the cosmic activity in the case of the exploits of Brahmanaspati. At VII-23 the hymn begins with the note of war, but after two verses we have the reference to the cosmic activity of the release of waters (V-4).⁴⁷ It is this close relationship of war with the cosmic order that validates the belief in the gods helping the human hero or the king, his enemies being the earthly forms of *Vṛtra* (*vṛtrāṇi*; cf. VII-19-4; -83-9). The word *vṛtrahatya*, thus, comes to be a common noun for war.⁴⁸ As the earthly war becomes the aspect of *ṛta*, and also of sacrifice, it is but proper that, not only Soma, Agni or Brahmanaspati but also, the *dakṣiṇā* and the very sacrifice are said to lead the advancing army, which is not, now, the earthly army; but the veritable *deva-senā* (X-103-8), and the king is praised as the leader of the army as Indra in his cosmic exploits (X-103-6, 7 ff).⁴⁹ It is pertinent to note, in this connection, a famous ritual which presents the unique fusion of war and the cosmic activity of the release of the

47. It should be, however, noted that this release of the waters does not refer only to the cosmic waters. On this point see Dange "Survivals in the ṚgVedic Indra Myth", J. Nagpur Uni. April, 1965, Vol. XV, No. 2 (Humanities), p. 166 ff.

48. So is also *ahi-hatya*; Cf. I-61-8; 165-6; III-32-12; 47-4. For *Vṛtrahatya* see I-52-4; IV-19-1 etc.

49. The hymn is traditionally used at consecration for war, as already noted.

sun.⁵⁰ It is the Horse-sacrifice. The horse that is released at the horse-sacrifice is the symbol of the sun;⁵¹ and the ritual-release of the horse amounts to the release of the sun. He is well-protected throughout his journey back to the starting place, thus completing the yearly course of the sun. After him go the warriors who protect him, and subjugate the opponents. The horse is said to be tethered by straps that are said to be of *ṛta*,⁵² thus giving the idea, that the king who releases the horse performs a ritual that is a phase of *ṛta*—the cosmic action. The horse that starts on his march to make the king, who sits sacrificing the whole year round, the lord of the earth, is supposed to be mounted by Indra (I-163-2), which imbibes the conception of the horse being the *deva-vāhana* (cf. note 12). It is, thus, clear that the horse-sacrifice establishes a par between the cosmic order and the ritual of the march for the overlordship of the earth, not without a probable war during the course of the march. Here a myth gets enacted in the ritual. It is this belief in the war being the aspect of the *ṛta* that identifies it with the sacrifice, where the *haviḥ* is the body itself.

The complete identification of sacrifice and war helps another belief which forms into an oft-employed motif in mythology. As the king, who sets out for war, is brought on par with Indra, the former is believed to have the power to go to help the god in the battles against the *asuras*.⁵³ The epic descriptions of the divine help, and the free intercourse between the human heroes and the divinities, are, thus, not simply fantastic; they are based on a belief having a long history. This belief, as seen in the *R̥gVeda*, does not teach resort to fate. On the contrary, it reflects the firm conviction that the hand of the human is backed by the divine power.

50. For the release of the sun see, II-12-7; 11-8; III-32-8; VII-87-1 etc.

51. Keith, *op.cit.*, p. 346, note 3. Negelein "Das Pfred im arischen Altertum", p. 97.

52. I-163-5. *atrā te bhadra raśanā apaśyam ṛtasya*.

For the suggestion of the army marching after the horse, see *ibid.*, 8.

53. Daśaratha helping the gods-Rāmāyaṇa, II-9-11; etc.

Revolution and Tradition in Modern Indian History

BY

PETER MUNZ,

Victoria University of Wellington

AND

BRIJEN GUPTA,

Brooklyn College, City University of New York

One does not have to be a profound historian to see that modern Indian society is going through a revolution. It has become customary, both in India and abroad, to sum up all these revolutionary changes under the concept of 'the rise of nationalism'. The rise of nationalism in Asia conjures up vague thoughts of the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century Europe. This not only makes us tolerant of Asian nationalism, for we think we have memories of that sort of thing in our own history, but also makes us think that we understand the phenomenon as a twentieth century recapitulation of what happened in Europe earlier.

Yet India presents a peculiar problem. If we understand it correctly, we will not be able to sum up her modern history under the concept of the rise of nationalism. In India there is a *double* revolution. Modern India owes her existence at once to a revolution against Britain and to a revolution against her own past. It is here that the comparison with European nationalism breaks down completely. In Europe the upsurge against the past and the *ancien regime* was a simple affair, for it was one and the same thing. The Bourbon monarchy—or, for that matter, the Habsburg—was two enemies in one. They were at the same time both the obstacle to nationalism and the obstacle to liberalism. They stood both for the past *and* for the principle of legitimacy—

the great enemy of national self-determination and liberal government.¹

In India this was not so. The past appeared as the whole traditional system of Indian caste and family life; while the British *Raj* took the place of the principle of legitimacy that stood in the way of national self-determination. Now if the British *Raj* had identified itself squarely with the traditions of Indian history the revolution could have assailed both at the same time as it did in Europe. But it so happened—and this is by no means a pure accident—that the British *Raj* was often, if not always, very liberal and very anti-traditional. As a result the Indian revolutionaries tended to get their wires crossed. They had to attack the British, but defend the Indian past which the British attacked, or at least endangered. Or else logic often compelled them to defend British rule and attack the Indian past, and get the British rule to help them in this attack. There were Indians, of course, who took one of these two clear stands. Most of the supporters of the Mutiny took the former line;^{1a} and men like Gokhale and the leaders of early Congress took the latter.² But for the most part such a neat choice was not really possible. For the traditional life of Indian caste and family were not really worth preserving in their entirety. At the same time British rule, in bulk, no matter how enlightened and liberal, was too foreign and humiliating. Thus

1. It is not suggested that all European nationalist movements were identical. For various types of nationalism in Europe one might refer to Lewis Namier's *Vanished Supremacies* (London).

1a. In most manifestoes issued during the mutiny, recovery of ancient traditions, considered by the mutineers to be under concerted British attacks, was given as the principal motive for uprisings. Cf. Kutub Ali Shah's manifesto: "...these English...have endeavoured to contaminate the Hindu and Mohammadan religion by the production and circulation of religious books, through the medium of missionaries, and by extirpating such books as offered arguments against them...[by] the forcible marriage of Hindu widows...[by] the abolition of the ancient rite of sati...[by] the exaltation of those who may embrace the Christian faith..." Cited in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1857-58, XLIV, pt. iv, 851-52. For other manifestoes see, George Dodd, *A History of Indian Revolt and of the Expedition to Persia, China and Japan* (London, 1859), 410-11, 427-28. Also, *infra*, footnote 13.

2. On Gokhale's attitude towards the British and his faith in British rule as a liberating force: Stanley A. Wolpert, *Tilak and Gokhale* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962) especially 44,

there developed a typically Indian nationalist outlook which was essentially confused and ambivalent. Indians opposed British rule. To do so they had to discover their own identity and defend social and political traditions and institutions in the name of which the British *Raj* was to be opposed. This sense of identity, however, was based upon a re-evocation of the past. Such adherence to ancient traditions was likely to stifle the revolution against those customs dominating family and caste life that prevented the industrial revolution and the urbanisation of India. The fight against the British was, therefore, likely to conjure up the dead hand of the past. And the British once defeated, India might be left with the dead weight of village life and caste institutions which would prevent the modernization of Indian society.

This situation produced enough confusion of thought. It was infinitely aggravated by the ambivalent attitudes which a succession of British administrators took. If one arranged all British rulers of India in a scale, one would find Warren Hastings at one extreme and Macaulay at the other. In between them, all the other rulers ranged in varying degrees of traditionalism.

Hastings was essentially a traditionalist. He had personally a deep respect for Indian history and life and learning and was responsible for the first systematic attempts to preserve and study these traditions.³ He saw himself as an oriental governor, stepping into the place vacated by the diminishing authority of the Mughal rulers. He collected taxes in their name; he conducted politics with their methods. This was something which the conscience of Burke could not stomach; for Burke, though steeped in tradition and history, could not really believe that one could be tradition-minded in a tradition other than that of Britain.⁴

3. Statements of Hastings are cited in C. R. Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings* I (London, 1841), especially 263. Also see his letter to Lord Moira (afterwards the Marquess of Hastings) cited in A. Mervyn Davies, *Warren Hastings, Ruler of British India* (London, 1935), 101-02. Sir William ("Asiatic") Jones and Charles Wilkins, fathers of Indian classical studies, began their work in Indology during Hastings's governor-generalship.

4. "To Burke the Indians were a backward race for whom the British as the forward race had to act as trustee. A governor, like Hastings, was faithless to the trust if he didn't govern according to the superior code of Western morality." *Ibid.*, 99.

He thought that 'respect for history' meant respect for British history, and therefore he considered Hastings, with his respect for Indian history, an unpalatable revolutionary. Ironically, Hastings was the supreme Burkean in India!

Next in line to Hastings stand the Romantics, men like Munro and Elphinstone, whose attitude to Indian institutions and village life was essentially paternal. They respected village India. Unlike Hastings they did not mean to leave it entirely alone; they wanted to improve upon it a bit, so as to restore it to its early purity and beauty.⁵ They interfered, not to destroy but to preserve all the better.

A bit further to the left we find Curzon, who had a very finely developed sense of the notion of Mughal rule in India, who loved *durbars* and centralized supervision. He also showed a fine sense of India's past achievements and was the first viceroy to forbid British soldiers to keep their horses in the great court of the Agra Fort.⁶ Curzon was also responsible for the foundation of the Archaeological Survey, to which we owe such splendid work in the excavation and preservation of Indian monuments. Nevertheless, Curzon was not a pure traditionalist in the sense of Hastings; nor a romantic who wanted to preserve the simplicity of Indian village life.⁷ He wanted to substitute himself for the great Mughal, and showed great appreciation of the Indian land-

5. "The present system," wrote Elphinstone, "suits the people whom indeed it has helped to form, and it probably is capable of being made tolerably perfect by gradual improvements as they appear to be called for." In K. Ballhatchet, *Social Policy and Social Change in Western India* (London, 1957), 30-31. Also see his letter to his 'intellectual father' Munro (*ibid.*, 32). In his letter to Davis (17 June 1819) he stressed: "The native system *under us* ought to produce permanent happiness to our subjects." (Emphasis added.) *Loc. cit.*

6. Historical monuments recovered by Curzon from profane and/or military use are detailed in Curzon's speech on the enactment of the Ancient Monuments Act of 1904, excerpted in Lovat Fraser, *India under Curzon and After* (London, 1911), 361-62.

7. At the Calcutta University Convocation, 1904, Curzon made an address, reminiscent of Macaulay, stating that "the highest ideal of truth was to a large extent a Western exception," while in India "craftiness and diplomatic vile have always been held in high repute." Had he read the *Arthashastra*?

owning aristocracy and of the Indian princes, whom he considered the pillars of British rule, but not partners in British rule.⁸ Next to the left we find Dalhousie, influenced by Utilitarian thought but not wholly radical and doctrinaire. Dalhousie's two doctrines—of lapse and paramountcy—tended to promote the unification of India, of centralized government, and were an attack on the traditional political system.⁹ Then, quite to the left, we find the real Utilitarians, Mill, Macaulay, Bentinck and a host of minor figures.¹⁰ Their attitude is best described by Macaulay's famous minute on education. He considered India hopelessly dominated by superstitious nonsense, outdated social institutions, and inhuman practices. The text is too well known to warrant quoting. The influence of these people was wholly destructive of ancient customs and the ancient Indian way of life. The Utilitarians, of course, had no illusion as to what they were doing. They knew that once they were able to undermine the ancient traditions of life and thought in India, India would become modernized, and then the Indians would claim self-government and independence. This, Macaulay considered, would be the proudest day of English imperialism.

One cannot leave this survey of British attitudes without mentioning yet another complicating factor. It will have been noticed that if one arranges British rulers in order according to their attitudes to Indian tradition one completely destroys all chronological order. There is no neat and steady progress from Hastings on the right to Macaulay on the left. After Hastings and the Romantics came the Utilitarians along with Dalhousie. And after that came the reaction at the time of the Mutiny, when the British decided to become more paternal; but instead of reverting to the Romantics they compromised. When in 1861 Canning ap-

8. Curzon steadfastly opposed the establishment of an Indian Privy Council composed of the princes. He wanted to use them; he did not want their advice; nor did he want to share his powers with them. Earl of Ronaldshay, *The Life of Lord Curzon* (London, 1928), II, 228 ff. Gokhale correctly called Curzon a modern Aurangzib.

9. Dalhousie considered Indian princely states as anachronisms; he was committed to the idea of a modern unitary state in India. Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India* (Oxford, 1959), 249-50.

10. See Stokes's study on the activities and influence of the Utilitarians.

pointed one or two Indians to his council, he hoped to introduce a shade of representative, though not responsible, government. He thought, perhaps, in terms of Edward I and his Parliaments. This was a concession to anglicisation, not an attempt to preserve Indian village life intact. And then the tide changed again, this time to Curzon's imperialism, so palatable to the Indian princes and so reminiscent of the Great Mughals.

The matter was made more complicated by Christian evangelists. Grant and Wilberforce even outdid Macaulay in their contempt for Indian tradition. "Our religion," Wilberforce said in Parliament, "is sublime, pure and beneficent. The Indian religion is mean, licentious and cruel.... It is one great abomination."¹¹ They thus added religious sanction to the efforts of the Utilitarians to change Indian customs. But Grant, Wilberforce, and their friends had not reckoned with the facts of life. Before long there were Indians who accepted the doctrine of Utility, as Wilberforce had hoped that they would, and began to scrutinise their own religious and social customs from the standpoint of humane utility. However, they did not make a respectful stop at the Bible.¹² To them Christianity appeared as obscurantist and illiberal as their own religious traditions. And thus, in so far as the utilitarian influence tended to assume a Christian and missionary shape in India, it often came to be considered reactionary rather than progressive. This was even more true of the influence of Christianity

11. Speech, 22 June 1813, *Hansard*, 1st Series, XXXVI, 164. Grant called Indians to be "lamentably degenerate and base...and governed by malevolent and licentious passions." *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain* (London, 1813), 71. This is an evangelical broadside against India and her religions. Grant discounted the view, so admirably expressed by Macaulay and Trevelyan, that the spread of English language and ideas and Christianity might lead Indians to desire liberty, self-government and English institutions. "The spirit of English liberty," he pontificated, "is not to be caught from a written description of it by distant and feeble Indians." *Ibid.*, p. 97. The definitive study of Charles Grant is by Ainslee T. Embree, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India* (New York, 1962), especially, pp. 141-57.

12. In this effort Indian intellectuals were aided by Derozio and David Hare. On Derozio; S. C. Sarcar, 'Derozio and Young Bengal,' in *Studies in Bengal Renaissance*, ed. Atul Chandra Gupta (Jadavpur, 1958), pp. 16-32; and on Hare; Pearychand Mittra, *A Biographical Sketch of David Hare* (Calcutta, 1877).

itself.¹³ An enlightened India would use Voltaire against the Bible as soon as against the Veda.

A recent British historian has observed that at the time of the mutiny the real revolutionaries were not the Indians who attacked Britain, but the Indians who supported Britain.¹⁴ There is, of course, obvious truth in this observation. Yet it is a gross oversimplification. To begin with, the mutineers themselves did not look upon it in this fashion. Still, they may have been wrong. What is more indicative is that no one in modern India looks upon it in this fashion. And that too, though understandable, need not necessarily be the final word on the matter. What really makes

13. On the influence of liberal ideas, and the limited influence of Christianity and missionary work; Arthur Mayhew, *Christianity and the Government of India* (London, 1929), and H. C. E. Zacharias, *Renasant India* (London, 1933).

Utilitarians, like Dalhousie, were often under pressures to provide governmental aid to proselytism. An Act passed in 1850 shielded Christian converts from temporal ill-consequences of their conversion. Baptist missionaries of Bengal and Orissa, in 1853, successfully petitioned Dalhousie to stop the subsidy of Rs. 9000 a year to the Jagannath Temple at Puri. There were other incidents. *Parliamentary Papers*, 1857-58, No. 71, pp. 19-20, 25-26, 31-32; and M. Wylie, *Bengal as a Field of Missions* (London, 1854), especially, pp. 378-79. At the same time many military and civilian officials used their position (contrary to the official directive) to further Christian proselytizing effort. See *Parliamentary Papers*, 1857-58, No. 263, pp. 164-68 for the activities of Colonel Wheeler who converted many sepoys under his command. For a more graphic description of the activities of zealous British officials; Rev. M. A. Sherring, *The Indian Church during the Great Rebellion* (London, 1858), pp. 184-85; and Sitaram, *From Sepoy to Subahdar*, ed. Philot (Calcutta, 1861), especially pp. 116-18. Statistical information on missionary institutions and Christian converts is provided in *Thoughts on Missions to India* (Serampore, 1825; 1852), Appendix B.

The activities of these missionaries alienated both the traditionalists and social revolutionaries. The former sparked the mutiny (supra, fn. 1). For the views of the latter see the opinions expressed by Baidyanath Mukherjee in his *Baratvarsiyetihās-sara-samgraha* (in Bengali, 2 vols; Calcutta, 1848-50)—a book imaginative in scope, and objectively critical of European comments on Hindu society. Likewise Ram Mohan Roy began his periodical *Brahman Sebadhi* with the avowed aim of countering missionary propaganda against Hinduism. Later Tattvabodhini Sabha, under the leadership of Debendranath Tagore, and through its *Tattvabodhini Patrika*, acted as the organ of offended Hindu intelligentsia,

14. Percival Spear, *India, Pakistan and the West* (3d ed.; London, 1963), p. 182.

one wonder is this: not the least important causes of the mutiny were the accumulated effects of Dalhousie's doctrines of lapse and paramountcy. The fear of many Indian princes that they or their heirs would sooner or later be deprived of their autonomy; the resentment of displaced heirs; and finally the peculiar conditions created by the annexation of Oudh, all helped to fan the mutiny. This is clear enough.

Yet, Dalhousie's reputation stands very high among people in India today. It is therefore very surprising to find that many modern Indian historians support Dalhousie in his attack upon the princes,¹⁵ yet refuse to look upon the mutineers—who were trying among other things, to defend themselves against Dalhousie's policies—as the enemies of the revolution. The modern Indian revolutionary believes that the mutiny was a first feeble, though not necessarily nationalistic, attempt at resisting the British. As such he identifies himself with it and at the same time he gives his full support to those British policies that were among the gravest causes of the mutiny.

During the nineteenth century these issues did not come into the open very sharply. If one looks at the case of Ram Mohan Roy, for example, one will find that he opposed tradition. He criticised castes and the institution of child marriage, and was greatly influenced by the European liberal spirit. He wanted to start a new rationalist religious movement and envisaged the possibility of cutting loose from the moorings of ancient India. The society which he founded became a great humanitarian influence in Bengal, but his real objectives, which were totally anti-traditional, were soon lost sight of.

On the other side we have Tilak, who proceeded in every respect in the opposite sense. Tilak revived the memories of Sivaji, the Maratha leader; set up cow-protection leagues; opposed the English, and more or less clearly invited violence. He based himself squarely upon traditionalism and objected to any kind of social reform, especially to the raising of the age of child marriage.

15. For a twentieth-century admiring estimate of Dalhousie by a noted Indian scholar (and a senior government official); S. Gopal, "Dalhousie," *History Today*, IX (1959), no. 3, 186-94.

He raised a storm of opposition to the Age of Consent Bill—it violated religious duties, and he denounced every Hindu supporter of it as a traitor to the faith. He always added that his opposition was grounded on the belief that no reform must come from the English, and that once the English were out and India free, he would then look into the matter of reform himself. This was merely a rationalisation. Tilak was a traditionalist and summoned up tradition to defeat the English.¹⁶

In the two examples discussed above, the issue of child marriage has been mentioned. This was indeed no accident. When one reads or hears of social reform in the nineteenth century one thinks most likely of the abolition of *sati*. But *sati* was never widely or universally practised in India.¹⁷ Where it did occur, it was owing to mixed motives, ranging from sheer religious fervour on the part of the widow to the desire of the family to get rid of her. Whatever the ramifications, it was not a very important custom; and its abolition made no great difference. Not so with child marriage.¹⁸ Child marriage is a very ancient institution in India and serves a far reaching purpose. In a sense it is one of the cornerstones of the rigidity of the joint family and caste systems. If the future wife is introduced into the family of her husband at a very early stage, she will genuinely become a member of that family. However, the most important aspect is the effect this has on the husband

16. Wolpert, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-52. Wolpert has convincingly destroyed the view of Tilak's official biographers that their hero was a social revolutionary.

17. Between 1815 and 1823 only 5,425 cases of suttee were reported in 52 districts of Bengal, Bihar, and Northern Provinces (Parliamentary Papers, 1825, No. 508, pp. 151-52). This figure may not be precise; yet it is sufficiently indicative of the insignificant extent of suttee practice. Also see, Edward Thompson, *Suttee* (New York, 1928), especially Chap. 6.

18. The number of child wives and child widows increased from 8,961,913 in 1921 to 12,593,295 in 1931—an increase of over forty per cent. Against this the population increased by only 10.5 per cent, from 319 to 353 million. Cited by D. V. Tahmankar, *Lokmanya Tilak* (London, 1956), p. 45. The Census Commissioner believed that in 1931 at least a million girls under fifteen untruthfully stated themselves as unmarried. Three great Hindu social reformers, Ramakrishna, Ranade, and Karve were married to girls of six, eight, and nine respectively. Gandhi was married at thirteen. Isvarachandra Vidyasagar, who led the fight for widow remarriage in the nineteenth century was circumspect enough to propose the minimum age of girls at marriage to be eleven!

to be. He will, first of all, be prevented from looking for a sexual partner and wife for himself. The early sex impulse, far from driving him beyond the family circle, is given some small scope at a very early age *within* the bosom of the family. When the wife is introduced into his family at an early age, he begins to look upon her as if she were a sister, especially when he cannot engage in sexual congress with her regularly. As a result he fails to develop the experiences of proper sexual passion and aggressiveness. Instead of there developing an individual relationship between husband and wife, their personal relations are kept at a low pitch. Firstly because she is almost his sister and a physical relationship with her is quasi-incestuous, and therefore lacks that intensity which develops in an erotic relationship between strangers.¹⁹ And secondly because whatever relations there are

The Hindu Depressed Classes, and the Muslims, in their 'Sanskritization' process, outstripped the Twice Born in child marriage. In 1931 census the proportion of child wives under ten was higher among the Muslims than among the Hindus. Cited by Eleanor F. Rathbone, *Child Marriage, the Indian Minotaur* (London, 1934), p. 61. The 1951 census showed that at least half the marriages in villages had been in contravention of the Act forbidding marriage of girls under fifteen, and of boys under eighteen.

The view that child marriage in India amounts merely to betrothal and that consummation does not take place before *muklava* or *gauna* which is contracted at puberty is unsound. It was questioned in the Age of Consent Committee Report (also called Joshi Report). See, Rathbone, *op.cit.*, p. 24. In many parts of India on the third or the fourth day of marriage a washer-woman enters the bridal room, removes the sheet on which the couple slept, and announces the discovery of a blood spot on the sheet, presumably to prove that the bride was a virgin before marriage and to show that consummation has taken place.

It must be stated that in certain parts—Assam, Madras, Punjab, and North West Frontier Provinces—child marriage was not at all commonplace. For the implication of this exception, see, *infra*, footnote 21.

19. A groom comes to consider his relationship with his wife as quasi-incestuous because he grows up in a quasi-incestuous family atmosphere. By joint family custom a young man's best friend is his elder brother's wife. It is with her that he develops an easy and informal relationship ("A joking relationship", to use the local jargon). He flirts with her; he addresses her with endearments (whereas he cannot flirt with his wife or address her with endearments in front of other family members, older or younger). He usually accompanies her when she goes out on errands, and quite often she initiates him into adult sexual activities. Yet, he must, in spite of all this, consider her the next thing to her mother, and thus come to possess the guilt feeling of incest.

they take place under the eyes of mother and father; elder brothers and their spouses, and unmarried sisters, and are therefore hurried, muted, and restrained.²⁰ All this makes the young man stay inside the family. He does not develop into an outward-going, enterprising individual and is not in the least encouraged to seek his fortunes elsewhere.²¹ He stays at home figuratively tied to his mother's apron strings.

Also, whereas tradition does not allow a boy to have girl friends, society allows him to "adopt" sisters. He just has to tie a sacred thread on the wrist of a girl on the *rakhi* festival to become her brother. This adopted relationship may help him sublimate his sexual desires, yet it endows him, with or without cause, with guilty feelings of incest. See Agaya's poignant novel *Shekhar*, and the classic story *Us Ne Kaha Tha* dealing with deep, semi-incestuous love with 'adopted' sisters.

The Indian ideal is to treat women as motherlike, and often people elevate their own wives to this status. Notice the cases of Ramakrishna, Gandhi, and Ramanimohan Chakravarti (husband of Anandamayee Ma). Sexual relations with the spouse are voluntarily abjured, and a mere desire to break this vow leads to a feeling of incest.

20. To the absence of privacy in the household, two other factors which restrict sexual relations and make them muted should be added. Continence, and not sexual fulfilment, is the Indian ideal. In three of the four *asramas* of life a person must abstain from sexual unions. And secondly, in the second *asrama* of marriage a person must practice sexual abstinence on a number of days. In Tanjore, for example, a Brahmin is expected to have intercourse with his wife only a Friday provided it is not a festival day, provided his wife is not menstruating, and provided she is not more than a month pregnant. All this leads him to doubt his virility and suffer from spermal anxiety. Not only sex clinics abound in India, but by social tradition a wife, after sexual intercourse, is expected to "replenish his virility" (his is the euphemism for husband's) by feeding him health boosters like milk and ghee products, seeds and nuts. In a Rajasthani village, thirty-one out of forty-five people interviewed believed themselves to be suffering from spermatorrhoea. G. Morris Carstairs, *The Twice Born* (London, 1957), p. 85.

This view of repressed Hindu male sexuality will be questioned by those who associate India with *Kamasutra* and *Kokasastra*, the erotic scenes depicted in temple carvings in Benares and Khajuraho, and the stories of *devadasis* and the bacchanal and lusty feats of Tantric *sadhus*. Not only all these are things of the past but their influence was never pervasive. Modern temple architecture and religious traditions would make Victorian England appear daring.

21. Sikhs, Punjabis, and 'Frontier' Hindus did not universally practise child marriage. And these are the communities that have shown economic daring. When these people were uprooted at the time of India's partition

Another phenomenon should be noted here. It is well known that in most parts of India family law is patriarchal, not matriarchal. But if one observes the father in action, one will find that he uses his paternal authority not to take the young son by the scruff of his neck and throw him out. Rather he exercises his paternal authority entirely for the realization of the motherly and feminine ideal of keeping the family together. The ultimate outcome therefore is that the young man's energies are trained and directed towards staying at home. This apparently has been what has for centuries preserved the rigidity of the caste system. For a caste, and more especially *jati* and *gotra*, is not a nationwide institution. It is a smallish group of families who live in a certain lingual-cultural area and who are accustomed to intermarry. It would seem therefore that it is the institution of child marriage which keeps the family and *jati* self-contained,²² for it is through child marriage that the young men are prevented from developing those energies and emotions that would make them enterprising and that would make them go beyond the close circle in search of work and a sexual partner.²³ To the English liberals the practice

in 1947 many of them migrated into Delhi and Western Uttar Pradesh and through their enterprise became flourishing artisans, businessmen, farmers on virgin lands, and cottage-industry entrepreneurs. In Southeast Asia, in addition to the Punjabis and the Sikhs, it was the Tamilians who captured a good deal of regional urban economy.

22. The Joshi Report conceded this point. India, Age of Consent Report, I (Calcutta, 1929), p. 116.

23. The view that haystacks in the moonlight, bushes by the brook, and tall weeds in the field make up for lack of privacy at home, and provide opportunities for romantic love; should be dismissed as fanciful. They, at best, lead to very unsatisfactory sexual relations. Note that a young woman is expected to be accompanied by a younger member of the family when she steps out of the house. The almost universal belief in India that an unaccompanied woman is most liable to be sexually approached by strangers is without foundation. In coeducational colleges boys and girls until very recent times did not fraternize; even now the incidence is low. Indian regiments, whether in war or in peace, did not attract women camp followers. It is true that a village *thakur* in Northern India is notorious for sowing his wild oats, and that landed and princely families look for aphrodisiacs, especially *kushitas* and *bhasms* of the indigenous Ayurvedic medical system. Yet this exception (with all its exaggerations) hardly changes the picture of village and bourgeois India.

Finally the chastity of Indian literature of the last one thousand years is revealing. There is no *Golden Lotus*; no *Memoirs of Fanny Hill*. *Gita*

of child marriage appeared, of course, a barbarous system. Yet there is no clear evidence that English or Christian reformers ever appreciated its connection with the rigidity of the caste system. When Ram Mohan Roy attacked it, he also attacked the whole institution of caste, and he presumably knew how they hung together. Similarly when the traditionalist Tilak opposed the raising of the age of marriage he presumably knew what he was doing. Ram Mohan Roy was simply not concerned with the desirability of British rule at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Tilak, on the other hand, was very much concerned with it at the beginning of the twentieth century, and wholeheartedly espoused tradition in order to fight the Raj. It is very instructive therefore to examine Gandhi, in whom the conflict of the two revolutionary targets appears very sharply.

Gandhi opposed British rule because it was foreign. He believed that it would destroy ancient Indian values. It introduced towns and industry and would abolish the ancient ideals of Hindu contentment and village life.²⁴ At the same time he realised that unless Indians could be roused to life and made conscious of belonging to one large society no movement against the British would succeed. Therefore he opposed the old fragmentations of society — castes and communal religious groups — and directed a special *but circumspect* attack upon the princes and the landlords whom the British had foisted upon India²⁵ when they themselves

Govinda and Mira's *Songs* dealing with Krishna's dalliances may appear erotic to Westerners, but to the Hindus they appear without any insidious symbolism. A brief period of *ras* literature, of whom Bihari was the most representative poet, did not amount to much.

24. Cf. Gandhi: "India's destiny lies not along the bloody ways of the West, of which she shows signs of tiredness, but along the bloodless way of peace that comes from a simple and godly life. India is in danger of losing her soul." *The Essential Gandhi*, ed. by Louis Fischer (New York, 1962), p. 288. "The future of industrialism is dark.... And if the future of industrialism is dark for the West, would it not be darker still for India?" *Ibid.*, p. 287. "The tendency of Indian civilization is to elevate the moral being, that of the Western civilization is to propagate immorality." M. K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj* (Ahmedabad, 1938), p. 46.

25. Gandhi opposed the princess and the zamindars because they had become willing tools of British imperialism, but, he said: "I personally do not desire the extinction of the Princely order." (M. K. Gandhi, *The Indian States Problem* [Ahmedabad, 1941], p. 637; also see pp. 225, 629, 639, 652).

no longer tolerated feudal barons of any kind at home. With greater force he opposed what he called 'mimic anglicism', that is, western clothes, western bourgeois life, western egalitarianism and western desire to get wealthy and to improve one's standard of living indefinitely. And so he preached that the ultimate aim of Indian nationalism was *Ramrajya*, the revival of the ancient self-contained village community, where people would remain poor because they would not aspire to consuming more than they could produce in the village.²⁶ In order to fight injustice and to stop fragmentation, he opposed the caste system as it existed. But his opposition to castes had a peculiar twist to it. He denounced untouchability, encouraged intercaste dining, and from time to time welcomed intercaste marriage.²⁷ Yet he strongly believed in the fourfold division of society. He also hoped that society would remain stable; that the son of a sweeper would again be a sweeper.²⁸

He hoped that in Independent India the princes and the zamindars and the capitalists would act as trustees of people's property.

26. Cf. Gandhi: "I would say that if the village perishes India will perish too. India will no more be India. Her own mission in the world will get lost.... We have to concentrate on the village being self-contained, manufacturing *only for use*. Provided this character of the village industry is maintained there would be no objection to villagers using even the modern machines and tools *that they can make and can afford to use*. Only these should not be used as the means of exploitation of others." (Original italics). *Harijan*, 29 August 1936, cited by S. Abid Husain in *The Way of Gandhi and Nehru* (London, 1959), pp. 45-46.

27. Gandhi encouraged removal of 'untouchability' and intercaste dining. His pronouncements on intercaste marriage were not, however, frequent. In 1920 he was decidedly against interreligious dining and marriage, and declared: "The idea that interdining or intermarrying is necessary for national growth is a superstition borrowed from the West." *Communal Unity* (Ahmedabad, 1949), p. 6. A decade later, in 1931; he removed his "moral objections" to intermarriage "but," he said, "I do not believe that these unions can bring peace." *Ibid.*, p. 9. It was only in 1947 that he admitted his earlier views on interdining and intermarriage to be wrong, and approved of interreligious marriage as a welcome event whenever it took place, provided such connection was not a product of lust. *Ibid.*, p. 542.

28. Cf. Gandhi: "I believe that caste has saved Hinduism from disintegration. But like every other institution, it has suffered from excrescences. I consider the four divisions alone to be fundamental, natural, and essential... I am certainly against any attempt at destroying the fundamental divisions...the law of heredity is an eternal law and any attempt to alter the law must lead, as it has before led, to utter confusion. I can see

And in this respect he came full circle; he stuck fast to traditionalism and opposed stubbornly the modern principle of social mobility and genuine classlessness. With this he injected into the anti-British revolutionary campaign a whole dose of traditionalism. True it was not the unqualified traditionalism of Tilak: but it was a form of traditionalism all the same. And it introduced into modern Indian politics the same kind of indecision and confusion that would have resulted if Robespierre had demanded at one and the same time the head of the King and the preservation of the *corvée*.

The ambiguity of Gandhi's revolutionary campaign can be understood even more clearly when we examine the matter of child marriage. It is true that he did not support it as such,²⁹ but it is equally true that he supported its emotional consequences. We have explained above that the emotional consequence of child marriage is that no purely personal and passionate relationship develops between wife and husband. The sexual and erotic emotions are kept at a low ebb. Now Gandhi, as is well known, thought that this was extremely desirable. He hoped that eventually people would lead a-sexual lives altogether, at least once they were fully grown up.³⁰ In other words his mind was set against the development of strong individual and passionate enter-

very great use in considering a Brahmin to be always a Brahmin throughout his life." *Selected Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, ed. by Ronald Duncan (Boston, 1951), pp. 171-72. Also see his statements in *Modern Review*, October 1935, and his *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Ahmedabad, 1945), p. 381.

29. Cf. Gandhi: "This system of child marriage is both a moral as well as a physical evil...I would...postpone marriage till a boy or girl is well advanced [over sixteen and nearer twenty]..." *The Essential Gandhi*, pp. 245-46.

30. Gandhi advocated married *brahmacharya*, and wrote: "It is not proved to my satisfaction that sexual union in marriage is in itself good and beneficial to the unionists." *Self Restraint vs. Self Indulgence* (Ahmedabad, 1947), p. 111. "Sex urge is a fine and noble thing...But it is meant only for the act of creation. Any other use of it is a sin against God and humanity." *Selected Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, p. 241. On the frequency of sexual intercourse he stated: "Coitus may be permitted once at the end of the monthly period till conception is established." *Self Restraint*, p. 106.

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prise.³¹ He hoped that Indians would remain humble and contented inside their families, their stations in life and their villages and not venture forth on sexual or other imaginative adventures. He himself relates that this whole notion of sexual abstinence occurred to him when he discovered that his attentions to his wife were in conflict with his duties to his father.³² Gandhi had not the slightest of doubts that the latter ought to take precedence. And with this conviction he adhered to the most ancient and stifling of Indian family and caste traditions.

From the examples given above it appears quite clearly that the difficulties in Indian revolutionary thought consisted chiefly in the fact that two targets that were attacked were basically incompatible. On the one side there were the British—in their Hastings-conservatism as well as in their Macaulay-radicalism. On the other there were those Indian traditions, those ancient Indian customs and institutions, that stood in the way of a modern, industrial and egalitarian, urban society. The Indians at their most revolutionary could not combine with British utilitarianism because it deprived India of a sense of identity and of all connections with the past. And the Indians at their most ferociously conservative³³ could not combine with the British conservatives either, for the latter had to include in their conservatism the perpetuation of two groups whose artificial protection not even Indian conservatives could tolerate: the Muslims and the princes.³⁴

31. Mutual attraction or love, said Gandhi, should have last place in marriage. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

32. *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, p. 45.

33. The British, in their Dalhousie-Utilitarian tradition, created the vision of a modern India; in their Hastings-Antiquarian tradition they dug up and reconstructed India's past, and thus provided fodder for Indian conservatism.

34. Hindu conservatives opposed equally vigorously what they described as Muslim "appeasement" by Gandhi and the Congress Party, and because of their attitude towards Muslims came to be known as "communalists" rather than as "conservatives". Their attitude towards the Muslims is examined by H. N. Farquhar in *Modern Religious Movements in India* (New York, 1915), and by Indra Prakash, *A Review of the History and Work of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Hindu Sangathan Movement* (Delhi, 1952). As late as 1951 Hindu conservatives held Nehru secularism to be "a euphe-

Nevertheless, a revolution did take place. It is probably true that its impetus was soon lost and that that was due to the fact that it was an ambiguous revolution. When Nehru, before Independence, addressed the peasants on his travels through India, he talked to them of their poverty, of money lenders, the exhaustion of soil, the exploitation by landlords and such things. These are all matters that had no *intrinsic* connections with the immediate purpose of his journeys and addresses: the expulsion of the British. And true enough: when India became independent, all the real problems remained and it became apparent that the revolutionary drive against the British had not been fully fruitful.

Yet, as we have stated, a revolution *did* take place. How, was this possible when the two targets of revolutionary activity were so incompatible? The answer is to be found in the interpretation of Indian history that was put out in the writings of Nehru and which has since become standardised not only in his *Discovery of India* but also in such "nationalist" textbooks as *A Survey of Indian History* by Panikkar. The core of this version of Indian history was the identification of the two incompatible targets. This version firstly had to provide a sense of identity for India, that would enable Indians to distinguish themselves clearly from the British of all hues and colours, from Hastings to Macaulay. At the same time it was also to enable them to take an enlightened, possibly even revolutionary, attitude to their own past.

mism for the policy of Muslim appeasement." *Manifesto of Akhil Bharatiya Jan Sangh* (Delhi, 1951), p. 3. The Mahasabha, the Jan Sangh, and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, likewise, oppose Westernized Indian institutions and life.

Hindu traditionalists have always felt a romantic attitude towards the princes. It was in princely India that Hindu pomp and pageantry flourished, and it was the princely order which contributed large sums of money to the cause of Hinduism, Hindu temples, Hindu universities and schools, Sanskrit education and the like. Politically quite often the princes and the landlords supported Hindu conservatives in order to oppose the Congress. Nevertheless Hindu conservatives *always* opposed the artificial protection extended to the princes by the British, because they held this British connection to be detrimental to Indian territorial integrity. The Mahasabha, for example, in 1942 denounced the Cripps Proposal which would have given Indian states the right to decline accession to Independent India. This was "balkanization of India," declared the Mahasabha. *Indian Annual Register*, 1942, I, 148.

The story is something like this. From the age of the Maurya emperors to the early eighteenth century, most of India has had a political system of varying degrees of centralization. Perhaps at first inspired by Buddhism under Asoka, it was Hindu under the Guptas, and eventually more predominantly Muslim. Yet, whatever the religious basis, the system was *Indian* and allowed Indian society a free and rich and diverse development. Under it the Indian genius found full development in the arts, in philosophy, in science and even technology. Then there came the contact with the Europeans in the sixteenth century which developed into foreign intrusion and domination during the late eighteenth century. This foreign contact began the so-called Vasco da Gama period. It shifted the geographical centre of Indian life from the North Indian plains to the harbours on the periphery. Eventually it prevented an Indian revival under the Marathas who were readying themselves to take over from the decaying Muslim power; and began to destroy Indian industry and production—culminating eventually in the establishment of the British *Raj* after the Mutiny and the use of India as a dumping ground for English goods, even for those (such as cotton) that could have been, and used to be, produced in India. To perpetuate their rule, the British invented religious communalism and refused to do anything that might dissolve the castes, claiming that both were ancient Indian heritage and ought to be protected. The British also turned, in late eighteenth century, professional tax collectors into a feudal aristocracy, and legitimized all those princes who had usurped parts of the Mughul empire as quasi-sovereign rulers.

Armed with this version of Indian history, the line of revolutionary thought became moderately straight. One could attack both the British and the caste system. One could promote urbanisation as well as unitary and parliamentary government. By a terrific effort of historical imagination the various targets of the revolutionary attack were identified with one another, and brought together. Caste, the stifling restrictions of family custom, religious communalism, the decline of Indian technology and industry, the Indian aristocracy with its social, feudal and economic privileges, were all seen as so many alien developments in Indian politics, actively promoted, if not invented outright, by the British intruders.

Students of English history are, of course, well acquainted with this kind of historical imagination. We know it from the middle of the seventeenth century when it was promoted for very similar reasons by some of the opponents of Charles I. They painted a picture of an Anglo-Saxon peasant culture that was happy and liberal. They saw Charles as the heir of the Norman conquest that had destroyed the original freedom of England. And they saw themselves as the heirs of the freedom and justice loving barons of Magna Carta who had once before tried hard to bring the Norman tyrants to heel.

Such historical imagination is a great asset to revolutionary actions. If it is bad history, it is sound politics, for it tends to deprive revolution of its sting. It assures a sense of continuity by making an imaginary past hang together with much needed political and social adjustment. Without it, these adjustments would still take place, but they might fail to reach acceptance and integration. There is therefore very little point in denouncing such historical images purely in the name of historical accuracy. If they work and if they persuade a society that a revolutionary change is really a healthy development, then there is much to be said for them. This does not mean that one would support them at all costs. If one is persuaded that the revolution that they are supposed to justify is a bad one, one is required to denounce them with all the skill available to historical scholarship.

As far as India is concerned, there is no need to denounce this historical imagination of Nehru and Panikkar school on the ground that it is exploited by wicked revolutionaries for selfish purposes. The people who are putting it forward are high minded and their purposes, on the whole, are quite acceptable. Yet there is a more important reason why it is necessary, in India, to subject this version of history to a scrutiny. We believe that this version of history has, if not wholly, at least largely, *failed* to provide a unified target for the revolutionary attack against the static state of Indian society. It is most evident that to the present day there lingers on in the Indian mind an unresolved conflict. There is on one side the desire for independence and nationalism. This desire feeds upon an awareness of the Indian past and upon the determination to preserve a Hindu way of life and value. And there is, on the other side, an anxious desire to become wester-

nized, to promote industries, towns and egalitarian society, with a centralized and democratic government. This desire feeds upon British education, the English language, western dress, and the *New Statesman*, the *Economist*, *Encounter*, the *Times Literary Supplement*, and English hymns and songs.³⁵ The people who promote the first desire, adopt an unrealistic attitude to the Indian village and to Indian culture all around. They see it as something static and complete; and they are apt to measure their own efforts and lives in terms of the success with which they imitate the ancient patterns. The people who promote the second desire are agonizingly aware of their rootlessness.³⁶ They imitate the English and yet recoil when they see themselves so un-Indian. The matters were comparatively simple if one could say that there were two kinds of intelligentsias in contemporary India. The real trouble is that usually one finds both desires in the same person. Thus the result is a great ambivalence and ambiguous attitude which saps initiative and drive.^{36a} It is for this reason that it is worth pointing out the quite fantastic inaccuracies in the historical version we have outlined.

The fossilization of caste and family custom goes back far into Muslim times. In fact it probably had a great deal to do with the Muslim invasions which turned out to be more and more clearly foreign conquests, suppressing and exploiting the native Indians and forcing them in upon themselves, upon their small and family caste groups. The Hindu-Muslim cross fertilization in north India, of which this version makes so much, was by no means very

35. Bands of Indian armed forces to this day play English hymns and songs even on occasions when Hindu songs are warranted. See the remarks made by Dr. Rammanohar Lohia in Parliament (*Statesman*, March, 22, 1964). After Nehru's cremation, carried out in immaculate Hindu orthodox style, when the Hindu pundits were chanting the *mantras* from the scriptures and the congregation singing Hindi *bhajans*, the Army band broke in to play "Abide with Me", not as a symbol of Christian tribute, but because it was ill-equipped to play Indian chants.

36. It was Nehru who poignantly said that he had become a curious mixture of East and West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere.

36a. Professor Susanne Rudolph of the University of Chicago believes that the creative potential of Indo-Western synthesis can be persuasively established. She considers the view expressed in this article as part of conventional but unexamined wisdom. (Personal communication.)

important.³⁷ It took place, but it did not amount to a civilization. Hindus and Muslims came to be two distinct nations—with the Hindus living in closed-in, self-contained groups, each a cluster of families that had more or less lost contact with the neighbouring group.³⁸ This development hardened the rigid family law, the clear purpose of which became the preservation of every small cluster, even though the individual was stifled and prevented from enterprise; and even though Hindu society as a whole came to be fragmented. Hence the truth is that India's social petrification took place long before the British came, and it forces one to see the

37. On Hindu Muslim cross fertilization see the outstanding work of Murray Titus, *Islam in India and Pakistan* (Calcutta, 1959). Conservative Hindu scholars have tended to emphasize Muslim intolerance of Hinduism, systematic slaughter and forced conversion of Hindus, and cruel destruction of Hindu temples, books, and institutions by most Islamic rulers. On the other hand "liberal" and "nationalist" Muslims (especially the Jamia Millia school of thought) have exaggerated the influence of heretical Islamic sects (of Sufism, of saint worshippers), and heretical Hindu sects (like Kabirpanthis, Satnamis, Dadupanthis, Ramsnehis, etc.) in creating a common Hindu-Muslim culture. We hold both these views unhistorical.

The truth of the matter is that a syncretism of Islam and Hinduism was of very little consequence. It is best expressed in the failure of Akbar and Dara Shikoh. Islam has been in contact with Hinduism in India now for thirteen centuries. They have influenced each other because of this persistent contact, especially in urban and artisan surroundings. But in the main Hindu life in India has remained insular and parochial. Uniformity of social manners, and outward forms like dress and conversational style among the upper classes cannot be said to amount to a common Hindu-Muslim civilization.

38. According to Panikkar in the period of Turkish and Afghan kings of Delhi (as distinguished from the later period of Mughal Rule) Indian society became divided "on a vertical basis. Before the thirteenth century, Hindu society was divided horizontally, and neither Buddhism nor Jainism affected this division. They were not unassimilable elements and fitted in easily with the existing divisions. Islam, on the other hand, split Indian society into two divisions from top to bottom and what has now come to be known in the phraseology of today as two separate nations came into being from the beginning. Two parallel societies were established on the same soil. At all stages they were different and hardly any social communication or intermingling of life existed between them." *A Survey of Indian History* (Bombay, 1960), pp. 130-31. Panikkar believes that, his above statement notwithstanding, a common Hindu-Muslim culture did evolve under the nationalist Mughal monarchy. We hold the statement to be the best assessment of the entire period of Muslim rule in India, and, indeed, thereafter.

Muslim invasions as the imposition of an alien system, destructive of Hindu society.

The second point we would like to single out is the decline of the Mughul Empire. It is completely absurd to believe that the Maratha brigands were about to provide an alternative to the Mughul Empire; they increased the general lawlessness and insecurity that prevailed in the eighteenth century India.³⁹ The Maratha mythology is every inch as incredible as the myth of the state of freedom which the Levellers believed to have prevailed in Anglo-Saxon England.

No matter where one examines this version of history, one always finds that the truth will come out. That truth is that Indian society for close to eight hundred years, if not more, has lived in a cocoon-like state. There are few other examples in world history of such an event, of the preservation of customs and beliefs for such a long time. As a result it is no wonder that the modern Indian nationalist revolution which wanted to bring

39. There is much controversy as to the exact aim of the Marathas. Sardesai (*New History of the Marathas* [Bombay, 1940], II, 363-65, 404) would have us believe that the Maratha aim was to preserve the Hindu religion, and that the slogan of *Hindu pad padshahi* (Hindu rule of India) was an incidental consequence of their zeal to release the famous Hindu shrines from the Muslim domination and misuse. It is difficult to accept this view. Baji Rao and his successors were determined to plant the Maratha banner in the far northwest, on the walls of Attock (C. A. Kincaid and D. B. Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People* [London, 1918], II, 184). The Marathas levied *chauth*, but this impost did not impose on the Maratha generals any corresponding obligation to protect a territory from disorders. Quite often, in addition, these generals demanded *ghas-dana* (fodder money) for their horses. For their warlordism see Surendra Nath Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas* (Calcutta, 1925), 113 ff. The *peshwa* even forced his coreligionists, like the Rajputs, to pay them the *chauth*. See V. G. Dighe, *Peshwa Baji Rao I and the Maratha Expansion* (Bombay, 1944), p. 87 and *passim*. For a picture of the horrors perpetrated by the Marathas on women and children which included gang rape, see Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire* (Calcutta, 1932), I, 49 f. Sardesai and Ranade have tended to minimize these atrocities by a vague condemnation of the atrocious atmosphere of that era. The fact is that Maratha atrocities in Bengal especially can only be compared to Nadir Shah's massacre at Delhi and Abdali's outrages against the population of Mathura.

India back to life but without preserving what was inside the cocoon, had to be ambiguous. In one sense it was directed against the foreign rulers and glorified tradition. In another sense it was directed against those traditions, for they were just as great a threat to Indian life as the foreign rulers themselves. In so far as this revolution was directed against traditions, the Indian revolutionary found often, though not always, strong support from the British ruler, and yet this did not make the British ruler more acceptable. The same was true for the other side. The British ruler often supported the Indian traditionalist, only this did not make him more acceptable either.

The British are now gone; India has become independent. Nehru-Panikkar historical imagination identified stifling restrictions of family customs and caste, religious communalism, the decline of Indian technology and industry, with British intrusion. This identification was not only wrong, it has failed to provide India with a revolutionary drive against her past. Now that the Nehru-Panikkar age is over, a new historical imagination is necessary.

The Revolt of the Southern Nayaks

BY

A. SAULIERE, S.J.

(Continued from Vol. XLII, page 105)

Introduction

Da. Costa's Narrative of the Nâyak's Revolt was brought to a sudden stop in October 1646, one month after Sriranga's arrival at Tiruchirapalli as the guest of Tirumala. During the ten years that elapsed between 1646 and 1656, the Jesuit letters do not dwell on the political events, but in 1656, a colleague of Da Costa, Fr. Antony de Proença, took up the narrative where Da Costa had left it and carried it on till 1665.

Born at Remella, Portugal, in 1626, Proença entered the Society of Jesus at the age of 18, landed at Goa in 1647, and in 1653 joined the Madurai Mission where, under the name of Paramanandaswâmi, he spent himself unsparingly till he died at the premature age of 42 at Tottiam, a village north of the Cauvery. By his kindness, self-sacrifice and all-embracing charity he so endeared himself to Hindus and Christians alike that during three centuries a lamp has been kept burning on his tomb which is still visited by the descendants of those whom he loved and served so well! Fr. Proença wrote five Annual Letters in 1654, 1656, 1659, 1662 and 1665. The first is no longer extant. In the following article we give a translation of his account of political events from 1647 to 1659 as found in his Portuguese Letters of 1656 and 1659.

Translation¹

Sriranga remained in Tiruchirapalli with the Nâyak of Madurai till the month of September 1647 when, to spare his host

1. This translation was made on photostats of the originals still preserved in the Arch. Rom., S.J. The first letter dated 20th of September 1656, was written at Candelur, a small village 18 miles S.W. of Tiruchirapalli and addressed to Fr. Goswin Nickel, Superior General of the Society of Jesus (1652-1664). The second letter dated Tiruchirapalli 22nd of July 1659, was addressed to Nickel's successor, Fr. Paul Oliva (1664-1681).

further expenses, or perhaps to free himself from a dependence which, being prolonged, might fan into flames the embers of old hatreds, he left for Tanjore where he had always found greater loyalty. He remained there nearly a year² and was treated with great munificence by the Nâyak (Vijayarâghava) who in addition to many other gifts, gave him a daily allowance of a thousand patacas with presents of rich dresses. But either because he was afraid of the Muslims³ who were pushing on the conquest of the Râya's territory, or because he feared the cunning and treachery of the Nâyak of Madurai, or for other reasons which I omit to be brief, the Nâyak of Tanjore finally put a stop to his largesses and began gradually to cut down his guest's allowance and to deny him those marks of honour and respect which he had so far lavished on him. Sriranga took the hint and for want of a better place, went and settled with his court in the forests of the Kallans⁴ where he lived for four months. However, they treated him with scant respect and refused to take up his cause, for as soon as the majesty of a king is shorn of all power it ceases to inspire fear and respect.

Such was the extremity to which was reduced the proudest monarch of the East! Finding no support among his tributaries he decided to withdraw into the kingdom of Mysore, hoping that its ruler⁵ who was his nearest neighbour and had formerly been his vassal, would treat him with greater respect than the Nâyaks. Nor was he mistaken, for as soon as the king of Mysore received the Râya's envoys he, with much courtesy and generosity, offered him his kingdom to live in and all his riches to meet his needs.

Being re-assured as to the good disposition of Mysore, the Râya set out at once for that country. On his way he passed through the territories of the Nâyaks of Tanjore and Madurai, but

2. According to Proença's letter Sriranga remained in the Tamilnâd from May 1646 to December 1648. It was during that period that the pilgrimage to Râmeswaram alluded to by Da Costa (*J.I.H.*, Vol. XLII, page 105) and mentioned in *R.P.S.*, pp. 119-122, took place.

3. In his letter Proença calls the Mohammedans of South India Turks or Moors, this term being more familiar to his European readers than Bijâpûr and Gôlkonda.

4. The Portuguese autograph has "ladrones", thieves (*P.A.L.*).

5. Kanthirava Narasa, râja of Mysore (1638-1659).

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they did not take more notice of him than if he had been an ordinary traveller, a slight which he felt less keenly than an encounter he had with the Muslims just before entering Mysore.

Although I merely intended summing up the chief events without entering into details, the following incident is too characteristic to be left out.... As the Emperor passed near the gates of Tanjore he stopped for some time in a grove to rally a few soldiers. One night the whole town was suddenly alarmed by the news that the whole Muslim army was under the city walls. An undescribable confusion followed; everybody got busy preparing chariots, horses and palanquins for the Nâyak's flight and the removal of all the treasures he could carry away. Relays of horses were ordered in various directions so that he might somehow escape as soon as the Muslims would summon the fortress to surrender. Before anybody took the trouble to ascertain what was the real cause of the panic, the fort and the palace were filled with lamentations. All wanted to flee, but none fled; as happens in a storm when all dread the lightning but no one dares make a move.

In the fort, however, some determined to fight bravely. Throughout the night they fired the guns, of which they had plenty, but on account of the disorder, confusion, and the clumsiness of the gunners, their firing did not make more noise than a fire of musketry. It goes without saying that all the shots were fired in the air. A magnificent mortar in whose mouth a man could sit comfortably⁶ was fired and made more noise than the others, but when enquiries were made as to the distance the ball had reached, it was found that it had fallen into the ditch near the rampart on which the gun was mounted. However, it would be unfair to blame our gunners who are mostly carpenters, black-smiths and goldsmiths, without any other knowledge or training than is required to ply their respective trades. The excitement which had kept the Nâyak awake the whole night subsided in the morning when it was found that the cause of it all was a detachment of five hundred horses sent by the Muslims in pursuit of the Râya. That handful of men had sufficed to spread consternation in a city as strong as Tanjore, which at a moment's notice could set on foot more than forty thousand men!

6. "Em cuja bocca se pode assentare bu' home muito a vontade" P.A.L.

Pursuing the Râya the Muslims overtook him when he was only a two days' march from Mysore. As his soldiers had abandoned him, his enemies extorted from him fifty thousand patacas and lifted seven of his elephants. With that booty they returned to their camp and Śriranga entered Mysore where he was received with great honours. While the Râya was in safety the Nâyak of Tanjore seeing that the Muslims were close at hand, conveniently forgot the alliance he had recently made with the Nâyak of Madurai and decided to join them—not that he had great faith in their word for he knew very well how they have behaved towards the Nâyak of Madurai who had called them—but he had no other alternative, for to seek refuge among the Kallans, was to fly from one danger to fall into another. So he not only made alliance with the Muslims but also posed as their friend and joined his troops to theirs.⁷

When the Nâyak of Madurai heard of this, realizing that he was no match for the combined armies (of Gôlkoṇḍa and Tanjore), he sent an embassy to the Idalcan⁸ and by dint of gifts and promises obtained the despatch of seventeen thousand horsemen. However he did not use them to defend himself against a possible attack of his neighbour of Tanjore but sent them to oppose the Muslims of Gôlkoṇḍa whom he regretted he had ever invited. He thought that once they came to blows, he would enjoy a long period of peace and security for, both sides being very strong, it would take a long time before one of them was destroyed. Moreover, he flattered himself that the war would be waged in the Emperor's country of which the Nawab (Mir Jumla) had already

7. *B.M.M.*, III, p. 45, writes, "the Nâyak of Tanjore realized that he could not make a stand against an enemy whose mere shadow had caused him such a fright". Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyer reads "nombre" (number) instead of "ombre" (shadow) and translates "whose mere number had created so much terror" (*S.H.N.M.*, p. 165), a mere slip, of course, which does not detract from the value of a generally excellent translation. If we mention it here, it is because it has been reproduced in 1942 (*V.N.T.*, p. 137 n. 35) and by the author himself in 1956 (*S.T.*, p. 62) and chiefly because that sentence is not found in Proença.

8. Idalcan for Âdil Khan, a title by which the Mughal Emperors referred to the ruler of Bijâpûr, whom they refused to acknowledge as Shâh or King, till in 1648 Shâh Jahan formally recognized the then ruler of Bijâpûr as Muhammad Âdil Shâh (*C.H.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 208).

taken possession, or at least, in the territory of Jinji through which the Nawab would in any case have to fight.

But he was just as mistaken about these new Muslim invaders as he had been about the first. He had not paid attention to the fact that both armies were composed of men who, though belonging to different states, were of the same religion. The seventeen thousand horsemen of Idalcan, whom he reinforced with thirty thousand infantry of his own, made a pretence of coming to his aid, and marched on Jinji⁹ which the Nawab of Gôlkonḍa was besieging, but after a few days the two Muslim armies combined their forces, while those of the Nâyak withdrew into the fortress. Then the Nawab and the General of the Idalcan (Muṣṭafâ Khân) came to an agreement according to which the former retired and the latter continued the siege with his cavalry.

The fortress was naturally impregnable and, being given the number of its defenders and the abundance of its supplies, it could have stood a long siege. But the very multitude of the besieged became a source of confusion, for the two armies within its walls, belonging to different princes, were at variance among themselves and it was impossible to keep them united. After some time terms were offered to the Nâyak of Jinji who being driven to despair threw open the gates to the Muslims. They took possession of one of the finest fortresses in the East and laid their hands on one of the richest treasures ever known.¹⁰ On this occasion more than three million (patacas?) were found in the palace, without taking into account the jewels, precious stones and the wealth of rich merchants who, when the Nawab had invaded their countries, had

9. Proença does not say that Tirumala *marched* to Jinji in person. If he had done so he would probably have been made prisoner with the Nâyak of Jinji, and he could not "diplomatically" or otherwise, have secured Mir Jumla's withdrawal, (*S.H.N.M.*, p. 129; *S.T.*, p. 45). According to *N.V.F.S.*, p. 364, it was Mustâfâ Khân who compelled Mir Jumla to withdraw.

10. According to Basatin-in-Salatin, as quoted by *S.H.G.*, p. 184, Kṛṣṇappa-Nâyak surrendered his capital to Bijapur on the 28th December 1648. This date seems to be exact (*N.H.S.I.*, p. 293). As may be seen from our translation of Proença's original, his letter of the 22nd September 1659 gives no corroborating evidence that Jinji fell in 1658 (*S.H.G.*, p. 186). The Historian of Jinji has been misled by *B.M.M.3*, p. 46, who inserts in a letter dated 1659, events related by Proença in his letter of the 20th September 1656 dealing with the years 1647-1659. See *C.A.J.L.*, p. 65 on Bertrand.

fled to Jinji for safety. Leaving out the horses and elephants, the booty was estimated at ten million (patacas?). The Nâyak of Jinji was made prisoner and disgraced because he had been incapable of defending himself. But he soon escaped disguised as a yôgi and retired to Madurai.

After the capture of Jinji the Muslims marched against the Nâyaks of Tanjore and Madurai. The latter who had called them had already withdrawn into the town of Madurai which is further away from the frontier than Tiruchirapalli while the Tanjorian, for greater safety, went to hide himself in the forests. But neither of them being eager to fight the Muslims, they finally bought peace at a great price and declared themselves tributaries to the Idalcan¹¹ to whom they paid, to begin with, one million and a half (patacas?). This was just what the Muslims wanted. Their General (Mustafa Khân) died at about that time and was replaced by an Abyssinian called Canacan (Khân-i-Khânân). After subduing without any great loss in men, two Nâyaks who were as powerful as kings, the General was recalled by the Idalcan to Visapore (Bijâpûr) and made in that capital a state entry which in splendour surpassed the most imposing pageant ever witnessed in this country.

Although the two Nâyaks had got rid of their enemy, the thought of combining their forces in view of a future attack did not even occur to them. On the contrary, being short of money they set about, through their captains and soldiers, oppressing the people more than ever in order to recoup themselves for the large sums they had been compelled to disburse. Nor did they pay the tribute promised to Bijâpûr, for such tribute being extorted by force, they never pay it unless they see the sword hanging over them. On the other hand, the Idalcan seeing that the Nâyaks did not keep their promises, was very angry and decided to invade again their country. This he did last year (1655).

11. "After the capture of Dsjindsji (Jinji) the Khan-Khan (Khân-i-Khânân) of Bijâpûr sent some troops to Tanjore to keep the Nâyak under control; (Om den Naik in bedwang te houden" (M.O.I.C.) The Bijâpûr-General being after money rather than conquests a small body of cavalry was sufficient to achieve his purpose. He does not seem to have captured Tanjore before 1659.

Meanwhile, the Empeor of Vijayanagara was with the king of Mysore. I must report here the disasters that overtook those two princes to whose ancestors the Portuguese, and also our Society, are much indebted because they were the founders of the College of San Thomé.¹²

Taking advantage of the Canacan's absence, Śrīranga with the help of the king of Mysore led several expeditions against the Muslims, and not only recovered most of his empire which had been taken from him, but also the strong positions which bar access to it. It is certain that if at that time the Nâyaks had consulted their common interest—which was to keep the Muslims out of their country—and had joined the Emperor they could have driven away their common enemy. But the Madurai Nâyak seeing that the Râya was again raising his head was quite upset and again threw his frontier open to the Muslims, thus causing the breach of alliance which occurred between Śrīranga and the king of Mysore.

The Râya seeing himself pressed by the Idalcan, and deeming it unbecoming to remain any longer in Mysore, returned to his country, part of which still remained in his hands, and withdrew to Vellore, his capital, which the Muslims had not yet reached. But he could not stay there very long, for the Nawab (the General of Bijâpûr) hearing of his return, attacked him, laid siege to the town and captured it four months later, in August 1654. That poor king after wandering for six years in foreign states and alienating the neighbouring princes, withdrew into the last corner of his dominions still left to him. It is there that now¹³ lives that unfortunate prince, a victim of the vicissitudes of fortune, more unlucky than guilty.

After crossing the defiles and routing the Râya, the Canacan marched into Madurai and Tanjore to collect, with interest, the tribute which had not been paid for the last three years. The Madurai Nâyak tried to delay his advance by throwing before him, so to speak, a bone to gnaw. He persuaded the king of Mysore to bar the passage to the Muslims, promising to defray all the expenses of the war. Kanthirava took up the idea, for he too

12. H.A.D., ch. XXII.

13. Now, i.e., on the 20th of September 1656, date of writing.

dreaded the nearness of the Muslims, and for a time he fought them successfully, but after incurring great expenses, which Tirumala refused to refund,¹⁴ he withdrew from the contest. Then the Canacan began ravaging the Madurai country where he knew no one would dare oppose him. To defeat the king of Mysore would have cost him a great loss of men which he did not care to incur to secure advantages which he could obtain more cheaply in Tanjore and Madurai.

Events of 1655 and 1656

With the Muslim invasion of the Madurai country which began last year in January (1655) we begin the narration of the events which come properly within the scope of this letter. The Canacan invaded the Madurai kingdom with a troop of three thousand horsemen, but as he was keener on obtaining money than on capturing fortresses, which would have forced him to split his force to garrison them, he moved very slowly so that being informed of his arrival, the Nâyaks might have time to collect the tribute and pay it to him without any trouble on his part.

When he reached Tiruchirapalli, in June of the same year, (1655) the population got into a panic and sought refuge in foreign parts, less on account of the fear of the Muhammedans, who treated kindly those who submitted to them, than of the local governors who tyrannized over them. Many yearned for the coming of the Muslims, while others fled before them in the hope of enjoying more freedom in the places where they intended to settle. Meanwhile, the enemy advanced steadily and the Nâyaks kept refusing to pay till they found themselves reduced to the extremity.

A detachment of Muslims commanded by the son of the Canacan came near the town of Tiruchirapalli with the intention, it was said, of visiting the beautiful pagoda of Śrīrangam, a sumptuous and gorgeously decorated edifice most frequented by pilgrims in this country. He received presents from Tanjore as well as from Tiruchirapalli, for it might be thought that he came as a guest rather than as an enemy. As a matter of fact, he would

14. This failure of Tirumala to keep his word must have infuriated Kanthirava and may account, to some extent, for the atrocities he perpetrated subsequently on the troops of Madurai.

have committed no damage had he not been driven to it by the Kallans who at every moment filtered into his camp, both by day and by night, in the disguise of stable boys and stole a large number of horses, oxen and camels. Exasperated by these thefts the Muslim first secured the captain of the fortress as hostage and then led an expedition into the jungles of the Kallans where after making a great slaughter of them, he took a large quantity of cattle to make up for the thefts he had suffered.

The Muslims went on sending envoys to the Nâyaks till the one of Tanjore, who was the more timid of the two, began to pay. The Nâyak of Madurai did not give in so easily, and I believe that if he had made up his mind to fight, he could easily have destroyed the enemy at the riverfords. Ultimately however, he decided to pay his arrears, for he was informed that the king of Mysore was coming through Sathyamangalam at the head of an army taking possession of all he could to recoup himself for the expenditure he had incurred in waging war against the Muslims at the request of the Nâyak of Madurai.

The Mysorian came down with an army of four thousand horsemen and ten thousand infantry with which he rapidly conquered the whole province (of Sathyamangalam) with its four principal fortresses, for the Nâyak's excessive taxation had so ruined the country that the captains who guarded the frontier, could raise no money to pay their soldiers. The invader meeting but little or no resistance, easily defeated the local Nâyaks or Râjas and pillaged Sathyamangalam where he collected a booty of nine lakhs of patacas. The Mysorians had no orders to go further, for their king thought that the conquest of that province was an ample compensation for all that was due to him, but flushed with success the General did not hesitate to lead his victorious army to the very walls of Madurai.

The poor Nâyak was on the point of taking to flight, but the Nâyak of Jinji¹⁵ held him back. The town would surely have been taken but for the intervention of the Maravan, the chief of a warlike race which has been so emboldened by its successes, that even now it is to be reckoned with by European powers. He

15. The Nâyak of Jinji fled to Madurai after the fall of his Capital. See above.

arrived on the following day at the head of twenty-five thousand men. The Nâyak was so grateful that he lavished on him more honours than he ever bestowed on any of his vassals. Princesses and ladies of the palace were seen removing their bracelets and ear-rings to present them to the Maravan.

To the troops of the Maravan which took position between the walls of the town and the army of Mysore, the Nâyak added thirty-five thousand men whom he levied in a few days making a total of sixty thousand. The armies stood facing each other for a long time before they joined battle, for while they waited for orders to attack, traitors were busy intriguing in the town. The chief Brahmin, who is like the Supreme Pontiff of their Sacerdotal Brotherhood, was to give the final order, but he was putting it off from day to day waiting, as he said, for a favourable omen. In reality he wanted to give the enemies time to receive reinforcements, so as to be in a better position to defeat the Nâyak. As the proofs of the treason were becoming daily more evident, the Brahmin was arrested. Then the battle was fought, and the victory went to the Madurai Nâyak. A large number of the Mysorians surrendered or fell on the battle-field, while those who escaped sought refuge in a fortress which they had captured and waited there till they received a fresh reinforcement of twenty thousand men.

The struggle was then renewed, and was more deadly than ever, twelve thousand men being killed on each side, a thing which had never been seen before in those wars, for generally when those on the front line begin to fall back those who come next take to flight. On that occasion both stood their ground, but on the whole those of Madurai suffered less.

Then were brought into the town basketfuls of noses, a new invention of the Mysorians who on entering the territory of Madurai cut the noses of all they met. Even the noses of poor wretches were in danger, for a premium was paid on every nose that was brought in. No man's nose was safe; it even happened that women's noses instead of men's were produced, though the upper lip which usually went with the nose, rendered the deception difficult. The loss of one's nose is more dreaded than the loss of one's life, and a soldier who returns home without his nose is disgraced for the rest of his life. Several of them allowed

themselves to be hacked to pieces rather than have their noses cut off. The king of Mysore who invented this barbarous practice was, on that account, more dreaded than the Muslims themselves, but later on he was paid back in his own coin.¹⁶

While the Nâyak was triumphing on the battle-field his enemies plotted his death in his very palace, trying to get rid of him at all cost. With the connivance of certain persons at court whom they bribed, they nearly succeeded. The most daring of those plots consisted in introducing into the palace a soldier dressed like a woman. During three days he went about without being recognized, waiting for a favourable occasion to carry out his bold design. Several times he was on the point of putting it into execution when, either because God protected the Nâyak or because fear held back the assassin's hand, he never struck the fatal blow. When he came into the palace, he easily smuggled in some eatables, but he found it impossible to take with him any water. After three days, unable to control his thirst any longer, he ventured one night to approach the first group of women servants he happened to meet and told them he was the maid of a certain lady whom he had just left after some bickering, and asked them to give him some water to drink. So far no one had noticed anything particular either in his gait, face, or speech which were cleverly disguised by the acting and the age of this new Achilles.¹⁷ But now, as he could not touch the vessel of another person and had to receive the water in both his hands, the simple act of taking it to his mouth gave him away! Suspicions being aroused, the appearance of his face and the sound of his voice confirmed them, so that the lady in charge of that part of the palace had no doubt that she had to deal with a

16. Proença's translators make him say that even the king of Mysore, "lost his own nose, and thus suffered the penalty which he deserved" (S.H.N.M., p. 269). The words used by Proença (P.A.L., p. 6) are: "o pagarão de na mesma moneda" (lit. they paid him in the same coin) which does not necessarily mean that they cut his nose. The sentence should be understood to mean that, just as the king of Mysore ordered his men to cut off the noses of Madureans, "so the Nâyak of Madurai ordered his men to cut off the noses of the Mysoriens". The cruel punishment could not be inflicted on the king's person unless his enemies captured him which they never did, since he went on fighting till 1659.

17. Allusion to Greek Mythology.

man disguised in female attire, and at once informed the Nâyak who ordered the arrest and imprisonment of the soldier. On being searched he was found in possession of a small dagger hidden in his clothes with which he had seriously wounded one of his fellow prisoners. From this it was easy to guess his intention which he never denied, but it was impossible either by threats or promises to make him betray the persons who had sent him. He paid dearly for his audacity by being sentenced to death and quartered. After this, great precautions were taken both inside and outside the palace, even outside the town, for nobody was allowed to enter without being called, nor could any written message be brought in without being first read by the guards.

When this danger had been removed it was soon followed by another: it took the form of an abscess in the head which soon threatened the life of the Nâyak. He was persuaded that it was due to the work of some sorcerer but this notion did not help to cure it. The worst part of it was that even the Crown Prince was accused of having a hand in the matter because of certain 'mantrâs' which the Brahmins had made him recite secretly. Yet it is generally believed that the Prince did not recite those 'mantrâs' with a view to do away with the Nâyak, for there was no reason for him to commit such a crime, since, as he himself pointed out, the Nâyak had chosen him to succeed although he was not his son.¹⁸ But this suspicion was enough to cause his arrest without any hope of ever being reinstated, for since he was adopted out of favour and affection, that favour being withdrawn, the edifice which rested on it necessarily crumbled down.

At length the Nâyak recovered, but the reports of his death which had been spread about had caused us great distress, because he knows us well and during his life time, the Christian community has run no danger in this kingdom. He is prudent and wise, and holds us in high esteem, as may be seen from the ample privileges which he has granted us and the honours he conferred on us on the occasion of the interviews which Father Robert de Nobili and Father Balthazar da Costa had with him...

18. He was therefore different from the Crown Prince, "son and heir" or Tirumala, who in 1646 foiled the plot of the Brahmin and the Kallans.

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It was now a year¹⁹ since his troops took the field against Mysore, but as no real fighting takes place, there is little hope of an early peace. The fear that the Muslims will come back next year is widely spread; it is even said that they are on the march, and what is worse, that they have again appealed to the Nâyak of Madurai to attack Mysore. We are much afraid that this time the Muslims will take possession of the countries they have so far spared. (End of Proença's Letter of the 22nd September, 1656).²⁰

*Second Letter of Proença**dated Tiruchirapalli 22nd July 1659²¹*

In my previous letter I spoke at some length of the origin and progress of the wars between the Nawab (General of Bijâpûr) and the Nâyaks of Madurai and Tanjore. The latter finally agreed to pay tribute but as here no one pays unless he be compelled to do so by the fear of impending punishment, and as during the last three years no army came to enforce payment, the Nâyaks paid no tribute. This year (1659) therefore the Muslims came again with a more powerful army than before to claim the arrears of the last three years, but judging from the forces they have brought and past experience, it is generally believed that they came not only to collect the tribute but to conquer or destroy these kingdoms. Although their army numbered only twelve thousand cavalry, it was followed by such a

19. Therefore the Mysore war began about September 1655.

20. Father Proença omits here a detail which he inserted later on in P.B. It runs as follows: "In addition to the annoyance caused to them by the non-payment of the tribute, the Muslims were furious because of a reverse or rather a complete defeat they suffered last year (1658) at the hands of Arialur Talavarâyan. This chief rules over a district which is contiguous to certain lands which were lately conquered from the Nâyak of Madurai; it is well protected by forests all around, and well defended by excellent soldiers. Being attacked by a troop of three thousand horse commanded by Marumudakhan (Mahmud Khân) Talavarâyan fought so stoutly that he drove them away killing some of their leaders, among whom was a brother-in-law of Mulacan (Mula Khan) the present commander-in-chief.

21. The manuscript consists of 20 closely written pages $6 \times 10 \frac{1}{2}$ inches, each page containing about sixty lines. The extract is taken from pp. 13 and 14 of the Ms.

large number of chariots and camels, belonging either to the army or to the merchants and camp followers, that the invaders appeared to be double the number they really were and the terror they inspired was in proportion to their supposed strength.

Tirumala Nâyak who was still alive at Madurai, had no doubt that with his diplomacy and cunning he could, before it was too late, avert the blow that threatened him. Unfortunately he died at that juncture and was burnt with more than two hundred of his favourite wives. He was then seventy five years of age and had reigned for more than thirty years.²²

His son, a high spirited young man, who succeeded him refused to come to terms with the invader and decided to shake off the yoke which had been imposed on his father. He accordingly stocked with provisions and ammunitions the fortress of Tiruchirapalli which, being on the frontier, would have to bear the first brunt of the attack.

The king of Tanjore followed a different course. He had in the Muslim camp an envoy who by his experience and astuteness was the most remarkable man in his kingdom.²³ He tried to persuade his master either to pay one million three hundred thousand patacas demanded by the enemy or to put his army on a war footing to defend himself as the Madurai Nâyak had done. Though it would have been easy and profitable for him to comply with either suggestion he rejected them both. When God wishes to punish a man He so confuses his understanding,²⁴ that he cannot make up his mind as to the means of warding off the impending danger.

Finally the enemy reached the frontier of the Madurai kingdom and invaded the province of Tiruchirapalli; however seeing that elaborate preparations had been made to defend the town, he left it alone and began plundering a few villages on the east,

22. Proença who had Da Costa's letter of the 14th October 1646 under his eyes corrects his confrère's error concerning Tirumala's age.

23. Kumâra Tâtâcharya the famous scholar, is probably meant. V.N.T., p. 159.

24. Reminiscence of the Latin adage: "Quos vult Jupiter perdere prius dementat". When Jupiter wants to ruin men he begins by depriving them of their senses.

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close to the frontier of Tanjore. This operation gave him an opportunity to acquaint himself with the confusion prevailing in that town and without a moment's hesitation, when it was least expected, he flung himself with his whole army on Tanjore which fell like a pack of cards.

The Nâyak had entrusted the defence of the town to a few men whom he put under the command of one of his sons-in-law. By order of the new commandant three of the four gates were closed; but the eastern gate which was strongly fortified was left open.

While the Muslim army was drawn up within sight of the town, a detachment of three hundred horsemen was sent to the attack. Early in the morning they rode around it without being perceived till they reached the southern gate. After breaking open the door of the barbican with an elephant they safely made their way between the town wall and the barbican till they reached a fortified temple which opened into the town. The door was easily thrown open, and through it they penetrated into the fortress reaching its very centre without being challenged. Then only did they begin blowing their trumpets, beating their drums and clashing their cymbals to inform the rest of the army of their success. The Nâyak's son-in-law rushed to the spot, but to no avail for, being struck by an arrow he made a piteous surrender, though he had lost only a few men belonging to the raja caste. Their motto is "to conquer or to die" and they make it a point of honour never to use other weapons than the lance and the sword, scorning fire arms as fit only for cowards. On that occasion they fought with their usual bravery, not to say recklessness and fell to the last man.

The Muslim took possession of Tanjore on the 19th March of this year 1659. Soon after they came down on Mannarkoil (Mannârgudi) where the Nâyak had fled but they arrived too late for that very day he had made for the jungle towards the South.²⁵ He had sent most of his treasure to another fortress (Vallam) situated in a deserted jungle more than a league to the

25. P.B. adds: "into the woods of Talavarâyan one of the chief vassals of his kingdoms."

S.W. of Tanjore²⁶ where it was plundered not by the Muslims, but by the Kallans. At the first news of the capture of Tanjore, the soldiers stationed in that fortress thought only of clearing out with their families. Their captain followed suit, but not before he had taken away with him as much of the treasure as he could carry, leaving all the money chests open. Then the Kallans came and finding the town deserted plundered it to their heart's content. According to rumour they carried away more than four million in gold; later it was ascertained that the booty consisted of three and a half million in coins and more than two million in jewels. I do not believe in that fantastic sum; but I do know that the gold coins they carried away were in such large quantity that they were spilt along the roads as if they had been grains of wheat or rice, and that a few poor people took advantage of this to enrich themselves, some collecting two hundred, others three hundred cruzados.

When the Muslims arrived they found the place abandoned and rifled of all booty. They none the less took possession of it, for in the whole kingdom there is not a fortress easier to defend. Surrounded by two walls and a barbican, it is protected by a magnificent ditch mostly cut in the rock, with only one gate. The many prisoners kept there by the Nâyak seized the occasion to recover their freedom. Among others were two brothers of his whose eyes had been put out by his order, simply because being his nearest of kin, they might aspire to succeed him one day.

Thus the Muslims conquered the most fertile and pleasant kingdoms in South India. The poor Nâyak remains confined in the southern part of his state, where the forests form a rampart which no cavalry can break through. This Nâyak richly deserves his punishment for he is the greatest and most corrupt tyrant in India, surpassing all the others by his fickleness and treachery. Many, even among his own people ascribe this punishment to his perfidy and treachery towards the Portuguese of Negapatam. After receiving their ambassadors and giving them his royal word

26. Proença has "sud-ueste" and Bertrand "sud-ouest" both meaning 'South-West', but *S.H.N.M.*, p. 270 and *V.N.T.* p. 142; locate Vallam in the South-East of Tanjore. "More than a league" must be understood of a Portuguese league which is 3755 1/15 geometrical paces (M.P.I.D.). According to *H.T.D.G.*, Vallam is seven miles South-West of Tanjore.

that he would defend them against the Dutch, and lavishing honours and promises on them, he perjured himself, sent his army against them, called in the Dutch, and entered into an agreement with them to sack the town. Luckily he was ultimately disappointed.²⁷ I am afraid that even in the jungle, where he thinks he is quite safe, some misfortune may befall him. As he has lost the loyalty and the affection of his own people, which he does not deserve, he might easily be killed or betrayed into the hands of his enemies.

The invaders have devastated the whole kingdom and destroyed whole villages deserted by the inhabitants who, to escape the fury of the Muslims, fled into the forests only to fall by the hands of the Kallans. Hindus and Christians met with the same fate.

It is now four months since the Muslims annexed the kingdom of Tanjore, and it is impossible to say whether they mean to keep it, or give it up. On the one hand, their captains have parcelled out the land among themselves and called back the inhabitants, they have marked out with flags certain localities to indicate that they have taken possession. Moreover, it is well known that the Muslims never surrender conquered territory, specially a fine kingdom as this one. These and other signs tend to show that they mean to keep this kingdom. On the other hand they demolish fortresses, sell their stocks of provisions and ammunitions, ill-treat the inhabitants and reduce their children to slavery. Besides, this kingdom is so far away from their base that it would be hard for them to receive reinforcements, specially when the rivers are swollen by the rains. All this seems to indicate that they do not intend keeping this country, and that they linger on only with the hope of extorting more money from the Nâyaks. That of Tanjore would have paid long ago if the Nâyak of Madurai had not prevented him. But I think that ultimately they will both give in, and when the kingdom of Tanjore will have passed into the hands of Bijâpûr that of Madurai will soon have the same fate.

27. Van Goens took possession of Negapatam on the 1st of August 1658. Obviously its loss was a shock to Proença's patriotism and weighed heavily on his Portuguese heart; this explains, without justifying them, his severe strictures on Vijarâghava's character.

ABBREVIATIONS

Arch. Rom. S. J.	— Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, (Archives of the S. J. Rome.)
B.M.M.	— Bertrand, J. 'La Missjon du Maduré', 4 Vols. 1847-1854.
C.A.J.L.	— Correia-Afonso. Jesuit Letters and Indian History.
C.H.I.	— Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, 1937.
H.A.D.	— Heras, H., S.J. The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, Vol. I, Madras, 1927.
H.T.D.G.	— Hemingway, Tanjore District Gazetteer, 1906.
J.I.H.	— Journal of Indian History.
M.O.I.C.	— Macleod, De Oost Indische Compagnie, 1650.
M.P.I.D.	— Michaelis, Português Inglês Dicionario, New York, 1945.
N.H.S.I.	— Nilakanta Sastri, K. A., History of South India.
N.V.F.S.I.	— Nilakanta Sastri and Venkataramanayya, Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, Vol. I, University of Madras, 1946.
P.A.L.	— Proença, A.de — Autograph, 1656 (Arch. Rom. S.J.)
P.B.	— Proença, Ms. B: another Ms. dealing with the fall of Tanjore. It is neither signed nor dated; written by Proença shortly after his letter of the 22nd of July, 1659.
R.P.S.	— Radhakrishna Aiyer S., A General History of the Pudukottai State, 1916.
S.H.G.	— Srinivasachari, C. S. A History of Gingee and its Nâyaks, Annamalaiagar, 1943.
S.H.N.M.	— Sathyanatha Aiyar, R. History of the Nâyaks of Madurai, Madras, 1924.
S.T.	— Sathyanatha Aiyar, R. Tamilaham in the 17th Century, Madras, 1956.
V.N.T.	— Vriddhagirisan, V. The Nâyaks of Tanjore, Annamalaiagar, 1942.

Ornaments of Hindu Women in Mughal India

(as reflected in the contemporary Hindi literature)

BY

DR. S. P. SANGAR, M.A. (Hons.), Ph.D.

Panjab University, Chandigarh

No other people in the world seem to have shown so great a love for jewellery as the Indians. Women of all classes and grades in India, whether rich or poor, princesses or maids or dancing girls, loved to wear ornaments for their own sake. Most of the names of the jewels have come down from flowers as *karnaphūla* and *champa-kali*.

The use of ornaments in India has been known since earliest times. During the Rigvedic period, the Maruts, Aswins, and the Asuras were properly decorated with golden ornaments and jewels. The Aryans were familiar with the use of golden earrings and jewelled necklaces. Manu has defined the nature and duties of a jeweller and the fines he had to pay for transgression of rules.¹

There are copious references in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata to the use of jewellery. At the time of her marriage Sita was wearing ornaments in her hair, gems in ears, bracelets and armlets on arms, golden anklets on ankles and a golden zone round her waist. She had rings on fingers and toes. In the Mahabharata, there is mention of jewels, gold and golden ornaments. The jewels worn in the Gupta period were those as are current in India at present. "The sculptures of Sanchi and Barhut, Amravati and Ajanta paintings and the sculptures of Orissa (Bhuva-

1. George Birdwood: *Industrial Art of India*, p. 188.

neswara) prove that in its forms also Hindu jewellery has remained unaltered during at least 2,000 years.”²

Many of the names of jewels mentioned in Panini in the 4th century B.C. are still in use in India.

The love for jewellery of Indian women is natural, inborn and ingrained. “One need be an Indian woman born and bred in the great Indian tradition to realize the sense of power that such jewels as ear-rings and anklets lend their wearers. . . . she knows best that becomes her.”³

Ananda Coomaraswami has referred to an ornament in ancient India prepared by 500 goldsmiths in 4 months, at a cost of 9 crore copper coins, for the daughter of king’s treasurer. In India jewellery was not only worn by the gods and men, women and children but was also used for the decoration of houses and cities and palaces, and for the trappings of the elephants and horses and even cattle.⁴

Originally almost all the ornaments and gems were worn as a protection against the evil influence of a spirit or an unlucky planet.⁵

The Indian jewellers from ancient times have been great artists known for their skilled craftsmanship. Rich households had their own jewellers. In Mughal India the foreign travellers witnessed the artisans working in the houses of the rich and influential people.

The account, in the following pages, of jewellery as worn by Hindu women in the 16th and 17th centuries is based on the contemporary Hindi sources, and is a confirmation of the unbroken tradition of Indian women in ornamentation.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Art and Craft of India and Ceylon*: Ananda Coomaraswami, p. 150.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

In mediaeval India the ornaments worn by Hindu women were known as *Abharana*,⁶ *Ābharana*,⁷ *Bhūshan*,⁸ *Ābhushan*⁹ and *Gahnas*.¹⁰

Ornaments of Head

Sirphūl, Sisphūl: *Sirphūl* or *Sisphūl* was also called by various names as *Chaunk*, *Choti phūl*, *Sūraj* or *Rakti* (in the Deccan). It was a large, beautifully embossed golden ornament worn on the back part (nearly on the crown) of the head. According to T. N. Mukerji it was cut or intended to resemble a chrysanthemum whereas Abul Fazl describes it as resembling the marigold.¹¹

Phūl: It is smaller than the *sīsphūl*, is smooth and hemispherical and set with jewels. Usually two are worn along with the *Sīsphūl*.¹²

Mauli: *Mauli* was a long chain of eight rows of pearls hanging on one side of the head.¹³

Sir-Māng: It was a chain and pendant worn on the head in northern India.¹⁴ In Bengal it was perhaps called *Sin̄thi* and

6. *Abharana*: Bhikhāri Dās, 1-196; *Sūr Kīrtan Sangraha*, II, 178; *Padmāvat*, 6-296; *Madhu Māl̄ti*: Manjan, 4-394; Chaturbhuj Das, 140; *Sūr Sāgar*: 10-634.

7. *Ābharana*: Mati Ram, *Ras Rāj*, 354; 1-59; 667; Bhikhāri Das, II, 7-12; *Ibid.*, I, 7-20; *Ibid.*, II, 1-173; *Ibid.*, II, 3-22; *Ibid.*, 262; Mati Rām: *Satsai*: 667.

8. *Bhūshan*: Bhikāri Das, I, 1-227; Mati Ram: *Ras Rāj*, 356; Bhikhāri Das, II, 1-344; Mati Rām, *Ras Rāj*, 347; *Ibid.*, 353 and 2-28; Vyās: 4-305; 3-350; 4-353; 3-495; 1-538; 3-691; Mati Rām: *Satsai*, 214 and 397; *Sūr Sāgar*, 10-640; 1541-2159; *Parishisht*, 6; Parmānand Das, 791; Deva: *Śabd Rasāyana*, p. 54, 36; *Ibid.*, *Bhāv Vilas*, p. 128, 122, 135; *Raj Vilās*: Mān, pp. 5117.

9. *Ābhushan*: *Sūr Sāgar*, 1542-1960; *Raj Vilās*, 101.

10. *Gahnās*: Bhikhāri Dās, ii, 3-22; Mati Ram: *Ras Rāj*, 144; *Sūr Sāgar*, *Parishisht*, 8, Brahma: 30; Dev: *S. Rasayana*, 36.

11. Mukerji: *Art and Industry in India*, Op. Cit., Jamila Brajbhusan, p. 164; Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, p. 119; Ain, Text, iii, p. 185; Ain, Jerrett, iii, p. 343; *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. vii, p. 2.

Hindi Sources: Parmanand Das, 233; (*Sirphul*).

Sisphul: Govind Das, 204; Dev: *Śabd Rasāyana*, p. 70; Mān, *Rāj Vilās*, 1-28.

12. Baden Powell, Vol. ii, p. 181; Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, 119.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

was made of a gold chain hanging from the parting of the hair and coming to the brow ending in a jewelled pendant.¹⁵

Finjir: It was a gold or silver chain used by women in Bengal to wrap round the hair.¹⁶

Kants: They were hair-pins and *Chiruni* was the gold comb worn on the hair by women in Bengal.¹⁷

Ornaments of Forehead

Tikā or Māṅg Tikā: It was also called *Kashkā* in the Punjab. *Tikā* was an extremely splendid and valuable ornament worn on the forehead. It was either a single round ornament set with precious stones fixed or glued to the centre of the forehead or it would be hanging from the parting of the hair to the spot between the eyes. 'This frontal ornament has usually a star or radiated centre of about 2 inches in diameter, set in gold, and richly ornamented with small pearls, of which various chains are attached, aiding to support it in its position on the centre of the forehead.'¹⁸

Māṅg or Māṅg Patti: It was a golden ornament worn on the parting of the hair to add to its beauty.¹⁹

Bindī or Bindūli: *Bindī* or *Bindūli* was a small tinsel ornament worn on the forehead. It was smaller than a gold *muhar*.²⁰ It was also called *Sithi* in Northern India and worn by both Hindu and Muslim ladies in the fourth quarter of the last century.²¹ In

15. Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, 110.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. Baden-Powell: *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab*, Vol. II, p. 181; T. N. Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, 120; *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. xii, p. 2; *Ibid.*, Vol. vii, p. 91: According to this source, *Tikā* was worn as a forehead mark by Hindu married women, but not by widows in the Central Provinces.

Hindi Sources for *Tikā*: *Bihari Ratnakār*, 105; *Sūr Sāgar*, 1540; *Chhit-swami*, 57; Dev: *Śabd Rasāyana*, p. 98.

19. *Ain*, Text, iii, p. 185; Jerrett, iii, 343; *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. xii, pp. 2-3; Baden-Powell, Vol. ii, p. 181; Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, 120.

Hindi Source for *Māṅg Patti*: *Sūr Sāgar*, 1042.

20. As in 19.

21. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. xii, 91.

Rajputana and Central India it was an ornament made of silver and hooked into the hair on the top of the forehead. From there it curved down above the eye-brows on either side of the ears.²²

Bandni: It was a similar head ornament made of pewter and worn by lower classes among the Hindus.²³

In Hindi literature there are references to the *bindi* studded with pearls.

Baden-Powell has given a list of other ornaments used in the Punjab but the contemporary Hindi writers of the 16th and 17th centuries have not mentioned them.

Damni or Dauni: It used to be a fringe hanging over the forehead on either side of the face.²⁴

Kutbi and Sosani: They were the other varieties of *Damni*.²⁵

Chānd Binā: It was a moon-shaped pendant.²⁶

Tawit: It was a small amulet worn on the head.²⁷

Jhumar: It was a tassel-shaped ornament or pendant.²⁸

Guchhi Marwarid: It used to be a cluster of pearls.²⁹

Barwata: They were tinsel stars worn over the eye-brows.³⁰

Sekra: According to Abul Fazl, *Sekra* consisted of seven or more strings of pearls linked to studs and hung from the forehead.³¹

Kothildār: The same authority describes this ornament as consisting of five bands and a long centre-drop.³²

Sara-Sari: It was a golden ornament forming two semi-circles, bordering the edge of the hair-pin in a similar manner to each side.³³

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*

Hindi Source for Binduli: *Bihari Ratnakar*, 137.

24. Baden-Powell, *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab*, Vol. ii., 181; T. N. Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, 120.

25 to 30. *Ibid.*

31. *Āin*, Text, iii, 185; Jerrett, iii, 343.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, ii, p. 3.

Chānd: It was a semi-lunar golden ornament worn under two others on the head.³⁴

Ornaments of the Ear

Karnaphūl, Khutīlā, Kantalā, Khuntlā, Khūtī: These were the different names for almost the same kind of ornament worn by women in northern India, central India, Bihar and the Deccan.

Karnaphūl was a tassel-like ornament made with silver chains and little balls.³⁵

T. N. Mukerji describes it as a flower-like stud with a bell suspended from it.³⁶

According to Abul Fazl *karnaphūl* was an ear ornament like the flower of the margella.³⁷

It was, according to another definition, an imitation of the flower of *karran*.³⁸

In Bihar it was called by various names like *karanphūl*, *kānphūl*, *khutlā*, *khutti* or *khuti*.³⁹

According to Jafar Sheriff, the author of the *Qānūn-i-Islam*, *karnaphūl* was a 'golden ornament having a star of about an inch and a half in diameter sometimes richly ornamented by precious stones'. It could be fixed into the lobe of the ear by piercing and by a chain of gold passing over the ear.⁴⁰

Jhumak or Jhumka: This ornament of solid gold consisted of a hollow hemisphere or ball, about an inch in diameter. Small pendants of gold, each furnished with one or more small pearls,

34. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

35. Baden-Powell, ii, 181.

36. Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, 120.

37. *Āin*, Text, iii, p. 185; *Āin*, Jarrett, iii, p. 343.

38. *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, vii, p. 92.

39. *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 153.

40. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xii, p. 3.

Hindi Sources for *Karnaphūl*: *Āṅg-Darpan*: Ghulām Nabī, 29, p. 5; *Sūr Sāgar*, 10-2189; 10-2610; 10-3815; 1540; Vyās, 2-463. He used the word *Sravan-phūl*.

were suspended from the edges. The *jhumka* in general is fixed to the lower edge of the *karnaphūl*.⁴¹

In Bihar it was known as *jhumak* or *jhummak* and had two round pendants. The *jhimjhimiya* had flat pendants.⁴²

Baden-Powell describes it like the *karnaphūl*.⁴³

Khuntila, Khunti, Kantala etc.: Other names for *karnaphūl* were *khuntila*, *kantila*, *khunti*, *khuti* or *khunt*.⁴⁴

Khunti was a smaller ornament like a nail.⁴⁵

According to Baden-Powell it was like a *murki* and had a stud besides the pendant.⁴⁶

Khubhi, Khumbi or Khumbia: It was an ear-ring of the shape of the plant of this name and was worn in the lobe of the ear.⁴⁷ According to the editor of the book, *Bihari Ratnakar*, it was an ornament of the shape of a spear.⁴⁸

Taryona, Tarivan, Tarvan or Tātank: It was an ornament used for the ear and resembled the leaf of the *Tar* tree.⁴⁹

41. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xii, p. 3.

42. *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 153.

43. Baden-Powell, ii, 181.

44. *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 153.

45. *Padmāvat*, by V. S. Agarwal, 7-297.

46. Baden-Powell, p. 181.

Hindi sources: *Khunti*: *Padmāvat*, 7-297; *Khūntī*: *Ibid*, 7-479; *Khūnt*, *Ibid*, 4-110; *Khutīlā*: Vyās, 3-368; 3-402; 12-595; *Ang-Darpaṇa*, 28; p. 4; *Usmān*, *Chitrāvalī*, 5-189; Chaturbhuj Das, 92; 80; Govind Das, *Kirtan Sangrah*, Part II, p. 130; *Khuntīlā*: *Madhu Mālī*, 4-91; *Padmāvat*, 7-297.

47. *Padmāvat*, 5-110.

48. *Bihāri Ratnākara*, 6.

Hindi Sources: *Khumbi*: *Padmāvat*, 5-110; Chaturbhuj Das, 92; Govind Das, *Kirtan Sangraha*, Pt. ii, p. 130; *Khumbia*; *Usmān*: *Chitrāvalī*, 8-189; *Khubi*: Vyās, 3-368; 3-402; *Usmān*: *Chitrāvalī*, 7-189; 10-3815; *Bihāri Ratnākara*, 6; *Sūr Sāgar*, 1055; 3815.

49. Hindi Sources: *Taryaunā*: *Bihāri Ratnākara*, 106; 20 Dev: *Śabd Rasāyana*, p. 66; *Sūr Sāgar*, 3817; *Taryaunan*: Dev: *Śabd Rasāyana*, p. 71; *Ang-Darpan*: 27; *Ras Rāj*, 96; *Taryonā*: Mubarak: *Til-Satak*, 36; *Taryonani*: *Mati Ram*: *Ras Raj*, 2-31; *Tarvani*: *Mati Ram*: *Satsai*, 357; *Tarkā*: Vyās, 5-366; *Tarikā*: *Parmānand Dās*: *Kankrolī*, 721; *Tarivan*: *Usmān*: *Chitrāvalī*, 7-189; 8-398; *Bihari Ratnakar*, 82; *Sūr Sāgar*, 2445; *Mati Ram*, *Sat Sai*, 357; 471; *Ras Raj*, 42; *Manjhan*, *Madhū Mālī*, 2-91; *Tātank*: Vyās, 1-18; 2-22; 3-369;

Tarki, Tarkuli or Tarkula: It was a broad plate worn across the ear.⁵⁰

Avatans: *Bāli*: *Avatans* or *Bāli* was perhaps a circlet worn in the lobe of the ear.⁵¹

Kundal: *Kundal* was an ear ornament worn in the lower part. It was in common use in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Bir or Birbāli: It was a broad ear-ring with studs.⁵² Grierson refers to this ornament as being worn by women in Tirhut in Bihar.⁵³

Shruti Maṇi: There is a reference to this ornament in *Bihari Ratnakar*. *Shruti Maṇi* seems to have been a precious jewel worn in the ear.⁵⁴

Nose Ornaments

Nath: *Nath* consisted of a piece of gold wire as thick 'as a small knitting needle, with the usual hook and eye, and furnished at the centre, or nearly so, with several garnets, pearls, etc., perhaps to the number of seven or more, separated by a thin plate of gold, having generally scalloped edges, and being fixed transversely upon the wire which passes through their centres, as well as through the garnets, pearls, etc. The common diameter of the circle of a *nath* is from one inch and a half.'⁵⁵

It was a golden circlet or large ring with a ruby and two pearls or other jewels strung on it.⁵⁶

It passed through the outside of the nostril.⁵⁷

3-370; 4-374; 4-644; *Sūr Sāgar*, 3815; Krishan Das, *Padāvali*, 54; Chaturbhuj Das, 80; Bhikari Das, ii, 168.

50. *Bihar Peasant Life*, 153.

51. Baden-Powell, 181.

52. Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, 111; Baden-Powell, 181.

53. *Bihar Peasant Life*, 153.

54. *Bihāri Ratnākar*, 113.

55. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. xii, p. 3. *Ibid*, pt. vii, p. 32; Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, p. 121; *Ibid*, (*Bengal Ornaments*), p. 111.

56. *Ain*, iii, 185; Jarret, iii, 344. *Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab*, B. Powell, 182.

57. *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 152.

Shri T. N. Mukerji is of the view that gold ornaments were not in fashion perhaps in ancient times for no mention is made of them in old books. It is also not known since when they came into use.⁵⁸ Dr. Vasudev Sharan Agarwal opines that prior to the Afghans the mention of *nath* is not available in the Indian literature. Perhaps the mention of this ornament by Malik Mohamad Jāyasi was the beginning of its use.⁵⁹

In Bihar a small *nath* is called *nathiya* and that worn by girls *nathuni*.⁶⁰

In medieval India *nath* having pearls seems to have been in use.

Besar: *Besar* was a "broad piece of gold to the upper ends of which a pearl is attached and at the other end a golden wire which is clasped on the pearl and hung from the nose by gold wire."⁶¹

Besar was worn by women in Bengal also. It was like a half moon and was hung from the cartilage of the nose.⁶²

In Bihar it is also known as *Bulak*. Grierson has defined it as a ring hung from the centre of cartilage of the nose.⁶³

The women of Rauniyar caste in Bihar wear a similar ring termed as *Jhulni*.⁶⁴

58. *Art Manufactures of India*, (Bengal), p. iii.

59. *Padmāvat*, Hindi, 2nd ed. p. 16.

60. *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 152.

Hindi Sources for Nath: Jamāl: *Alakṣataka*, 46; 65; 193; Tosh: *Sudhānidhi*, 158; Mati Ram Makrand: *Lalit Lalām*: 3-26; *Ibid.*, *Satsai*, 113; 656; 695; Mati Ram, *Ras Rāj*, 3-355; *Padmāvat*, 4-15; Mān Kavi: *Raj Vilas*, 1-123; Dev: *Śabd Rasāyana*, 71; p. 124; *Sūr-Sāgar*, 1498; 2027; 2131; Ghulām Nabi: *Āṅg-Darpan*, 60, p. 9; 61; 62; 83; *Bihāri Ratnākar*, 306; *Ghan-Ānand*, 4-30.

61. *Āin*, Text, iii, p. 185; Jerrett, iii, p. 344; Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, Bengal Ornaments, p. 111; Upper India Ornaments, p. 121; *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xii, p. 3.

62. Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, p. 111.

63. *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 152.

64. *Ibid.*

Hindi Sources for Besar: Mubārak: *Alakṣatak Aur Tilsatak*, 1-4; 7; 1-40; Jamāl: *Dohāvali*, 49; Gang: *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, pada, 12, p. 420;

Besar seems to have been a popular ornament in medieval India.

Laung: *Laung* was a nose ornament of the shape of a clove. It was a small stud let in the flesh of the nostril on one side. It was generally made of gold with a pearl or turquoise on it.⁶⁵ It was also termed as *kiel*.

In Bihar it was known by the different names of *Chkhuchchi* and *neck-chand* and *laung*.⁶⁶

Sīnk seems to be another name for *laung*.⁶⁷

Karṇa-phūla: It was a nose ornament like the shape of a white flower known as *karṇa*.⁶⁸

Bulāk: The ornament had two varieties, *Bulāk* and *Chand Ka Bulāk*. This was a small, flat, trinklet. It is appended to the middle of Septum, or central cartilage of the nose, by means of gold screw passed through an orifice in it. The ornament lays flat upon the upper lip, having its broad end furnished with pearls and its surface set with precious stones.⁶⁹

According to Baden-Powell it was a small pendant worn in two ways. Either it was strung on the *nath* or worn hung on the cartilage of the nose.⁷⁰

Sūr Sāgar, 3815; 10-72; Parmānand Das, 919; Chaturbhuj Das, 92; Vyās: 5-386; 2-402; 2-422; 4-437; 5-448; 11-595; *Ibid.*, *Rāspanchodhyāyi*, 1-17, *Ibid.*, 5-366; 4-374; *Sūr Sāgar*, 1540; Usmān: *Chitrāvali*, 3-16; 7, 8-184; 5-240; Dev: *Bhāv Vilas*, p. 72; Mati Ram: *Satsai*, Mati Ram Makrand, 72; 7-318; *Bihāri Ratnākār*, 20 Dohā; 173; 706; Bhikāri Das, ii, 19-60; Dev: *Śabd Rasāyana*, p. 23; p. 123; p. 124; p. 127.

65. Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, p. 122; Baden-Powell, p. 182; Āin, Text, iii, p. 182; Jerrett, iii, p. 344; *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 152; *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, pt. iii, p. 32; *Bihāri Ratnākār*, 685.

66. *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 152.

67. *Bihāri Ratnākār*, 143.

Hindī Sources for Laung: *Bihāri Ratnākār*, 685.

Hindī Source for Sīnk: *Ibid.*, 143.

68. *Padmāvat*, 4-298; 5-475.

69. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. xii, 3; Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, p. 121; *Bihar Peasant Life*, 152; *Sūr Sāgar*, *Parishisht*, 1-11,

70. *Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab*, Vol. ii, 182.

Phuli: *Phuli* was another ornament mentioned by Abul Fazl and referred to in the list of Baden-Powell. Abul Fazl describes it to be like a bud, the stalk of which was attached on to the nose.⁷¹ Baden-Powell calls it a small ring with a single emerald, or other stone of an oval shape, as a pendant.⁷²

Katia: T. N. Mukerji has mentioned another nose ornament known as *Katia*. It was a gold chain, the one end of which was fastened to the *nath* and the hook was attached to the hair. It was meant to hold up the *nath* and to relieve its strain on the nostril.⁷³

Baden-Powell has referred to the following nose ornaments which have not been mentioned by other Hindi authorities:

Latkan: It was a pendant hanging from the *nath*.

Morni: It was also a small pendant. Its shape was like the spread out tail of a peacock.

Bohr: It was a jingling pendant of gold *pipal* (or Bar?) leaves.

Machhlian Besir: This meant headless fish. It was perhaps a nose ornament shaped like such fish.⁷⁴

Neck Ornaments

The ornaments worn round the neck were known by the different names of *Hār*, *Moti Hār*, *Chandan Hār*, *Mālā*, *Mohan Mālā*, *Muktmālā* or *Muktmāla*, *Muktāphal*, *Gaj Muktā*, *Mānikya Mālā*, *Kanth Sri*, *Champākali*, *Hans*, *Hansuli*, *Tauk* or *Tauqi*, *Chauki*, *Hamel*, *Dulari*, *Tilari*, *Chausar*, *Panchlarā*, *Urvasi*, *Padik*, *Gomānas*, *Gurubank*, *Morchandrika*, *Gunjāphal*, *Haikal*, *Sautin* or *Saut*.

Hār: *Hār* was a necklace of strings of pearls interconnected by golden roses.⁷⁵ It could be plain or studded with pearls or

71. *Āin*, Text, iii, 185; Jerrett, iii, 343.

72. *Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab*, II, p. 182; *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xii, p. 3; *Sūr Sāgar*, 3815.

73. Mukerji: *Art and Industry in India*, Op. cit. Jamila Brajbhushan, *Indian Jewellery*, p. 167.

74. *Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab*, ii, 182.

75. *Āin*, Text, iii, 185; *Ibid.*, Jerrett, iii, 344.

gold beads.⁷⁶ It was known as *Mālā*.⁷⁷ In Bihar *Hār* or *Harwā* was the general term for a necklace. *Motihār* was a necklace studded with pearls or beads of the shape of pearls.⁷⁸ In Bengal it was known as *Kanthamālā* and was made of elongated gold beads.⁷⁹ In the Central Provinces the necklace was known by the names of *Hār* and *Mālā*.⁸⁰

Other varieties were the *Chandan Hār*⁸¹ or *Nosar Hār* and *Mohan Mālā*.⁸² *Chandan* means sandalwood and *Mohan* signifies fascinating. *Chandan Hār* was a collar or necklace of a great number of chains.⁸³

Moti Mālā: *Moti Mālā* was a necklace of pearls. It was called by the different names of *Mot-Siri*, *Moti Mālā*, *Muktāphal Mālā*, *Muktan Māl*, *Muktā Māl*, *Mukut Māl*, *Muktāvali Hār*, *Motin Māl*, *Muktāhal Mālā*, *Motin Lār*, *Mutti Māl*, *Mukut Hār* and *Mukutā Lariā*.

In Bihar *Moti Hār* or *Moti Mālā* was a pearl necklace or one made with beads of the shape of pearls.⁸⁴

Gaj-Muktā: *Gaj-Muktā* was also a necklace made of pearls. These were special pearls said to be taken from the forehead of the elephant.

76. Baden-Powell, *Manufactures and Arts of Punjab*, ii, p. 182.

77. Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, (Upper India Garments), 122.

78. *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 153.

79. *Art Manufactures of India*, (Bengal Ornaments), p. 112.

80. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (Central Pro.), p. 92.

81. *Art Manufactures of India* (Upper India), 122-23; *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, vii, 92; vol. xii, p. 4.

82. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xii, p. 4; Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India* (Bengal), 113.

83. Baden-Powell, *Manufactures and Arts of Punjab*, 182.

Hār: Hindi Sources: *Rāj Vilās*, 101; *Padmāvat*, 1-64; 2-321; *Sūr Sāgar*, 10-16-634; 10-17-635; 1540-2158; *Matī Rām*, *Ras Rāj*, 25; *Satsai*: *Matī Rām Makrand*, 207; *Dev, Bhāv Vilās*, p. 43; 40; *Vyās*, 5-644; *Āṅg-Darpan*, 101; 102; *Dev: Bhāv Vilās*, 101.

84. *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 153.

Moti Mālā: Hindi Sources: *Bhikāri Das*, ii, 1-318; *Matī Ram: Satsai*, 405; 207; *Ras Rāj*, 1-137; *Sūr Sāgar*, 2901; 1540; 2157; 2158; *Padmāvat*, 8-111; 5-318; *Vyās*, 2-213; 3-710; 2-711; *Rāj Vilās*, 20; *Chhīṭswami*, 86; *Tosh: Sudhānidhi*, 188; *Rāj Vilās*, 52.

This necklace was called by the different names of *Maiyagal Moti Mālā*,⁸⁵ *Gaj Moti Hār*⁸⁶ and *Gaj Mukūtā*.⁸⁷

Mānikya Mālā: *Mānikya Mālā* was a necklace made of red or pinkish precious stones.⁸⁸

Kanth Shri: *Kānth-siri* (Sanskrit *Kantha-Shri*) was a gold necklace made of two or three strings.⁸⁹

Champākali: Literally, *Champākali* meant "buds of champa". It was a series of golden beads strung into a necklace.⁹⁰

Champākali was worn loose reaching half way down the bosom. It was made of separate rings, each representing the unblown flower of the *champa* numbering from 40 to 80 and strung together.⁹¹

Grierson has referred to *champākali* as a boss tied to the throat and used as a neck ornament.⁹²

Tauq, *Hans* or *Hansli*: It was a solid collar of gold or silver. *Hansli* was quite heavy and oppressive to the wearer. They were made of pure metal and could be easily bent. They were 'commonly square in front under the chin for several inches, and taper off gradually to more than half their greatest diameter, trimming at each end with a small knob'.⁹³

Baden-Powell describes *hassi* or *hass* as a ring or collar of silver, thick in the middle and thin at either end.⁹⁴

85. *Rāj Vilās*, 13.

86. *Chaturbhuj Dās*, 80; 92.

87. *Vrinda: Satsai*, 67.

88. *Rāj Vilās*, 91; Bhikāri Das ii, 98; *Sūr Sāgar*, 10-15-633.

89. *Sūr Sāgar*, 1570; 2610; 1043; *Padmāvat*, 8-111; Chhitsuami 86; *Chaturbhuj Das*, 80; *Rāj Vilās*, 12, p. 63.

90. Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, Bengal Ornaments, p. 113; *Āṅg-Darpan*, 99, p. 14; *Rāj Vilās*, 12, p. 63; 20.

91. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xii, p. 4.

92. *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 153.

93. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xii, p. 4. (Delhi and U.P. Ornaments); also C.P. Ornaments, p. 92. *Sūr Sāgar*, 1540; 1580.

94. *Handbook of Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab*, p. 182; *Āin*, Text, iii, 185; Jerrett, iii, 344.

Mukerji calls it *Hansuli*, a gold collar, which was worn in Bengal and in the up-country was termed as *Hassi*.⁹⁵ Mān calls it *Hans*⁹⁶ and Parmanand Das as *Hānsuri*.⁹⁷

Chauki: *Chauki* was a gold necklace made of flat metal. It could be studded with stones. In Bihar it was called *dholna chauki* and was the first ornament worn by the bride before the marriage ceremony.⁹⁸

Hamel: *Hamel* was a necklace made of silver or gold coins. In Bihar it was a necklace fitted with bells.⁹⁹

Panwān: *Panwān* was a necklace made of silver rupees with a pendant of the shape of betel leaf.¹⁰⁰

Dulari, Tilari, Chausar, Panchlara: The necklaces of gold or pearls with two, three, four or five strings were known as *Dulari*,¹⁰¹ *Tilari*,¹⁰² *Chausar*, *Panchlara* and *Satlara*.

In Bihar women wore these necklaces known as *Telri* or *Tilri*, *pachlari* and *satlari*.¹⁰³

Tilari was worn in C.P. also.¹⁰⁴

Urvasi: Bihari has referred to this necklace for women.¹⁰⁵

Padik: *Padik* was a necklace with the foot imitation of some god. Sur Das has referred to this ornament.¹⁰⁶

95. *Art Manufactures of India* (Bengal Ornaments), p. 113; (Upper India Ornaments), p. 123.

96. *Rāj Vilas*, 12.

97. Parmānand Dās, *Kankroli*, 721.

98. *Bihar Peasant Life*, 153.

Chauki: *Hindi Sources*: *Rāj Vilās*, 120; *Sūr Sāgar*, 1540; 1055; 2621; Chaturbhuj Das, 80; Govind Dās, *Kirtan Sangraha*, ii, 13.

99. *Bihar Peasant Life*, 153.

Hamel: *Hindi Sources*: *Chhītswami*, 57; *Āṅg-Darpan*, 103, p. 14; *Sūr Sāgar*, 1540; *Hamel Hār*: Nand Dās, *Pada*, 46, p. 375; also p. 378.

100. Tosh: *Sudhānidhi*, p. 286.

101. *Sūr Sāgar*, 1540-2158; Nand Das, p. 378.

102. *Sūr Sāgar*, 1570; *Rāj Vilas*, 20.

103. *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 153.

104. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, vii (C.P.), p. 92.

105. *Bihāri Ratnākar*, 26.

106. *Sūr Sāgar*, 2610.

Haikal: *Haikal* was a long necklace composed of flat pieces, generally nine in number, and worn by women in Bihar.¹⁰⁷

Sautin or Saut: *Sautin* or *Saut* was an ornament worn by the second wife before she applied vermilion to her hair on the first occasion. Some vermilion was applied to the ornament also.¹⁰⁸

Gomanas and Gurubank: Bhikari Das has referred to these two ornaments worn round the neck.¹⁰⁹

Morchandrika and Gunjaphal: These two seem to be neck ornaments.¹¹⁰

Ornaments for Waist

Kshudra-hantika, kinkini or kardhani: It was an ornament of waist consisting of golden bells strung together on gold wire and twisted round the waist. While moving, the bells created musical sound.¹¹¹ There are copious references in the contemporary Hindi literature to the use of these ornaments.

The contemporary Hindi poets have referred to other waist ornaments like *Mūnmēkhalā*,¹¹² *Swarnmekhalā*,¹¹³ *Katimekhalā*¹¹⁴ and *Hamanidam*.¹¹⁵

107. *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 153

108. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

109. Bhikari Das, Vol. ii, p. 168.

110. Parmānanda Das, p. 663.

111. *Āin*, Text, iii, p. 186; Jerrett, iii, 344; *Bihar Peasant Life*, 1555.

Kshudra Khatika: *Padmāvat*, 6-116; 7-299; 6-641; 6-296; *Bihāri Ratnākar*, 129; *Sūr Sāgar*, 1540.

Kinkini: Vyās, 2-310; 3-459; 2-463; 2-464; 3-471; 2-472; 2-473; 2-475; 2-549; 2-551; 2-571; 2-584; 2-620; 2-634; 2-638; 6-644; 3-675; 2-71; *Mati Rām: Ras Rāj*, 2-71; 1-171; 1-342; 1-351; 4-357; 1-371; 1-17; *Mān Kavi: Rāj Vilās*, 1-14; *Dev: Śabd Rasāyana*, p. 38; *Dev: Bhāv Vilās*, p. 69; *Tosh: Sudhā Nidhi*, p. 71; *Mati Ram: Ras Rāj*, 1-17; *Rāj Vilās*, 14; *Āng-Darpan*, 149; *Bihāri Ratnākar*, 129; Bhikari Das, ii, p. 168; *Usmān, Chitravali*, 3-241; Govind Das, 92; 297; *Chhītswāmī*, 4; *Sudāmā-Charit*: Narottam Das: 85; Parmānand Das, 916.

112. Krishan Das, *Som. Pada*, p. 75.

113. *Rāj Vilās*, 78, p. 94.

114. *Ibid.*, 18; p. 69.

115. Krishan Das, *Som. Pada*, p. 75.

In the Central Provinces women wore a waist ornament known as *Kangati* which was a girdle.¹¹⁶

T. N. Mukerji has referred to a number of waist ornaments used in Bengal by women and children.

Chandra-hār: It was made of gold or silver chains with a moonlike tablet in the middle.

Sūrya-hār: It was a modified form of the above.

Got: It was a thick chain made of gold or silver.

Chabi-chhikli: It was a thin chain for keys.

Biche: It was a chain made like a centepede.

Byang, Batphal, Nimphal, Bor and Komorpata: They were waist ornaments for the children.¹¹⁷

In the Central Provinces *Kandora* was a belt or cord with bells worn by children.¹¹⁸

Kamarpattā or sādā pattī: It was a simple flat ring, one inch and a half broad which encircled the waist. This was used in Delhi and Upper India.¹¹⁹

Kamarsal: This consisted of small square tablets two inches broad which were carved and fixed by hinges.¹²⁰

Zar kamar: It was a gold belt worn in Upper India.¹²¹

Ornaments for Fingērs

Among the ornaments worn by women on the fingers were *Mundi*, *Chhalā* and *Ārsī*.

Mundi: It was a ring plain set with stones. It was also called *Angushtri* or *Angūthi*. The name *Anguthi* was current in

116. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Part, vii, p. 92.

117. *Art Manufactures of India*, pp. 115-116.

118. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Part, vii, p. 92.

119. *Ibid.*, xii, p. 5.

120. *Ibid.*

121. *Ibid.*

the Punjab, U.P., Central Provinces and Bombay and *Mundi* in Orissa.¹²²

Other names for *Mundi* used in the contemporary Hindi literature were *Mundri*,¹²³ *Mudriya*,¹²⁴ *Mundriyā*¹²⁵ and *Mudrikā*.¹²⁶ The name *Anguthi*¹²⁷ was also used.

Chhala or *Chhalla*: It was a plain hoop or whole hoop ring with or without stones, being gold or silver, but the same all round.¹²⁸ A *chhalā* was usually the fifth of an inch broad, very thin and for the most part with bended edges.¹²⁹

Ārsi: It was a ring worn on the thumb. Instead of a stone, it had a mirror set in it. *Ārsi* was a ring for the thumb having a small mirror about the size of a half penny fixed upon it by the centre, so as to accord with the back of the thumb.¹³⁰ In Bihar it was a round solid ring.¹³¹

Ornaments for Wrist

Among the ornaments for wrist were *Pahunchi*, *Kangan*, *Gokhru*, *Karā*, *Chūri*, *Chūrā* or *Balayā*.

Pahunchi: It was a bracelet made of a series of strings of shells or small elongated beads. As the beads were like the teeth

122. Baden-Powell, ii, 183; Āin, Text, iii, p. 185; Jerrett, iii, 344; Bihar Peasant Life, p. 155; Journal of Indian Art and Industry, xii, pp. 5, 91; The Gajapati Kings of Orissa, p. 146.

123. Usmān, Chitrāvali, 8-191; Kumbhan Das, 10; Vyās, 17-595; Bihāri Ratnākar, 611; Chaturbhuj Das, 7.

124. Rāj Vilās, 17, p. 68.

125. Parmānand Dās, 919.

126. Rāj Vilās, 19, p. 7; Sūr Sāgar, 1053; Govind Das, 204.

127. Sūr Sāgar, 9-86; Padmāvat, 5-112.

128. Baden-Powell, 2, 183; Bihar Peasant Life, 155; Journal of Indian Art and Industry, xii, p. 5.

129. Journal of Indian Art and Industry, pt. vii, p. 5.

Hindi Sources for Chhallā: Bihāri Ratnākar, 123, 136, 338; Bhikāri Das, ii, 1-175.

130. Journal of Indian Art and Industry, xii, p. 5.

131. Bihar Peasant Life, p. 155.

Hindi Sources: Ārsi; Ang-Darpan, 121, p. 17, 122, p. 17; Bihāri Ratnākar, 34, 334, 512, 611.

of the rats, it was called *Chuha Datti*.¹³² According to another definition it was a bracelet formed of small pointed prisms of solid silver, or hollow of gold filled with melted resin, each about the size of a very large barley corn, and having a ring soldered to its bosom. These prisms are strung upon black silk.¹³³

Kangan: It was a bracelet made of stiff metal and worn round the arm. It had knobs on the upper side. When its edges were serrated, it was called *Gokhru* and *Karā*.¹³⁴ *Gokhru* was a stiff bracelet with serrated edges.¹³⁵ *Karā* was a plain round gold bracelet, solid or filled with shalloe, with ornamented ends.¹³⁶ For Baden-Powell *karā* was another name for *kangan* or *gokhru*.¹³⁷ *Karā* could also be a massive ring of solid silver, weighing from 3 to 4 ounces. This ornament was also of pure gold put on and off at pleasure and the ends could be brought together by an easy pressure of the other hand. These rings were commonly hexagonal or octagonal, of equal thickness throughout and terminated by a knob at each end.¹³⁸

132. Baden-Powell: *Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab*, ii, 184; Mukerji: *Art and Industry in India*; Op.Cit. Jamila Brajbhushan, p. 168; Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, p. 114; Grierson: *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 155.

133. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. xii, p. 4; (Delhi & U.P.); *Ibid.*, part vii, (Bombay & C.P.), p. 92.

Pahunchi: Hindi Sources: Bhikāri Dās, ii, 1-581; Chaturbhuj Das, 206; *Sūr Sāgar*, 451; Parmānand Das, 919; *Tānsen Aur Un Ka Kavya*, 3-153; Ghan-Ānand, 1-2/115; Tosh: *Sudhānidhi*, 182; *Rāj Vilās*, 18, p. 6; *Āng-Darpan*, 108, p. 15.

134. Baden-Powell: *Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab*, Vol. ii, p. 183; T. N. Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India* (Upper India Ornaments), p. 124; (Bengal), 115; Āin, Text, iii, p. 185; Jerrett, iii, p. 344; *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 154.

Kangan: Hindi Sources: *Padmāvat*, 6-318, 4-451, 5-451, 8-451, 2-460, 9-482; *Rāj Vilās*, 18, 17; *Sūr Sāgar*, 10-17-1735; Vyās, 2-463; 2-464; 3-471; 2-475; 2-549; 2-551; 19-595; 16-595; 2-620; 2-711; *Rāj Vilās*, 125; Bhikāri Das, ii, 104; Govind Das, ii, 172; Parmānand Das, 172; Kumbhan Das, 10.

135. Baden-Powell, ii, p. 183; *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Part, vii, (Bombay & C.P.), p. 92; Vyās, 2-94.

136. Mukerji: *Art and Industry in India*; Op.Cit. Jamila Brajbhushan, p. 168; Baden-Powell: Vol. ii, p. 183; Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, p. 124; *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Pt. VII, (Bombay and Central Provinces), p. 92.

137. Baden-Powell, ii, p. 183.

138. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xii, 4; Kumbhan Das, 10.

Chūrīs: They were generally made of a flat ribbon of gold or silver, bent round. They could be of various kinds and were also known as *chūrās*.¹³⁹ *Chūrīs* were also made of sealing wax and ornamented with various coloured tinsel.¹⁴⁰

Another name of *churi* was *Balaya*.¹⁴¹

Ornaments for Arms

Bāzūband or *Bhujband*: The Sanskrit name for *Bāzūband* was *Bhujaband*. According to Baden-Powell it was a broad belt-like ornament mounted on silk and tied on the upper arm.¹⁴² According to another definition, it was a trinket adorned with semi-circular ornaments made hollow, but filled up with melted resin. The ends were furnished with loops of the same metal, generally silver and secured by silken skeins.¹⁴³ In the Central Provinces and Bombay the different names for *Bāzūband* were *Bāzū Sādā*, *Bāzū-sar-Ghundika*, *Bāzū Tāwiz* and *Bāzū*.¹⁴⁴ In Bihar it was called by the name of *Bājū* or *Bājuband*.¹⁴⁵ In the contemporary Hindi literature, it was also termed as *Bāhu*¹⁴⁶ or *Bāhubandh*.¹⁴⁷ The usual term was *Bazuband*¹⁴⁸ and *Bhujband*.¹⁴⁹

139. Baden-Powell, ii, p. 183; Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India* (Upper India), p. 124; Āin, Text, iii, p. 185; Āin, Jerrett, iii, p. 344; *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 155; Mukerji, *Art Manufactures of India* (Bengal), p. 114.

140. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xii, pp. 4-5.

Chūri: *Hindi Sources*: *Āṅg-Darpan*, 168; 119; *Sūr Sāgar*. 2901; Parmanand Das, 233; 635; Dev: *Śabd Rasāyana*, p. 11; Usmān: *Chitrāvali*, 5-198; Bhikāri Das, ii, 1-208; 147; Ghan-Ānand, *Padāvali*, 736; Bihārī Ratnākār, 712; Tansen Aur Un Ka Kāvya: *Dhruv Ke Pada*, 3-153; Ram-Carit-Manas, p. 681.

141. *Sūr Sāgar*, 1475; Mati Ram: *Ras Rāj*, 42; *Padmāvat*, 2-312; *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, (Bombay & C.P.), p. 92.

142. Baden-Powell, ii, p. 183; Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India* (Upper India), 123.

143. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. XII, p. 4; See also Āin, Text, iii, 185; Jerrett, iii, 344.

144. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. XII, p. 92.

145. *Bihar Peasant Life*, 154.

146. *Padmāvat*, 6-318; 6-112.

147. *Rāj Vilās*, 18.

148. *Āṅg-Darpan*, 116; *Rāj Vilās*, 7; Chhīṭswāmi, 86; Tānsen: *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, pada, 24, p. 392; Parmānand Das, 919; Kumbhan Das, 10.

149. *Āṅg-Darpan*: 17; *Rāj Vilās*, 18.

Bahuntā: It also was an ornament worn on the arm. In Bihar it was worn on the lowest part of the arm. It was round and of fine pieces. It was also called *Bahuntā*.¹⁵⁰ In Delhi and U.P. in the last century it was termed as *Bāotā*.¹⁵¹

Tād: It was a hollow circle worn on the arm.¹⁵²

Tār: It was a hoop made of gold, worn on the arm, chiefly by children in Bengal.¹⁵³ *Tār* or *Tariyā* was an ornament worn principally by Hindu women on arm in Bihar.¹⁵⁴

Gajrā: It was a flexible bracelet made of square gold studs mounted on a silken band.¹⁵⁵

Jawe: It was a bracelet consisting of five golden barley corns strung on silk.¹⁵⁶

Baden-Powell and T. N. Mukerji have mentioned the following ornaments not referred to by the contemporary Hindi writers but worn by ladies on fingers, wrists and arms.

Finger Rings

Angushtana or Anguthā: It was a big ring with a broad face, worn on the great toe or thumb.¹⁵⁷

Khari Panjangla: It was a set of finger rings of ordinary shape.¹⁵⁸

Shāhalmi or Khari: It was a ring of long oval shape.¹⁵⁹

Brihamgand: It was a broad ring.¹⁶⁰

Perkesi: They were rings worn on the first and second joints of fingers with *ghungrus* attached to them.¹⁶¹

150. *Bihar Peasant Life*, 154.

151. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xii, p. 4; *Sūr Sāgar*, 1540-2158.

152. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xii, p. 92; *Padmāvat*, 112-6; 5-299; 6-318; *Usmān: Chitrāvali*, 3-191; *Sūr Sāgar*, 4060.

153. Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, 124.

154. *Bihar Peasant Life*, 154.

155. Baden-Powell, ii, 183; *Āin*, iii, 185; *Vyās*, v, 368.

156. *Āin*, Text, iii, 185; *Ain*, Jarrett, iii, 344.

157. Baden-Powell, ii, 183; *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xii, 5.

158. Baden-Powell, ii, 183.

159. *Ibid.*

160. *Ibid.*

161. *Ibid.*

Bracelets

Jhankangam: It was a small hollow *karā* with grains introduced into the hollow to rattle.¹⁶²

Bain: It was a long silver sleeve or tube, like a lot of *chūris* fastened together.¹⁶³

Band: It was a bracelet which was broad and heavy.¹⁶⁴

Bratana: It was a bangle to which numerous pendants were attached in order to tinkle.¹⁶⁵

Hath Phool: It was a bangle with five chains attached to rings worn on all the five fingers.¹⁶⁶

Patri: It was a broad, flat bangle.¹⁶⁷

Dashtband: They were gold chains or strings of pearls held at intervals by gold or jewelled bands.¹⁶⁸

Armlets

Nau-Naga or Nau-Ratn: It was like *Bāzūband*, a broad belt-like ornament consisting of nine gems set side by side.¹⁶⁹

Tāwiz: It was an amulet worn on the upper arm.¹⁷⁰

Anant: It was an ornament worn by the Hindus on the upper arm. It was a large, thin but solid ring of gold or silver.¹⁷¹

Bhawatta: It was a square gold ornament worn on the upper arm.¹⁷²

162. *Ibid.*

Mukerji: *Art and Industry in India*; *Op.Cit.*, Jamila Brajbhushan, 168.

163. *Ibid.*

164. Mukerji: *Art and Industry in India*; *Op.Cit.*, Jamila Brajbhushan, p. 168.

165. *Ibid.*

166. *Ibid.*

167. *Ibid.*

168. *Ibid.*

169. Baden Powell, ii 183; Mukerji: *Art and Industry in India*, *Op.Cit.*, Jamila Brajbhushan, p. 168; Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, (Upper India), p. 123.

170. Baden-Powell, ii, 183.

171. *Ibid.*

172. *Ibid.*

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Jausham: It was an armlet consisting of six long cylinders set in two rows strung on silk.¹⁷³ In Bihar it was worn by Muslim women.¹⁷⁴

Sir George Grierson has referred to the following armlets worn by women in Bihar:

Bijawath, Bijoetha or Bijautha: They were fine ornaments strung together.

Birenthi or Birkhi: It was a small ornament worn below the former.

Sikriis: It was a chain worn on the upper part of the arm.

Ghundi: It was an ornament consisting of little ball pendants hanging from the *bājū* or from an *anant*.

Bajulla or Bijuli: It was worn immediately below *bājū*.

Nabgraha or Naunag: It was an ornament worn on the forearm.

Pān or Panwā: It was an ornament worn between the shoulders by Hindu women. Muslim ladies called it *Bālāmatar*.¹⁷⁵

The Journal of Indian Art and Industry has referred to the following ornaments worn on fingers and arms.

Patri: They were gilt brass rings, a quarter of an inch broad. They were worn from one to four on each wrist.¹⁷⁶

Chur: It was an ornament consisting of several *patris* joined together.¹⁷⁷

Tore and Bangian: They consisted of thin rings made of different coloured glass and were worn on the wrists. The usual number was 10 to 16.¹⁷⁸

Himbalai: It was worn along with *bangris* and next to the body.¹⁷⁹

Astur: It was worn singly next to the hand.¹⁸⁰

Banka: It was a thick gold bracelet worn by Hindu women.¹⁸¹

173. Mukerji: *Art and Industry in India*, Op.Cit., Jamila Brajbhushan, p. 168.

174. *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 154.

175. *Ibid.*

176 to 180. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. xii, p. 4.

181. Baden-Powell, 124.

Ornaments for Feet

Ornaments worn round the Anklet:

Painjani: It was a hollow *karā* with little bells or small pebbles inside.¹⁸²

Chūrā or Karā: It consisted of two hollow half circlets which when joined together formed a complete ring.¹⁸³ It was a ring of silver, made very substantial, weighing not less than half a pound each.¹⁸⁴

Pāil or Pāizers: They were ankle ornaments made with chains and pendants of silver, set with a fringe of small spherical bells, all of which clink together at every motion of the limb.¹⁸⁵

Jehar: It was also an ornament for the ankle and consisted of three gold rings.¹⁸⁶

Ghungrā: They were small golden bells, six on each ankle strung upon silk.¹⁸⁷

Jhānjar: It was a large hollow ring with short bells for rattling.¹⁸⁸

182. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xii, p. 5; Kumbhan Das, 50; Tosh: *Sudhānidhi*, 183; Mati Ram Makrand, *Lalit Lakṣm*, 85.

183. *Āin*, Text, iii, 186; Jerrett, iii, 344; *Padmāvat*, 6-118; 8-299; 6-296; Nand Das, *Kirtan Sangraha*, Pt. ii, p. 129.

184. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xii, p. 5.

185. Baden-Powell, ii, 184; Mukerji: *Art and Industry in India*; Op.Cit., Jamila Brajbhushan, 168; Mukerji: *Art Manufactures of India*, 117; *Ibid.*, Upper India Ornaments, p. 125; *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xii, pp. 5, 15.

Pāyal: *Hindi Sources:* *Āṅg-Darpan*, 70; Krishan Dās, *Kirtan Sangraha*, Pt. ii, 123; Nand Dās, 129; Usmān, *Chitrāvali*, 7-198; *Bihārī Ratnākār*, 441; 212; *Rāj Vilās*, 20; *Padmāvat*, 6-118; 8-299; 6-296.

186. *Āin*, Text, iii, 186; Jerrett, iii, 344.

Jehar: *Hindi Sources:* *Sūr Sāgar*, 1439; 1540; 1049; Parmānand Das, 919; Nand Das, *Kirtan Sangraha*, Pt. ii, 129; Usmān, *Chitrāvali*, 8-198.

187. *Āin*, Text, iii, 186; Jerrett, iii, 344; *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xii, 5; Tosh: *Sudhānidhi*, 116; 176; 340.

188. Mukerji, *Art and Industry in India*: Op.Cit., Jamila Brajbhushan, 168; *Āin*, iii, Text, 186; Jerrett, iii, 345; Usmān: *Chitrāvali*, 8-198; *Rāj Vilās*, 20, p. 71.

Ornamēnts for Toe

Anwat: It was an ornament worn on big toe. It was a ring furnished with little bells and attached along with each side of the foot to the *pāzeb*.¹⁸⁹

Bichhiyā: It was an ornament for the instep shaped like half a bell.¹⁹⁰

In Hindi literature it has been called by the different names of *Bichhiyanu*,¹⁹¹ *Bichhiyan*,¹⁹² *Bichhuvan*,¹⁹³ *Bichhiyā*,¹⁹⁴ *Bichhiyān*,¹⁹⁵ or *Bichhiyānu*.¹⁹⁶

Nūpur: It was an ornament of the toe with small bells.¹⁹⁷

189. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xii, 5; Āin, Text, iii, 186; Jerrett, 345; Mukerji: *Art and Industry in India*; *Op.Cit.*, Jamila Brajbhushan, 168.

Anwat: *Hindi Sources*: *Rāj Vilās*, 13; *Āṅ-Darpan*, 171; 172; Dev, *Śabd Rasāyana*, p. 81; *Padmāvat*, 8-299; 7-118; 8-299; *Bihārī Ratnakar*, 209; *Usmān*, *Chitrāvali*, 7-199; 5-241; Nand Das, *Kirtan Sangraha*, Pt. ii, 129; Parmānand Das, 919.

190. Mukerji: *Art and Industry in India*; *Op.Cit.*, Jamila Brajbhushan, 168; *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xii, Pt. I, 4; *Bihar Peasant Life*, 155.

Bichhiyā: *Hindi Sources*: Mati Ram, *Rās Rāj*, 3-71; *Padmāvat*, 7-118; 8-299; *Usmān*: *Chitrāvali*, 7-199; *Sūr Sāgar*, 241; 1058; 1540; Parmānand Das, 919; Tosh: *Sudhānidhi*, 43; 70.

191. *Bihārī Ratnakar*, 418.

192. Mati Ram *Satsai*, 332.

193. Nand Das, *Kirtan Sangraha*, Pt. ii, p. 129.

194. *Rāj Vilās*, 2-13.

195. Dev, *Bhāv Vilās*, p. 77; 106; 109; *Āṅ-Darpan*, 173.

196. Dev, *Bhāv Vilās*, 77.

197. *Āṅ-Darpan*, 169; *Sūr Sāgar*, 1058; Bhikāri Das, ii, 1-304; Ghan-Anand, *Prem Patrikā*, 4-86; Krishan Das, *Som Padavali*, p. 66; Nand Das, *Kirtan Sangraha*, ii, 129; *Sudāmā Carit*, 85; Dev *Śabd Rasāyana*, p. 81; Dev, *Bhāv Vilās*, p. 41; p. 43; p. 69; Vyās, 3-459; 2-360; 3-458; 3-585; 2-591; 19-595; 2-620; 2-634; 3-19; 4-471; 2-472; 2-473; 2-475; 3-549; 2-551; 4-571; 2-584; 4-467; 3-638; 3-675; *Sūr Sāgar*, 1058; 1540; Mati Ram, *Rās Rāj*, 1-351.

The Malaiyar

BY

DR. N. SUBRAHMANIAN

University of Madras

The Malaiyar were a minor family of subordinate rulers who flourished at Kōvalūr¹ in Malāḍu² as early as the Śaṅgam days and also played a role in the disturbed politics of the days of the Chōla decline in medieval South India. They were also known as Māliyamān;³ but they are not to be confused with the Chēras who were also designated 'Malaiyar'.⁴ The Malaiyar⁵ of Kōvalūr were so called because they ruled over the Muḷlūr hill,⁶ and so the chief of Kōvalūr was also called Muḷlūrpporunan.⁷ Kōvalūr, the capital of the Malaiyar, is situated on the South Peṇṇār and Koḍuṅgāl was

1. Now Tirukkōvalūr on the South Peṇṇai in South Arcot district of Madras.

2. Malāḍu: Malai nāḍu; now it is part of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The Malaiyar ruled over the Peṇṇai nāḍu, (*Puṇānūru*: 126:23) which is another name for Malāḍu.

3. Mān means descendant, the Adiyar, the tribe to which Aḍiyamān Neḍumān Añji of Tagaḍūr belonged, were also called Aḍiyamān. For a similar account of the Adiyar vide *M.U.J.* Sec. A. Humanities, Vol. XXXV: Nos. 1 & 2.

4. *Silappadikarūm*: XXIX: Usal Vari: 2:3 — Chēran, Poraiyan, Malaiyan are used as equivalents. But 'Malai' (hill) in the case of the Chēras stands for the Nilgiris and the promontories in its southern extension, while it means the Muḷlūr hill on the east in the case of the Malaiyar.

5. The possibility of a connection between the 'Malaiyar' and the 'Śailēndras' (Śaila: hill) of Java and Śailarājas of Funan seems to be little more than mere nominal resemblance among these different and distant dynasties.

6. *Puṇānūru*: 123:5; *Ahanānūru*: 209:12; *Kuruntogai*: 312:3; it was a southern extension of the eastern ghats which include Tiruvannamalai, Tirukkaḷukkunram and Vriddhachalam.

7. *Puṇānūru*: 126:8; it is however strange that the few hills which lie scattered over the territory to the north and south of the Peṇṇār should have led to the land being called Malāḍu or the hilly tract.

a ferry of some importance on its banks.⁸ Kōvaṛkōmān⁹ was another of his titles.

The Malaiyar who ruled from Kōvalūr in the Śaṅgam period were feudatories of the Chōlas, but as was usual with such secondary powers in those days, they often exercised near-sovereign authority. They were as powerful in war as they were generous in largesse. The Śaṅgam period of Tamil history knows two Malaiyar chieftains of importance: (1) Malaiyamān Tirumuḍikkāri¹⁰ and (2) his son, Malaiyamān¹¹ Chōlia Ēnādi¹² Tirukkannan. Of these Tirumuḍikkāri, known usually as Kāri,¹³ was one of the seven Vallals.¹⁴ Though a feudatory chief his reputation as a benefactor had become equal to that of the Chēra kings praised in the *Paḍirrupattu*; Vaḍama Vaṇṇakkan Perum Śāttanār, Kapilar and Mārōkkattu Nappaśalaiyār were among his proteges,¹⁵ who have left us information about him in some of their poems. Perum Śittiranār

8. *Ahanānūru*: 35:14 to 16.

9. *Ibid.*, 35:14; even as the chief of the Adiyar was called Adiyar Kōmān: *Puranānūru*: 91:3; 392:1.

10. The expression 'Muḍi', it seems, is a variant of 'Kuḍumi', as in *Mudukuḍumipperuvaludi* meaning, 'chieftain'; it is not impossible that Tirumuḍi in Kāri's name is no more than what 'Muḍittalai' in Kōpperunarkilli's name indicates, i.e., 'one wearing a beautiful tuft of hair'. 'Tiru' indicates nobility of lineage and is seen prefixed to the name of his son 'Tirukkannan' or 'Tiruk-killi', and also to his capital 'Tirukkōvalūr'.

11. It is not specifically stated in any Śaṅgam text that Tirukkannan was Kāri's son; but Mārōkkattu Nappaśalaiyār who mentioned Kāri in *Puranānūru* 126, also praised Tirukkannan in *Puranānūru* 174 and so the latter, the younger of the two who is said to have succeeded his father to the Malaiyar throne, was in all probability the former's son.

12. Chōlia Ēnādi: Commander of the Chōla armies; Ēnādi: Śēnāpati.

13. Perhaps because he was very dark of complexion; black cows (or even horses) were called 'Kāri'; or possibly some connexion with Kāri Āru (a river and a place) gave him that name. His horse, also possibly black, was called 'Kāri'; it is possible that the horse derived its name from its owner.

14. Liberal patrons of poets and other usually indigent persons; the seven were: 1. Pāri of Parambu; 2. Val Vil Ōri of Kolli; 3. Kāri of Kōvalūr; 4. Añji of Tagaḍūr; 5. Pēhan of Naḷḷur; 6. Āi of Āikuḍi; and 7. Nalli of Tōtti hills.

15. Perum Śāttanār: *Puranānūru* 125; Mārōkkattu Nappaśalaiyār: *Puranānūru*: 126; Kapilar: *Puranānūru*: 121, 122, 123, 124.

refers to him in his eulogy on Kumaṇan¹⁶ and Nallūr Nattattanār in *Śirupāṇārruppadaḥ*.¹⁷

It might be considered by some surprising that Kapilar who had an exclusive affection for Pāri of Paṇambu should have thought fit to praise Kāri also. But on closer consideration it will be seen that Kapilar was by no means averse to praising other princes, too; e.g. Śelvakkaduṅḡ Vāli Ādan was praised by him in the 7th Ten of *Paḍirruppattu* and greatly rewarded by him therefor. It was Kapilar's habit to resort to the courts of generous princes in general and sing their praises, though undoubtedly he had a special regard for Pāri. Having heard about Malaiyamān Tirumuḍikkāri of Kōvalūr, therefore, he repaired to him. It seems that poets and mendicants came to him from all directions seeking alms; but it would appear that in his anxiety to be liberal to all, he made little distinction between worthy poets and mean versifiers, and that he rather considered their need than their desert in the gifts which he treated more as some sort of eleemosynary practice than a token of recognition of merit. This vulgar egalitarianism naturally offended and irritated the touchy poet, Kapilar, who therefore gave his patron a bit of his mind and told him that his gifts had better be more discriminatory.¹⁸

The three crowned monarchs were anxious to secure Kāri's services for themselves so that his valour might protect them against the others; to this end, they sent large gifts. He in turn distributed them among the needy ones around him. This perhaps was the justification for his accepting these gifts which, after all, were in the nature of bribes.¹⁹ His gifts of chariots to his bards exceeded the rain drops on the Muḷlūr summit.²⁰ Even those who resorted to his court at untimely hours and exhibited their talents, never returned empty-handed. Such was the invariable and unfailing nature of his bounty. Perum Sāttanār confirms Kapilar's state-

16. *Puṇānānūru*: 158. Kuḍavāyirkīrattanār and Kallāḍanār also refer to his dominion and his achievements: *Ahanānūru*: 35: 14 to 16; 209: 11 to 17; his children are mentioned by Kōvūr Kilār: *Puṇānānūru* 46; and his son Tirukannaṇ is praised by Mārōkkattu Nappaśalaiyār: *Puṇānānūru*: 174.

17. *Śirupāṇārruppadaḥ*: 91 to 95.

18. *Puṇānānūru*: 121: *Podu nōkku oḷimadi pulavar māṭṭē*.

19. *Ibid*: 122.

20. *Ibid*: 123.

ment that Kāri's gifts were usually chariots, and large numbers of them too.²¹

In the battle which was fought by Chōla Rājasūyam Vēṭṭa Perunar Kilī against Chēran Māndaran Chēral Irumporai, the Chōla who won, was assisted by Malaiyan. The victor, according to the poet Perum Śāttanār, was grateful to Malaiyan for his generalship and knew that but for him victory would have eluded the Chōla, and the vanquished Chēra also knew and said that but for Malaiyan's opposition he might not have lost the battle.

Mārōkkattu Nappaśalaiyār who praised Malaiyan²² says that she could repair to the prince's court unobstructed by anyone, even as the Chēra's merchant navy operating in the western ocean could not be obstructed by any hostile vessels; if the reference here is to Chēran Śeṅguṭṭuvan, as it can well be, then, Malaiyan Kāri was a junior contemporary of Śeṅguṭṭuvan and so might be assigned to late second century, or early third century A.D.

Perum Śittiranār, the poet who came after six of the seven Vallals,²³ mentions Kāri as one who rode the horse also called Kāri, and defeated Val Vil Ōri, another famous patron—a feudatory who ruled over the Kolli hills. Kallāḍanār, in another context, repeats and further clarifies this information.²⁴ He says that Kāri was assisting the Chēra king in his struggle against the redoubtable Ōri (of the valiant bow) and that in the battle Ōri fell; and Kāri granted the Kolli hills to the Chēra.²⁵ It will be seen now that while Perum Śāttanār speaks of Malaiyamān's support to the Chōla, Kallāḍanār speaks of Malaiyan's support to the Chēra; this confirms Kapilar's statement²⁶ about Kāri's opportunist alliances.

21. *Ibid*: 125: Tērvan Malaiyan: Malaiyan, famous as giver of chariots; vide also Parapar's expression in *Narṇinai*: 100:9.

22. *Ibid*: 126.

23. i.e., except Añji who was the poet's contemporary; Perum Śittiranār, however, survived Añji.

24. *Ahanānūru*: 209.

25. The information about the seven vallals in *Puranānūru* 158 by Perum Śittiranār is substantially repeated in *Śirupāṇāruppaḍai*: 84:113.

26. *Puranānūru*: 122: 4 to 7.

Once an Aryan horde swooped down on the plains of Malāḍu and besieged Kōvalūr; and in the battle that ensued Kāri decisively defeated and drove back the invaders.²⁷

Auvaiyār mentions Añji's conquest of Kāri's Kōvalūr and says that Paraṇar too had sung his praises in that context; Śeṅguṭṭuvan was a later contemporary of Paraṇar, and Kāri was also a junior contemporary of Śeṅguṭṭuvan;²⁸ Auvaiyār, a junior contemporary of Paraṇar was a contemporary of Añji; and, then, it is quite probable that the chief of Kōvalūr mentioned by Auvaiyār as being defeated by Añji was Malaiyamān Tirumuḍikkāri himself. If this was the case, Kāri temporarily dislodged from Kōvalūr took refuge with the Chēra Perum Chēral Irumporai,²⁹ for whom he secured the Kolli hills after defeating and killing Ōri in battle. The enmity between Kāri and Añji was not unconnected with the final denouement of this wretched round of wars³⁰ which occurred on the battle-field of Tagaḍūr, in which Añji was defeated and killed by Perum Chēral Irumporai.³¹

While Kāri was so helpful and friendly to the Chēra, the Chōḷa ruler then was Kuḷamurattuttuñjiya Kiḷḷiḷavan.³² Once while engaged in war against some neighbouring power, perhaps the Chēra, Kiḷḷiḷavan caught hold of Malaiyan's children and was on the point of throwing them to the elephants to be trampled upon. But Kōvūr Kiḷār, the peace-maker and benign poet, successfully interceded on behalf of the children and drew the Chōḷa's attention to the utter futility of venting his anger on the innocent ones. The children were saved.

One of these children, perhaps, was later to become the famous Tirukaṇṇan; he forgot his father's enmity to the Chōḷa; and the

27. *Narṛinai*: 170.

28. Who was praised by Paraṇar in *Paḍiṟrupattu*, V Ten.

29. This Perum Chēral Irumporai was the conqueror of Tagaḍūr in the famous battle which spelt ruin to Añji's house.

30. Among the feudatories in which the crowned monarchs delighted in interfering.

31. The philanthropy and generosity of these princes so much praised in literature must be duly qualified by their well-known proneness to mutual hostility, war and destruction.

32. Mārōkkattu Nappaśalaiyār who had praised Kāri in *Puṟaṇānūru*: 126 has also sung about this Chōḷa in *Puṟaṇānūru*: 226.

Chōlas ill-treatment of himself and his brother. Perhaps he felt grateful to the Chōla for sparing his life, though at the intercession of the poet. He became a Chōla general; he was then entitled Chōla Ēnādi (Śēnāpati).³³ When Rājasūyam Vēṭṭa Perunaṟ Killi ascended the throne as a young boy, his relatives and other claimants to the Uṟaiyūr throne rebelled and Perunaṟkilli had to flee and seek refuge in the Muḷlūr hill belonging to Kāri; he was provided asylum, and protected by Tirukkannan, who had returned to Kōvalūr as Añji, the old enemy of their house, had met with defeat and death on the plains of Tagaḍūr and at the hands of Perum Chēral Irumporai. The Chōla stayed *incognito* on the Muḷlūr hill till he could gather enough forces to risk a war with his erstwhile adversaries.

This is the last we hear of the Malaiyar of the Śaṅgam days; this leaves one at the first quarter of the 3rd cent. A.D. This family of chieftains did not go out of the pages of history for good, thereafter. Like most other South Indian (especially Tamil) dynasties, they survived the obscurity in which the accidents of history shrouded them for a while. They continued at Kōvalūr in a minor capacity, even under the Pallavas and early Chōlas. Mention of the scions of this ancient and respectable line of chieftains occurs in imperial Chōla inscriptions. One of the queens of Sundara Chōla (also known as Ponnālīgaittuñjiya devan) was Vānavamahādēvi, a princess of the Malaiyar family. She is reported to have committed *sati* at the king's death, and it is believed that her image was installed in the Tanjore temple by Kundavai, her daughter.³⁴ This family must have been entering into matrimonial alliances with the imperial family. Chēdi Rāya and Kōvalarāya were two titles these chieftains assumed; Kōvalarāya is but a corruption of Kōvalūr Rāya. It is remarkable that even after nine centuries of near-obscurity, these rulers had changed neither the basic dynastic title nor their ancestral capital. Like other vainglorious rulers of the medieval period, they too tried to trace their ancestry to what they considered were respectable origins, like the Haihayas of Chēdi and one of them was named Śisūpāla.

33. Tirukkannan was also called Tirukkili, an instance of a feudatory assuming his overlord's title.

34. K. A. N. Sastri: *Colas*, p. 156.

The more authentic connection was with the Śaṅgam chieftains, of Kōvalūr on the Peṇṇāi, such names like Vāṇakōvaraiya Malaiyamān, Kīḷiyūr Malaiyamān, undoubtedly reminiscent of the dynasty to which Kāri belonged, occur in medieval epigraphy.

It is noteworthy that a Malaiyamān of Kīḷiyūr was entitled 'Ponparappina', a title admitted to be inexplicable by the historian of the Chōḷas. But when it is seen that Sundara Chōḷa was also called Ponmāligaittuṇṇiya devan and that his Malaiyamān queen committed *satī* and these two facts are read with the title Ponparappina, it would appear that the Kīḷiyūr Malaiyamān built a palace for which he provided a roof of gold; that his daughter or sister was the Vānava mahādēvi³⁵ of Sundara Chōḷa, and that the Chōḷa ruler while staying in that palace passed away. This fact of the king dying under her paternal roof added poignancy to the situation resulting in her *satī*.

It would appear that this dynasty, like that of the Adiyar continued to rule in a minor capacity around Kōvalūr till the days of Kulōttuṅga III. Thereafter like most ancient Tamil dynasties, it also sank into permanent obscurity. Like the Adiyar dynasty, the history of the Malaiyar is another proof of the extraordinary vitality and stamina of the Tamil dynasties, royal and feudatory.

35. Vānavan: Malaiyan, and refers both to the Chēras and the Malaiyar.

Rājā Cetasimha of Vārāṇasī in a Contemporary Compilation

BY

DR. SADASHIVA L. KATRE, M.A., D.Litt.

Nagpur University

Cetasimha (= Chait Singh) was on the Vārāṇasī throne hardly for twelve years (1770-81 A.C.). His brief reign, too, for the most part witnessed numerous ugly events that earned him sheer discredit and utter humiliation in public eyes. He was a natural son of the earlier Rājā and in 1770 could secure his own succession, in supersession of the claim of the legal heir who was a minor, by paying a huge bribe to the Nawab of Oudh. Further on, too, payments, firstly to the Nawab and later on to the new sovereigns, the British, of similar huge bribes or ever growing revenue levies, demanded under threats of odd penalties and punishments, were the prevailing features of Cetasimha's reign. In 1775 Warren Hastings allowed Cetasimha to continue to be in charge of the Vārāṇasī territory, but subject to the control of a British Resident. Deluded by the pro-Francis and anti-Warren Hastings trend of his first British Resident, Cetasimha attempted to exploit, to his own benefit, the internal quarrels between Warren Hastings and his Council, but failed. He instead incurred avengeful displeasure of Warren Hastings and was henceforth harassed in several ways. From 1778 onwards his trouble reached its zenith. In 1780 he remonstrated against Warren Hastings' unending demands for oft-repeated subsidies and fell a victim to the latter's fury. In 1781 Warren Hastings personally came over to Vārāṇasī to punish Cetasimha for his 'crime' in being unable to pay off the imposed penalty of fifty lakhs of rupees and got him arrested without facing any initial opposition. However, the news of Cetasimha's arrest set ablaze the loyalty of his army, which, even without the Rājā's orders, arrayed systematically and besieged and overpowered Warren Hastings' British troops, killing all their officers, etc., and further also repulsed a reinforced counter-attack of Popham,

the renowned British General. Warren Hastings hid himself in disguise in a closed asylum near his camp for a period and managed to escape to Chunar in a night's darkness later on with the secret help of two bribed ambassadors of the Nagpur Bhonsles. In the first stage of the confusion, Cetasimha evaded the eyes of his guards and fled away with his family and treasure. He ultimately sought shelter with Mahādājī Scindia and never returned to Vārāṇasī. Thus the unique feats of Cetasimha's loyal troops, including also a further defeat inflicted by them on Warren Hastings' fresh army even after Cetasimha's desertion, were nullified by Cetasimha himself. The Vārāṇasī State was finally transferred by Warren Hastings to the earlier rival claimant and was further reduced in size, status and dignity.¹

As it is, people have now almost forgotten Cetasimha's errors and drawbacks and he stands today in their memory mainly as a martyred hero. The credit of thus changing the face and tone of history in his favour goes chiefly to the pre-stated martial feats of his daring loyal troops, as also to Warren Hastings' tyrannous atrocities.

Despite the hostile regime that forthwith commenced and continued long at his ex-home, we still find a few relics that serve as memorials to Cetasimha. Some imposing structures at or near Vārāṇasī, including a Durgā temple with beautiful stone sculpture on its dome about a kilometre from the Rāmanagar Fort on the other side of the Gaṅgā, are said to have been raised by Cetasimha. A dense locality in Vārāṇasī City still called Cetaganj, too, is evidently associated with his own name.

It appears a number of Sanskrit authors and poets were patronised by Cetasimha during his regime and some of them have immortalised the patron's name in literature. Among the titles recorded in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*,² four are definitely linked with Cetasimha, viz. 1. *Prāyaścittasamgraha*, a Dharmaśāstra compilation, by Devarāja,³ 2. *Cetasimhakalpadruma*, a Tantra

1. A. S. Altekar: *History of Benares*, Vārāṇasī, 1937, pp. 59 ff.

2. The references below are to the 1962 impression of the CC.

3. CC, I, pp. 190a, 259b.

digest, by Bhavānīśaṅkara,⁴ 3. *Cetasimhaviḷāsa*, a eulogistic Kāvya by Balabhadra,⁵ and 4. *Śaṅkaracetovilāsa*, another poetical biography of Cetasimha, by Śaṅkara, son of Bālakṛṣṇa-dikṣita and grandson of Dhuṇḍhirāja-dikṣita.⁶ The four authors concerned were evidently Vārāṇasī Paṇḍitas and Cetasimha's protégés sometime during 1770-81. Cetasimha must evidently have extended his royal patronage to some contemporary Hindi poets, too.

I have lately traced out a small Sanskrit treatise on ritual (*Karmakāṇḍa-Prayoga*) that, too, was composed at Cetasimha's instance but is probably not recorded in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* or in any of post-Aufrecht Manuscripts Catalogues known to me. A MS of this treatise has come to the Manuscripts Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute of Ujjain through a local collection purchased in 1943. The MS (Accession No. 6750) has 12 folios of country paper of the size 9 × 4 inches, each side of the folios containing 12 lines on the average with about 32 letters scribed in dark-black ink on each line. The script is mixed Devanāgarī of Marathi and Hindi types. The MS has neither the scribe's colophon nor a regular conclusion to the treatise at the end, and it is not certain if it has not lost a few further folios at the close. It is, however, about 150 years old in appearance. The author's name is not traceable anywhere. The exact title, too, of the treatise is not recorded in the regular mode anywhere in the MS. However, from some internal passages the title seems to be *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇeṣṭa-Prayoga* alias *Viṣṇuyāga-Prayoga*. The historical aspect of the treatise is borne out by the author's Introduction, which runs down as under:

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

अहं पुरा दानवदपैशातनं सुरासुरैर्वेन्दितपादपङ्कजम् ।

श्रीरामचन्द्रेष्टमनिष्टनाशनं नमामि सिद्धिप्रदाम्बिकासुतम् ॥ १ ॥

लक्ष्मीनारायणौ वन्दे वृत्तदारकगणैर्नुतौ ।

यौ दम्पतीत्वमासाद्य भक्तानां चेतसिस्थितौ ॥ २ ॥

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 190a, 399b. This Bhavānīśaṅkara is author of three other Sanskrit works, too.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 190a, 367b.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 624b, 625a. This Śaṅkara wrote two further Sanskrit works, too.

श्लिष्टं शब्दार्थवद्यत् त्रिजगति विदितं दम्पतित्वेन दोष्णा
 वामेनाश्लिष्य पद्मां धृतकुचकलशं पाणिनैकेन तस्याः ।
 गल्लाश्लेषस्मितास्यं दधदपि रुचिरे वाससी स्वर्णवर्णे
 लक्ष्मीनारायणीयं युगलमहरहः सन्महश्चिन्तयामः ॥ ३ ॥
 वक्षः केदं दयालोरतिमृदु निशितं मत्कुचाग्रं क चेदं
 प्रेमाश्लेषेऽस्य मा भूत् क्षतमिति हृदये कण्ठमालम्ब्य तस्थौ ।
 दोर्भ्यामालिङ्ग्य गाढं श्रियमपि मधुजिचेत्थमेकीकृताङ्गौ
 लक्ष्मीनारायणौ तौ स्वमनसि निदधे दम्पती पार्वतीशः ॥ ४ ॥
 लक्ष्म्या युक्तो मुरारिर्यदि भवति जगत् त्रातुमर्हः समस्तं
 नो चेन्नारायणत्वं सफलयितुमयं किं नशेते पयोधौ ।
 भूयोऽसावीहते ते जननि जडमयश्चुम्बकस्येव सङ्गं
 त्वद्व्यासङ्गात्स विश्वम्भर इति मुनिभिर्गोयते तन्न चित्रम् ॥ ५ ॥
 कन्दर्पप्रेरिता श्रीर्निजघनकठिनोत्तुङ्गपीनस्तनाभ्यां
 नल्पे सुप्तस्य पत्युः पदकमलयुगं पावनं यत्समूहे ।
 तन्मन्ये शम्भुरस्याः प्रभुचरणरजः क्षालितुं यः स्वमूर्ध्नि
 प्रादुर्भूतः स्वयम्भूः स्तनयुगमिषतोऽनुग्रहीतोऽनयेति ॥ ६ ॥
 श्रीमद्गौतमवंशकैरवकलानाथेऽधिनाथे भुवो
 धैर्योदार्यसदार्यशौर्यजलधौ सौन्दर्यवारानिधौ ।
 श्रीमन् श्रीमति चेतसिहनृपते सानन्दमानन्ददं
 श्रीदेवक्षितिदेववृन्दरचितं ग्राह्यं सदाशीर्वचः ॥ ७ ॥
 यावत् काशीश काशीपतिरिह वसति श्रीपतिश्चापि यावद्
 यावद् ब्रह्मेन्द्ररुद्रप्रभृतिपुरगणाः शर्मदामाश्रयन्ते ।
 तावद् भूपालच्छामणिमुकुटमणिप्रातनीराजिताङ्घ्रि-
 देवश्रीचेतसिह स्वजनपरिवृतो पाहि धर्मेण काशीम् ॥ ८ ॥
 चेतसिहनिधुक्तेन युगलध्यानशालिना ।
 लक्ष्मीनारायणेष्टस्य प्रयोगः कथ्यते मया ॥ ९ ॥
 अस्तु मत्सरिणां वार्त्ता सन्तस्तत्त्वार्थदर्शिनः ।
 विवेचयन्तु ग्रन्थार्थमेष तेषु कृतोऽञ्जलिः ॥ १० ॥

(Vide Appendix A for an English rendering of these 10 verses)

7-8. The MS is full of scribal errors, and the above extracts are furnished after due correction. However, 'kṣālītum' and 'anugrahītah' are the author's own mistakes for the due forms 'kṣālayītum' and 'anugrahītah' respectively.

Herein Verses 1-2 contain the author's salutations respectively to Gaṇeśa and joint Deities Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa. In Verses 3-6 there is an erotic-cum-devotional expansion of the second salutation. Verses 7-8 are directly addressed to Cetasiṃha. He is first eulogised cursorily and then invoked to accept a blessing conferred by the author and a band of other priests. The blessing purports to express an ardent wish for a long and glorious reign of Cetasiṃha over Vārāṇasī. This wish, as we have seen above, was miserably belied by impending historical events. From Verse 9 we learn that the author composed the present treatise under specific instructions from Cetasiṃha himself. However, no further direct traces of Cetasiṃha are available in the MS.

The treatise deals in detail with the ritual of an extensive sacrifice called *Viṣṇuyāga* performed to propitiate the deities Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa jointly with the object of securing grand worldly and heavenly gains as a means to real salvation finally. It first furnishes in prose the code of the diverse phases of the ritual with technical discussions at various stages. Among others, the following works and authors are found cited in the course of these discussions, etc.: Ānandagiri, *guravaḥ* (= Prabhākara), Jaimini, Dāśarathisaṃhitā, Nāradapañcarātra, Puruṣasūkta, Brhadāranyakabhāṣyavyākhyā, Brhannāradiya, Baudhāyanasūtradvaya, Bhagavadgīta, Bhāgavata, Maṇikāra, Matsyapurāṇa, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇaḥṛdaya, Viṣṇudharmottara, Viṣṇuyāmala, Viṣṇusaṃhitā, Vratakāṇḍa, Śaṅkarācārya, Śrīsūkta, Śrīsūktavidhāna, Śrīsūktavyākhyātāraḥ, Hemādri, etc., besides some anonymous ones mentioned as *anye*, *apare*, *kecit*, *granthāntare*, *vedāntinaḥ*, etc. The same code of ritual is finally presented in concise metrical form, and it ends somewhat abruptly.⁹

9. The MS closes while in the course of *stuti* in the intervening allied ceremony of marriage of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa:—

.... ततस्तयोः स्तुतिं कुर्याद्यजमानो यथामति ... नानाविधा मेऽपराधाः क्षन्तव्या
जगदीश्वरौ ॥ शरणागतमालोक्य कृपां कुरु दयानिधे, एतत्ते युगलं रूपं ध्यायतां परमं
सुखम् । सर्वसंपत्तिजनकं पुत्रपौत्रविवर्धनम् । महत्कीर्तिकरं लोके चान्ते मोक्षप्रदं चणाम् ॥

The MS has verily dropped some further concluding portion of the treatise, (Vide Appendix B for an English rendering of this citation).

A few special items or sub-items of this *Viṣṇuyāga* sacrifice and its ritual may be noticed here. Prescribed types of *Kuṇḍavedi* and *maṇḍapa* are to be designed with mensurative precision. For the initial worship of the main deities and other incidental deities or sub-deities, their gold or silver idols or figures inscribed on gold or silver plates are to be used, and at the end of the ritual these idols or plates are to be gifted away to respective priests. In the case of a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya patron, one crore oblations in total, as offered to the pair deities, are to be poured or cast into the sacrificial fire by the appointed priests with the interspersed recitations of the *Puruṣasūkta* and the *Śrīsūkta* mantras. In the meanwhile, some intervening allied ceremonies, too, are to be performed, like the celebration of marriage of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa represented by their gold or silver idols or carved figures. The ritual terminates with *Pūrṇāhuti* and *Avabhṛthasnāna* by the patron and his wife and gifts, to adored priests and their wives, of *Dīpa*, *Sayyā*, habitable buildings, ornaments, a golden scene of *Rāsakrīḍā* on the bank of the Yamunā with some pairs of images of Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu in pertinent poses, etc.¹⁰ To crown the performance of the sacrifice, the respectful feeding of a lakh Brāhmaṇas has to be arranged simultaneously.

Today we have no means to say if Cetasimha ever actually performed this *Viṣṇuyāga* ritual on the prescribed grand scale. At any rate, it is definite that he was striving hard to stabilise and enhance his own royal status in the midst of turbulent circumstances at home and from higher circles and was anxious to win divine favour in that direction. Probably in 1776-77, it had occurred to him that threats from Warren Hastings could be dispelled or, at

10. लक्ष्मीनारायणप्रीत्य दीपदानं करोति यः । कार्तिके माघे वा माघवे लक्ष-
संख्यया ब्राह्मणान् भोजयेत्पश्चाद्दीपदानसमृद्धये । तस्य ग्रहे स्थिरा लक्ष्मीर्भवेदेव न संशयः ॥
दम्पती पूजनं तथैव च । लक्ष्मीनारायणप्रीत्यै गृहदानं विशेषतः ॥ सौवर्णीं प्रतिमां कृत्वा
ब्राह्मणेभ्यो ददाति यः । वाञ्छितं फलमाप्नोति लक्ष्मीनारायणात्मिकाम् ॥ रमान्तरे तु
माघवोऽपि माघवान्तरे रमा । रमान्तरेऽपि माघवान्तरे रमा ॥ कलिन्दनन्दिनीतटे करोति
रासखेलनम् । पयोधिजासमन्वितः स इत्थमिन्दिरापतिः ॥ इत्थं क्रीडात्मकं यन्त्रं सौवर्णं
राजतं तु वा । इह साम्राज्यमाप्नोति यः पूजयति भक्तिः ॥ रासक्रीडात्मकं यन्त्रं यो
ददाति द्विजातये । सर्वसंपदामीशः कान्ताभिः सह मोदते ॥

(Vide Appendix C for an English rendering of this citation).

least, minimised with the likely assistance of Francis and he had invited tenders from conversant learned priests of Vārāṇasī for the performance of an appropriate rite guaranteeing due divine help to get that dream translated into a reality. It is likely that our author composed the present treatise in response to such an invitation from Cetasimha. Accordingly the treatise may be tentatively assigned to c. 1776-77.

Although the author's name is not traceable distinctly in the present MS, it is somewhat likely that he was surnamed or nicknamed Deva and hailed from a priestly family belonging to Gautama gotra. Vide verse 7 of his Introduction. We have no means to settle if he was or not identical with Devarāja¹¹ who compiled the *Prāyaścittasamgraha* for Cetasimha. Although some un-Pāṇinian forms are found in his verses, the author's conversance with ritualistic and even Tantra and philosophical literature is admirable.

An anonymous *Viṣṇuyāga-Prayoga* recorded by Aufrecht¹² may or may not be identical with our present treatise.

APPENDIX A

(English rendering of 10 verses cited in the article)

1. I bow to (Gaṇeśa) the son of Ambikā, who destroyed the vanity of demons in the past, whose lotus-like feet are adored by gods and demons, who is longed for by revered Rāmacandra, and who dispels the evil and bestows success.

2. I salute to Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa who are adored by hosts of gods and, having become wife and husband respectively, dwell in the hearts of (their) devotees.

3. I meditate day-by-day upon the pair Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, possessing pious lustre, united mutually like the word and its meaning, known in the three worlds as wife and husband, putting on brilliant gold-tinged garments, and with smile on their faces

11. Vide Footnote 3 above.

CC, I, p. 592b. Only one MS is referred to here.

during neck-embraces when Nārāyaṇa having clasped Lakṣmī with his left arm held her jar-like breasts by his other hand.

4. (Śiva) the Lord of Pārvatī housed in his own heart the couple Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa in a pose when the two were in complete physical union with each other, Lakṣmī merely clinging to Nārāyaṇa's neck with the object of evading a wound to his extremely tender chest with her sharp breast-tips likely in a full-fledged love-embrace, but Nārāyaṇa fast embracing Lakṣmī with both his arms.

5. Nārāyaṇa is competent to protect the entire world only when he is linked with Lakṣmī. Or else, why does he not sleep in the ocean to justify his (single) name Nārāyaṇa (lit. one with water as his abode)? O Mother (Lakṣmī)! He excessively longs for union with thee, like an inanimate iron-piece with a magnet, and it is no wonder that he, on account of his close attachment to thee, is hailed by the sages as the sustainer of the universe.

6. Lakṣmī, impelled by Love-God, shampoos with her thick, hard, lofty and fleshy breasts the two pious and lotus-like feet of her husband lying on the couch. This, I think, is thus accounted for: Self-born Śiva, with the intention of cleansing with his own head the dust on Lord Nārāyaṇa's feet, has, with her gracious permission, manifested himself in the form of Lakṣmī's two breasts.

7. O venerated King Cetasiṃha! Kindly accept with delight these pleasant words of true blessing conferred by Śrī-Deva and the host of priests on your Honour, who are the lord of the earth, who are the moon to the white-lotus in the form of the Gautama family, and who are an ocean of strength, liberality, true and noble valour and handsomeness.

8. O revered King Cetasiṃha, Lord of Kāśī! Rule righteously over Kāśī, surrounded by your own people and with multitudes of jewels in the crowns of (other) select Kings lustrously and worshipfully waving before your feet, as long as Śiva and Viṣṇu both reside here and Brahman, Indra, Rudra and other hosts of gods take shelter of the Gaṅgā.

9. (Herein) the ceremonious rite of the sacrifice in adoration of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa is expounded by me, who am addicted to meditation upon the pair deities and am appointed by Cetasiṃha (for this purpose).

10. Let remain (or, away with) the activities of jealous people. Indeed, the noble-minded ones are capable of perceiving the exact truth and they should evaluate the matter-treatment in my (present) work. I offer them my respectful salutation (with request to duly test my present work).

APPENDIX B

(English rendering of the citation in Footnote 9)

.... The patron performing the rite should then glorify the pair deities to the extent of the capacity of his intellect (thus—). "O Lords of the universe! My offences of various sorts should be kindly pardoned. O abode of compassion! Be kind to me, seeing that I have taken shelter of thee. This pair form of thine is conducive of highest happiness to those who meditate upon it; it creates all sorts of riches for them; it enhances their sons and grandsons; it confers on them the glory of great people in this world; and in the end it grants them salvation."

APPENDIX C

(English rendering of the citation in Footnote 10)

.... He who gives away a gift of *dīpa* (lamp) for pleasing Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa should thereafter in the month of Karttika or Māgha or Vaiśākha feed a lakh Brāhmaṇas for the affluence of his gift of *dīpa*. Indeed, there is no doubt about it, Lakṣmī must remain steady in his hold. He should further perform the ritual worship of (priestly) couples and give them the gifts of beds and also, especially, of residential buildings for the satisfaction of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa. He who gives away to Brāhmaṇas constructed golden images or plates embodying Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa achieves his desired objects. In a constructed scene with some pairs of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī beside each other, Viṣṇu performs the *Rāsa* sport along with Lakṣmī on the bank of the Yamunā. He who gets constructed this type of *Rāsakṛīḍā* scene with gold or at least with silver, worships it devotionfully and finally makes its gift to a Brāhmaṇa indeed attains the status of an Emperor in this very existence, becomes lord of all wealths and rejoices with his beloved wives.

Development of Western Education in the Punjab 1849-75

BY

DR. Y. B. MATHUR,
National Archives of India

The Punjab was one of the last provinces of India to be annexed by the British Government. The principal aims and principles of the educational policy of the Government of India had already been formulated and decided upon in relation to its work in other provinces. To illustrate, in 1829 Lord William Bentinck stated the settled policy of the Government in the following words: "It was the wish and admitted policy of the British Government to render its own language gradually and eventually the language of public business throughout the country."¹ His famous proclamation of March, 1835 promulgated that the chief aim of the educational policy should be to promote a knowledge of European literature and science and that all funds appropriated for the purpose of education would henceforth be employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language.² Time soon exposed the "utter impracticability of the view of those who thought that the English language should be the sole or chief means of conveying knowledge to the natives."³ When in 1840 the control of the educational institutions in the North-Western Provinces was transferred from the Government of Bengal to the local Governments, the latter came to the decision that in order to produce any perceptible impression upon the minds of the people, the attempt should be made to introduce education through the medium of the Vernacular

1. James H. R. *Education and Statesmanship in India*, (London, 1917), p. 29.
2. Zellner, A. A. *Education in India*, (New York, 1951), p. 59.
3. Thomas, F. W. *The History and Prospects of British Education in India*, (Cambridge, 1891), p. 39.

language and not through any foreign tongue.⁴ Again in the Despatch of the Court of Directors to the Government of Madras dated 23rd March, 1847, it was re-iterated that the principle of religious neutrality should be observed and enforced by the British Government in India in its educational dealings as well as in the general administration of the country. Dalhousie followed the policy handed down to him by his predecessors. The Punjab Government was, however, favourably placed for educational work in as much as it could avail itself of the wisdom gained in the sister provinces and it was spared the necessity of repeating the mistakes of the past.⁵

The Despatch of 1854 provided for the improvement and far wider extension of education, both through the media of English and the Vernaculars. The means prescribed for the attainment of these objects were (1) the constitution of a separate Department for Education,⁶ (2) the institution of universities at the presidency towns;⁷ (3) the establishment of institutions for training teachers for all classes of schools. The existing Government colleges and high schools were to be maintained, and new ones opened where necessary. New middle schools were to be established and more attention was to be given to Vernacular schools, indigenous or otherwise, for elementary education.⁸ (4) Lastly, the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid to encourage and aid private enterprise in the cause of education.⁹

The aim of education remained the same as heretofore, i.e. "the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe, in short of European language."¹⁰ The medium of instruction was the Vernacular language but at the same time English continued as the medium for those persons who possessed

4. Richey, *Selections from Educational Records*, Part II, p. 229.

5. Mehta, H. R. *History of the Growth and Development of Western Education in the Punjab*, (Punjab Govt. Printing, 1929), p. 14.

6. Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Governor General in Council, 1854, paras 17 and 18.

7. *Idem*, para 25.

8. *Idem*, paras 41-2.

9. *Idem*, paras 51-2.

10. *Idem*, para 7.

a sufficient knowledge to receive general instruction through this language. The change in the medium of instruction was thus definitely recognized and authoritatively pronounced by the Government.¹¹ A system of scholarships tenable in colleges, high schools and lower schools was to be instituted to encourage and reward the promising students and to connect lower schools with higher schools and higher schools with colleges. Female education was henceforth to be supported by the Government. Lastly, the principle of religious neutrality was again affirmed, though the Bible, as before, was to be placed in the libraries of the colleges and schools and the pupils were allowed to discuss it freely.¹²

It is now necessary to refer to the Despatch of the Secretary of State, 1859, which constituted the second important document on which the system of Indian education was based. It reviewed "the progress made under the earlier Despatch, which it reiterated and confirmed with a single exception, as to the course to be adopted for promoting elementary education."¹³ The grant-in-aid system had been freely accepted by private schools, both English and Anglo-Vernacular, but the people failed to co-operate with the Government in promoting elementary Vernacular education. It was therefore suggested in the Despatch that "the means of elementary education should be provided by the direct instrumentality of the officers of Government."¹⁴ In the Punjab, as we shall see later on, the intentions of the Despatch in this respect had already been anticipated. The subsequent Despatches of 1864 and 1866 supported and amplified the two great Despatches detailed above.¹⁵

11. Before 1854 Vernacular education had not received the amount of attention it deserved. Schools for imparting instruction through the medium of Vernacular or English were separately organized. After 1854 there was only one class of schools which were known as Anglo-Vernacular Schools.

12. Thomas, F. W. *The History and Prospects of British Education in India*, (Cambridge 1891), pp. 61-2.

13. Thomas, F. W. *Idem*, p. 62.

14. Despatch of 1859, para 50.

15. Thomas, F. W. *The History and Prospects of British Education in India*, p. 63.

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In the light of these positive recommendations the Punjab Government had not much to do except to implement them. The beginnings of a modern system of education in the Punjab were made almost immediately after its annexation. During the first four years education was placed under the control of the Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Robert Montgomery, and all communications on the subject from the various districts and divisional officers passed through him. In September 1854 at the request of the Judicial Commissioner the control of education was transferred to the Financial Commissioner, Mr. D. F. Macleod.¹⁶ That these early administrators were genuinely interested in the spread of education is borne out by the fact that in 1850 the Board placed before the Government of India the question whether a school should be established at Lahore or Amritsar. The Government decided in favour of the latter city¹⁷ and an annual grant of Rs. 5,000 was sanctioned for it.¹⁸

The selection of Amritsar for an educational establishment was judicious from every point of view. Its wealth, trade and religious importance attracted the attention of the authorities and it was decided to afford sound instruction to the youth of the city. It is important too to remark that Manjha, the heart of the Sikh country, was the least educated part of the upper districts of the Bari and Rechna *Doabs*. Every possible effort was therefore to be made to elevate and enlighten the youths of what may be considered as the religious capital of the Punjab. From the political

16. "On the breaking up of the Board of Administration the Department of Education was made over to Robert Montgomery, the Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab who was previously in charge of it. In 1854 Montgomery confessed that he had no experience in the superintendence of this Department and was unable to do full justice. He therefore suggested that Mr. Macleod, the Financial Commissioner, who had comprehensive views regarding education and was himself well versed in the literature and science of the Punjab should preside over the Department. Mr. Macleod was willing to undertake the duties and the Education Department was accordingly transferred to the Financial Commissioner." Secy Fort William, Foreign Department to J. Lawrence, Esq., Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, Foreign Proceedings No. 215 dated 18th August 1854.

17. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 156, No. in the List, 356-59, para 372.

18. Despatch from the Court of Directors No. 61 dt. 13 Sept. 1854. Foreign Procdg. Nos. 39-46 dt. 16 Feb., 1855.

point of view too it was deemed proper as it would infuse peaceful and industrious habits among the village communities of the Sikh faith from the Nurpur Hills to Lahore.¹⁹

The Amritsar school was very popular.²⁰ It provided instruction in the English language as well as in oriental languages. It is interesting to note that there was a strong desire among the people to learn English even prior to the establishment of this school at Amritsar. Reading, spelling and writing of English, arithmetic, elementary geometry and geography constituted the course of study. In Lahore also the anxiety to acquire a knowledge of English was remarkable. Many Punjabi gentlemen taught their sons English privately. The people of Bengal who possessed a smattering of English were employed by them as teachers of this language. In the Amritsar school there were also Hindi, Persian, Sanskrit and *Gurmukhi* Departments. The Sikh students of *Gurmukhi* formed one-fifth of the total number of students.²¹ The education provided in the school was a training of the faculties rather than a moral instruction. The attendance was optional and often irregular. The studies were sometimes desultory and the attention lax.²² But pending any systematic effort it was the part of wisdom and sound policy followed by the British Government to co-operate with the people in the first attempt at educational reform in the Punjab.²³

Besides the Amritsar school, some district officers interested in education established schools out of the local funds. There was a flourishing school at Rawalpindi. Early in 1853 it was entrusted by the district authorities to the American Presbyterian Mission which had already established an excellent school of similar capacity at Lahore. In both these institutions instruction was provided

19. P. Melville, Esq., Secy. Board of Administration to Sir H. M. Elliot, Secy. to Govt. of India with the Governor General dt. Lahore, the 20th November 1850. Foreign Procdg. Nos. 21-9 dt. 31 January 1851.

20. Mr. Arnold's First Report, 1857, para 2 quoted in *Selections from Educational Records*, Part II, by Richey.

21. Foreign Miscellaneous Series, S. No. 156, No. in the List, 356-59, para 380.

22. Idem, para 381.

23. Mr. Arnold's First Report, 1857, para 2 quoted in *Selections from Educational Records*, Part II by Richey.

through the medium of the English language. Similar schools were established at Gujarat, Amritsar, Ferozepur, Ludhiana, Ambala, Kangra and Kotgarh in the hills near Simla. The total number of schools directly or indirectly maintained by the Government in the Punjab prior to the organization of the Education Department was thirty-five.²⁴

Reverting to indigenous education it may be said that at the time of the establishment of a school at Amritsar in 1850, the Board of Administration also called upon the Commissioners of divisions to furnish educational reports for the several divisions. These reports were subsequently received from all the divisions, excepting Leia and Peshawar where much progress had not been made in this sphere.²⁵ These reports revealed that education was numerically lower in the Punjab than in the North Western Provinces.²⁶ In quality also it was inferior to that of the North-Western Provinces.²⁷

There were three kinds of schools for the Hindus, Musalmans and Sikhs, respectively. At the Hindu schools, writing and the rudiments of arithmetic were generally taught in Hindi character. At the Musalman schools the students read the *Koran*, in Arabic, and the dialectic and poetical works of *Sadee*, in Persian. At the Sikh school the *Grunth* or the repository of their faith, was taught in *Gurmukhi*.²⁸ The studies were chiefly confined to sacred books in all these schools. It is remarkable that female education also existed in all parts of the Punjab. The girls and the teachers belonged to all the three communities namely Hindus, Musalmans and Sikhs. The number was not of course large but the existence

24. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List 364, para 71.

25. *Idem*, S. No. 156 No. in the List, 356-59, para 372.

26. Division	One School to every inhabitant	One student to every inhabitant
Lahore	1,783.98	214.85
Jhelum	1,441.90	193.10
Multan	1,666.66	210.88
Agra presidency	2,192.20	326.14

27. Foreign Misc. Series S. No. 156 No. in the List, 356-59, para 374.

28. *Idem*, para 375.

of such an education was encouraging because in other parts of India it was not so prominent.²⁹

The schools in the Punjab, as elsewhere, were housed in private dwellings, the village town hall, the shade of a tree, a temporary shed, or the courtyard of a temple. The Musalman schools were connected with the village mosque. In such a case, the same endowment supported the school as also the mosque. Whenever any land was granted in rent-free tenures for such a purpose, either by the State and its representatives or by the proprietary community, such foundations were gladly maintained by the Board. The remuneration of the teachers consisted of presents, grain and sweetmeats given by the students and their parents. But occasionally the whole community subscribed for the support of the school. Frequently cash payments were also made. Sometimes regular salaries were allowed. Cash allowances were perhaps more usual in the Punjab than in the North Western Provinces.³⁰

In parts of the North Western Provinces, it is discouraging to observe that education was circumscribed within certain castes, such as *Brahmins*, *Banias* and *Kayasthas* who were exclusively devoted to learning, commerce or penmanship. The great land-holding and agricultural communities were wholly illiterate. A similar disproportion existed also in many parts of the Punjab. But, in other parts education was imparted to the agricultural population also. In many districts, both agricultural and non-agricultural classes manifested a desire for education. In 1850 it was found that many old schools had sprung up since annexation. In the cities, numerous petitions were received by the local authorities praying for the establishment of schools. Manifestation of such feelings was rare in other parts of India, and the Board therefore did not neglect the demand of the people.³¹

It was however in 1853 that a definite plan for the development of indigenous education was formulated in the Punjab. That

29. Nurullah and Naik, *History of Education in India*, (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1943), pp. 151-2.

30. *Idem*, para 377.

31. *Idem*, para 378.

year it was proposed to extend the system prevalent in the North Western Provinces to the Punjab because it had proved successful there.³² This system of vernacular education was known as "*Halqa Bandi*" system. According to this system sites were selected in each district for village schools. The selection of sites was determined by its geographical situation, the state of the existing indigenous schools and the relation of the village chosen to the neighbouring villages. Thus at the time of establishing a school care was taken to meet the wants not of one village only, but of a cluster of villages.³³ The theory of this plan was that no village should be out of reach of a school. Practically a distance of two miles was the limit of what may be called "within reach".³⁴

Circumstances for the introduction of such a scheme were favourable in the Punjab. There was less prejudice and few elements of passive hindrance against the British Government in this province as compared to other parts of India. The Sikh fanaticism and political fervour were dying out. The Hindus were less superstitious and less priest-ridden. The Mohammadans of the plains as contradistinguished from those of the Hills and the Frontier, though formidable in numbers, were less bigoted and less bound by tradition than their co-religionists in any other part of India.³⁵ The upper classes displayed a candid intelligence and inquisitiveness regarding Asiatic learning and European science. The agricultural classes were, however, illiterate but the village accountants displayed a skill not surpassed and often not equalled in the North-Western provinces. The working classes evinced a considerable aptitude, for mechanical art. On the whole, then, the Punjab was ripe for the introduction of an educational scheme.³⁶

32. Foreign Misc. Series S. No. 157, No. in the List, 363, para 457.

33. Mr. Arnold's First Report, 1857, para 58, quoted in *Selections from Educational Records*, Part II by Richey.

34. *Idem*, para 59.

35. Foreign Misc. Series S. No. 257, No. in the List, 363, para 458.

36. Extract from the Procdgs. of the Hon'ble the President of the India Council in the Home Department (Education) under date the 15th June, 1855. Foreign Procdg. Nos. 128-29 dt. 22 June, 1855.

The following were the salient features of this plan³⁷:—

(1) The establishment of Government schools in the interior of the districts; the appointment of District Inspectors one in each district aided by several assistants to stimulate education by moving from village to village explaining to the people the advantages of a school, teacher and books. These officers were also to induce the local communities to set up one school at least in every circle of villages so that at length there might be no village throughout the Punjab, in which the children would not attend some rudimentary school. The supervising staff was for some time to be drawn from the North Western Provinces but the school teachers were to be Punjabis.

(2) Some special schools for the training of teachers such as normal schools were to be established. The general system was to be introduced according to the circumstances of particular tracts, but all districts and divisions were to have a share in the benefit of this type of education.

(3) The Persian and Urdu languages were to be taught in all schools under the patronage of the Government but other languages such as Hindi, Sanskrit, *Gurmukhi* and Punjabi were not to be encouraged.

This scheme was submitted to the Supreme Government and the principles enunciated in it were approved by the authorities³⁸ in England. But early in 1855 the Despatch of the Court of Directors initiating a new era in the development of education in India was received at Lahore. This Despatch was communicated, with the Chief Commissioner's directions in regard to the carrying out of its provisions, to the Financial Commissioner, who was in charge of education. During 1855 the Financial Commissioner collected opinions from all the local authorities and prepared material for the framing of the new scheme.³⁹ The statistics of schools collected from all the districts revealed that besides 24 Government schools, there were 3,372 indigenous schools in the

37. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List, 363, para 459.

38. Minute by Marquis of Dalhousie dt. 6 June, 1854. Home Dept. Education Procdg. Nos. 49-50 dt. 20 October, 1854.

39. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List 364, para 70.

Punjab at the time.⁴⁰ A large proportion of the population being Mohammedans, the precincts of the village mosque were in many cases used for housing a school. For the same reason the Persian, Arabic and Urdu languages, constituted the course of instruction in the Western districts. In the Eastern districts, however, there was some admixture of the Hindi and Sanskrit languages. In the Central districts, and in part of the Cis Sutlej States, the home of the Sikhs, *Gurmukhi* was frequently taught. The teachers derived a precarious subsistence from fees. Heretofore no funds were available for education. But the majority of the people, though ignorant were sensible of the blessings of knowledge, and were ready to make small sacrifices for the education of their children.⁴¹

In the new scheme that was formulated it was proposed to open 30 schools at district headquarters; 1,000 village schools in rural areas, four normal schools and a central college at Lahore. All of them were to be supervised by one Director and two Inspectors at a cost of three lakhs of rupees *per annum* plus Rs. 15,000 as grants-in-aid to missionary and other private schools.⁴² The funds for the purpose were to be obtained from the people themselves by a one per cent "education cess" on the land revenue.⁴³ In 1856 the Government of India sanctioned this scheme and accordingly steps were taken to commence the organization of the Education Department.⁴⁴

40. Cis-Sutlej States	332	
Trans-Sutlej States	586	
Lahore	1,270	(exclusive of Gujranwala and Gurdaspur Districts)
Jhelum	774	
Leia	No regular schools	
Multan	212	
Peshawar	198	(No regular schools except in Hazara district only)
Total	3,372	

41. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List, 364, para 71.

42. *Idem*, para 72.

43. *Idem*, para 73.

44. *Idem*, para 74.

During 1856-57, the machinery of the Department was organized. A Director General was appointed on a salary of 1200 rupees *per mensem*. Two Inspectors, each on a salary of 600 rupees per month for the Eastern and Western Circles; 11 Deputy Inspectors, each receiving a salary ranging from 80 to 150 rupees *per mensem*, and supervising two or more districts; and 17 Sub-Deputy Inspectors on salaries ranging from 20 to 60 rupees also were appointed. Each district was divided into three or four *tahseels* or sub-divisions for administrative purposes. A Government school was established at the headquarters of each *tahseel* and in this way some 107 schools came into existence. The principle of arranging with the landholders to pay for education a sum, calculated at one per cent on the assessed land tax, was carried out everywhere in the Punjab (save in Leia and Hazara) without any objection being raised by the people. An amount of nearly Rs. 1,38,000 was collected in this way and 456 village schools were established. Each of these schools was placed in a central position, so as to be accessible to the children of three or four villages. Grants-in-aid to the amount of Rs. 6,570 were accepted on behalf of mission schools in various parts of the Punjab. One normal school was established.⁴⁵ Such was the beginning made during the first year of the inauguration, into the Punjab, of the new system of education introduced by the Despatch of 1854.

The second year 1857-58, had hardly commenced when the disturbances in the Bengal and North-Western Provinces broke out with fury, and excitement rose high throughout the Punjab. The educational officers then resolved not to attempt the establishment of fresh village schools until the crisis had passed over, and concentrated all efforts for the maintenance of Government schools set on foot during the previous year. The hope entertained for the establishment of many hundreds of additional schools was thus deferred for some eight months. It is interesting to note that attendance in the Government schools did not diminish during this period. During the first quarter May, June and July, 1857, the first three months of trouble, there was actually a slight increase over the attendance of the preceding peaceful quarter. During the next quarter of August, September, and October, three months of awful

45. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List 365, para 48.
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crisis, there was a diminution of only 97 pupils out of a total strength of 9,900 which, in fact, was no perceptible diminution at all. Even in the Cis-Sutlej States which were disturbed extensively the Government schools did not suffer. At Rawalpindi only were there any symptoms manifested of religious bigotry against the educational arrangements. In all other places, even on the fanatical Frontier, there was no suspicion or prejudice raised on account of the schools. By November, the crisis was over, and the establishment of additional village schools was immediately taken in hand. Nearly 700 new ones were founded by the end of December. The system, which sustained during a time of trouble, was expanded. The attendance at Government schools increased month by month. The system of education improved and more village schools were established.⁴⁶ These facts may be regarded as a proof of the desire of the people of the Punjab to give their children the benefits of education. Collaterally they furnish evidence of the loyalty and good feelings of the people of the Punjab towards the Government.⁴⁷

The Government schools were divided into *zillah* and *tahsili* schools. The *zillah* schools differed from *tahsili* schools in two respects: In the first instance, the establishment of a *zillah* school was larger than that of a *tahsili* school and the course of instruction was higher. Secondly, unlike the *tahsili* schools *zillah* schools had provision for the teaching of English.⁴⁸ The medium of instruction in these schools was Urdu and the subjects of study included History, Geography, Arithmetic and Grammar. This was a great advance upon the system of education which was in existence in the Punjab prior to its annexation. The introduction of regular classes in schools was the distinguishing mark between the European method and the Indian method of teaching. The Urdu language, with the Persian character, was used in Government schools. The pupils chiefly belonged to the non-agricultural classes. In 1859 at the Amritsar school classes in which *Gurmukhi* and Sanskrit were taught, were abolished. Two normal schools were

46. *Idem*, para 49

47. Secretary to the Govt. of India to the Secretary to the Govt. of Punjab, dt. 23 January, 1860. *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, by Richey.

48. Mr. Arnold's Second Report, 1858, para 9 quoted in *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, by Richey.

established at Lahore and Rawalpindi and teachers who were found deficient in knowledge were required to qualify at these institutions.⁴⁹ As regards the establishment of higher kinds of Government schools it is necessary to point out that in 1859-60 on the visit of the Governor-General to Lahore, the *Sirdars* made a request to him for the establishment of a college at Lahore. This was however not acceded to because the general system of education had not advanced much. However steps were taken for the creation of a first class school at Lahore in 1859 since many of the chiefs and courtiers of the Sikh *darbar* were living in that city. It is interesting that even when anxious to maintain their exclusiveness these chiefs were quite alive to the need of imparting good education to their wards. Students were divided into two groups in the school. Into the higher group only the sons of persons who were eligible for the Governor-General's *darbar* were admitted. In the lower, there was no distinction of rank. This arrangement was extremely agreeable to the upper class for it enabled them to send their wards to the school. As it was, there were about 60 boys in the higher department and 140 altogether. In this school besides admission and other fees donations also were accepted from the students.⁵⁰

Experience brought to light many defects in the organization of the Education Department. Certain inherent defects in the Department neutralised the exertions of the superintending officers. In 1859, reports on the subject were accordingly called from the civil authorities as well as the departmental functionaries by the Lieutenant Governor. A very elaborate commentary on the past operations was also submitted by Mr. Roberts, the Officiating Financial Commissioner, under whose official control, upto this time, educational operations were carried on. In the several reports submitted, there was a very general agreement as to the unsatisfactory results of the efforts made in the three foregoing years to diffuse education among the people.⁵¹ After a careful review of the information collected, the Lieutenant Governor

49. *Idem*, para 10.

50. PAR (1859-60), para 73.

51. PAR (1859-60), para 55.

traced the acknowledged imperfections of the system mainly to the following causes:⁵²

(1) *Too much was attempted at first.* When the Department was first formed the instruments of education were not in existence. In spite of the fact that the number of persons qualified to give instruction or to supervise the teachers was insignificant, schools of all grades were simultaneously started in all the districts of the Punjab.

(2) *Incapacity of the school teacher:* The teachers brought into the Punjab from Bengal and the North Western Provinces were inferior to their own colleagues in the latter two places. Being outsiders they had no influence with the people. During the Mutiny they fell under the suspicion of the Government. Many of these school teachers who had even served for long periods were dismissed. Their substitutes were educationally inferior to them. This naturally affected the quality of instruction.

(3) *Inefficient supervision:* Each Inspector had to visit nearly 600 schools, besides reading the numerous reports of the local subordinates and checking their accounts. They were over-burdened with work. The schools were not thoroughly inspected and the local staff was not strictly controlled.

(4) *Disassociation of the Education Department with the civil authorities:* In the Punjab the people were taught to look up to one officer as the representative of the State. Through him they were accustomed to learn the will of the Government. Measures which did not emanate from him were regraded as of inferior importance. The district officers also, not being immediately charged with the superintendence of the schools, took little interest in education and their indifference reacted on the people and thus education suffered.

In 1860 measures were therefore taken to reorganize the Education Department.⁵³ The Deputy Inspectors and Inspectors, many

52. Fuller's Report on Popular Education, (1859-60). *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, by Richey.

53. The Secy. of State for India to the Govt. of India Home Deptt. Procdg. No. 14, dated 8th April 1861.

of them from Bengal and the North Western Provinces, were dismissed with gratuities and their appointments abrogated. Such as were fit obtained employment as school teachers. The general superintendence of the vernacular schools, *tahsili* and village, was transferred to the district officers. The expense of the *tahsili* schools heretofore paid from the general revenues was transferred to the one per cent fund. Arrangements were made for increasing the number and efficiency of the normal schools for training 'Vernacular teachers'. A beginning was made in the establishment of high schools at the chief towns of the principal districts where the study of English was pursued under competent masters without excluding Vernacular instruction. The saving effected by the dismissal of the local superintendents and by defraying the expense of the *tahsili* schools from the one per cent fund was devoted to the improvement and multiplication of these schools.⁵⁴ The new management of the civil authorities was found defective in one respect in 1861. Many of the *Tahsildars* were not competent to conduct any searching examination even of these elementary schools. A qualified local person was therefore placed at the disposal of each district officer for the purpose of supervising the educational details of the schools.⁵⁵ These measures answered their purpose and endured till 1875.

It would now be convenient for us to examine the progress of education at the various stages of its development till the close of 1875.

School Education

The redistribution of purely vernacular schools into town and village schools sanctioned by the Government was carried into effect. Town schools now had to reach a certain standard of merit, instead of being like the old *tahsili* schools, distinguished merely by being at the headquarters of the *tahsils*. The new arrangement proved successful. Those teachers whose schools were promoted felt encouraged. Those who had fallen to the village grade felt the loss of prestige and feared the loss of pay. So they did their

54. PAR (1859-60), para, 56.

55. PAR (1859-60), para 73.

utmost to retrieve their lost position. The door of promotion was thrown open to the humblest village teacher who strove to push onwards. A clear line of demarcation was now drawn between the higher and lower grades of vernacular schools. The anomaly that largely-attended schools, even though they deserved to be ranked in the higher grade, should be treated as schools of the lower grade, simply because they were not located at the headquarters of a *tahsil*, was removed.⁵⁶

The conditions required of a town school were, first, it must have an average daily attendance of 50 pupils; second, 20 boys at least must have passed beyond the 6th class; third, some must have advanced as high as the 3rd class. Where an elementary English teacher was employed in the school, it was laid down that 50 boys must be learning English and 20 must have passed beyond the subjects prescribed for 9th class of *zillah* schools.⁵⁷

This arrangement continued till 1868 when a change was effected. In lieu of the former classification of schools into *zillah* or district schools, town schools, and village schools, all schools, Government or aided, were classified as under:

- (1) Higher schools, teaching up to the standard of Matriculation Examination.
- (2) Middle class schools, in which the following subjects were taught: English, Urdu Composition, Persian, and in some cases Sanskrit, Arithmetic upto vulgar decimal fractions, proportion, etc., Geography and History.
- (3) Schools of the lower class, in which instruction was given in Reading, Writing, and the Elements of Arithmetic, all in Vernacular.

These schools were either supported entirely from the educational cess, or were in the grant-in-aid system. Students were not allowed to proceed from the lower to the middle school or from the middle to the higher, until they passed a satisfactory examination.⁵⁸

56. PAR (1862-63), para 124.

57. *Idem*, para 125.

58. PAR (1868-69), para 378.

Village Schools or Schools of the Lower Class

The number of village schools steadily decreased owing to the elevation of some of them to the rank of town schools and to the abolition of several schools in which the attendance was low. The progress of these schools may be judged from their elevation to the rank of town schools but in general they suffered from the difficulty of obtaining good teachers and lack of proper supervision.⁵⁹ In 1870 efforts were made to remedy these defects by raising the pay of the school master from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 *per mensem* and providing a local Deputy Inspector of Schools. This was done by reducing the number of schools, placing as many as possible on grant-in-aid footing and by obtaining grants from municipal funds.⁶⁰ The status of the teachers as well as the management of these schools gradually improved.⁶¹ Under the decentralization system of finance, additional funds were placed at the disposal of the Punjab authorities and it was hoped the primary education would be further promoted.⁶²

Town Schools or Schools of the Middle Class

Town schools were very popular. These schools were the best under Government management and exercised a very beneficial influence. Education in these schools was mostly promoted through the help of the Local Committees of Instruction which consisted of the leading people of the Punjab. The students of these schools greatly assisted the Settlement Department to carry on their work with great satisfaction without looking for aid beyond the *zillah*.⁶³ The employment of 'pupil-teacher system',⁶⁴ which was introduced

59. PAR (1864-65), para 141.

60. PAR (1868-68), para 379.

61. PAR (1874-75), para 307.

62. PAR (1873-74), para 321.

63. PAR (1866), para 154.

64. This system was first of all tried in Ambala. A. M. Monteath, in his 'Note on the State of Education in India during 1865-66', described this system in the following words: "In the Ambala Circle Lt. Holroyd has extended the pupil teacher system in large vernacular schools as far as funds and the attainments of boys would permit, so that in some places they have been substituted for assistant teachers in sufficient number to allow of each class having a separate pupil teacher. Thus all the classes receive more attention, attendance is increased by the popularity of the measure, emulation is ex-

to economise the cost of instruction and supply the normal schools with pupils of an age who could profit by their training,⁶⁵ was pursued with success in these schools.

Zillah Schools or Schools of the Higher Class

In accordance with the scheme initiated in 1859-60 the number of *zillah* schools gradually increased from 6 to 20.⁶⁶ The curriculum for *zillah* schools was the same as was adopted in the North-Western Provinces after a long experience. The classification of curriculum depended upon the students' knowledge of the English or the Vernacular language. In the Punjab, prior to 1859, a separate classification for English and Vernacular studies resulted in the failure of the education system. Distinct department in each language, with the boys arranged in classes according to their attainments in each language, was tried, but with the concurrence of every educational officer of experience that system was superseded on the reorganization of the Education Department. By the new classification students in lower classes were required to read very simple Urdu works. Those, however, they mastered very quickly and by utilizing the spare hours of their Vernacular studies for the study of English they were able to qualify themselves for the promotion to a higher class. Their greater attainment in Vernacular studies assisted them considerably to overcome the difficulties of English. In this way their rise was doubtlessly rapid until they reached the class for which they were fitted by their acquirements both in English and Vernacular.⁶⁷

cited, and an incentive to study afforded, as the appointments are thrown open to competition. The best boys are also kept longer at school than they would otherwise be likely to remain, and from them candidates can be selected for instruction in the normal schools, who stand every chance of turning first rate teachers eventually. Examinations of the senior vernacular scholars of districts have accordingly been held by Lt. Holroyd at various Sudder Stations and selections of pupil teachers made from the best candidates. In Ferozepur no less than 18 were thus appointed after an examination of this kind. Under really good teachers, the appointment of pupil teachers is no doubt preferable to the maintenance of an assistant on a high salary and may be effected at a very little more expense."

65. PAR (1864-65), para 151.

66. PAR (1860-61), para 76.

67. Report of the Director of Public Instruction, 1860-61, quoted in PAR, para 77.

Another principle was that English was taught simply as a language during the first few years of a boy's education. He acquired general knowledge through the medium of his own tongue until he was sufficiently conversant with English and could understand books written in English on subjects like Arithmetic, History or Geography with tolerable ease. After acquiring some proficiency in these subjects by his previous course of reading in the higher classes, he was able to revise his knowledge with the aid of more advanced English treatises.⁶⁸

The curriculum was in theory designed for boys who were supposed to have no knowledge either of English or the Vernacular on entering a Government school. More time was prescribed in the lower classes for the study of Vernacular which was of the first importance. Practically, most of the boys while entering the *zillah* schools possessed some knowledge of their own tongue, and so more time was given to them to pick up the English language. As a student advanced to the higher class, the time for studying English was gradually increased and that allowed for the Vernacular appeared short in consequence. The object in adopting this curriculum was to educate a student upto the standard of the Calcutta University examination and all the studies gradually led to that point.⁶⁹ With the growth of these schools too, and the progress of their classes, the study of Persian, which was prescribed along with Urdu, greatly increased.⁷⁰ The standard of study improved and the progress made at the Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar schools was encouraging.⁷¹ The best proof of this was seen in 1861 when for the first time students from these schools were declared successful at the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University. Each succeeding set of candidates who appeared at the Matriculation examination showed an improvement upon the previous batch.⁷² The plan of giving scholarships at these schools to the best boys from the town and village schools was extended as far as funds permitted.⁷³ This gave considerable impetus to the desire

68. *Idem.*

69. *Idem.*

70. PAR (1862-63), para 109.

71. *Idem.*, para 110.

72. *Idem.*, para 141.

73. *Idem.*, para 118.

for learning. The success of these schools was mainly the result of the extension of the "Branch Schools".⁷⁴ These were frequently nothing more than indigenous schools, the teachers of which were induced to adopt the scheme of studies prescribed for Government schools. They were ordinarily placed under the supervision and patronage of local people. Thus the indigenous schools of the Punjab acted as feeders to superior Government schools and the interest of influential people was enlisted in the cause of education.⁷⁵

It is remarkable that in 1873-74 the proportion of successful candidates from the Punjab at the Calcutta University Entrance Examination was quite upto the average throughout the Bengal Presidency.⁷⁶ Profiting by the experience of other provinces the Punjab authorities organized a system of education which avoided the defects observable in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces. The Punjab system aimed at providing simultaneously for the higher standards of education and for the elementary instruction of the mass of the people, copying for the former object the admirable system and organization of the Bengal *zillah* schools, and for the latter the system of "*Halqa Bandi*" schools so successfully worked out in the North-Western Provinces.⁷⁷

74. A. M. Monteath in his *Note on the State of Education in India, 1865-66*, described the Branch School system in the following words: "Commenced at Delhi the system has been there carried out very completely and has been gradually extended to other places. It is very economical and decidedly efficient and popular. We can never depend upon more than a small percentage of boys, who enter our schools in the lowest class, staying until they reach the highest class, and pass the University Entrance Examination. The early way then to secure the full number in the class which a single master can manage, say from 20 to 25 boys, is to have at least 800 boys in all under instruction. The plan followed, as a rule, is to let beginners attend the branch schools, which are located in the most convenient places all about the city or suburbs. The numbers in the main school are then kept up to the full limit that the main building can hold, and the main staff of masters can manage, by drafting into the best of the branch scholars. Eventually these branch schools will, it is hoped, bring their pupils through the first or lower half of the whole curriculum, after which four years passed in the main school will bring a scholar upto the Matriculation standard."

75. PAR (1864-65), para 139.

76. PAR (1873-74), para 315.

77. Monteath, A. M., *Note on the State of Education in India, during 1865-66*. Selections from the Govt. of India Home Dept. Records, No. LIV.

Normal Schools

Prior to 1860 there were eight normal schools. These were subsequently amalgamated with the schools at Lahore, Rawalpindi and Delhi because it was considered more useful to have a few first class institutions serving the various parts of the Punjab than a large number of institutions scattered in unimportant places where educational facilities were not easily available.⁷⁸ The number of Government normal schools therefore stood at three until 1875. In addition to these, there existed at Amritsar an aided normal school which was opened in 1866-67 by the Christian Vernacular Educational Society.⁷⁹ The initial period of training at these schools was six months⁸⁰ but a change was made in 1869-70 at the time of the introduction of Middle School Examination. Boys who passed this examination were engaged as pupil teachers and eventually sent up for training at these schools. At the end of two years of study an examination was held for Primary Teacher's Certificate. The third year of study was optional and the examination held thereafter qualified the candidates to teach in middle schools. In a word, using the present day terminology, a differentiation was henceforth made between teachers holding Junior Vernacular and those holding Senior Vernacular Certificates.⁸¹ The normal school did not provide training for students to teach in *zillah* schools because teachers in these schools were brought from the North-Western Provinces or Bengal.

The great difficulty with these schools was that good students from among town or village teachers or candidates were not available for these posts on the small stipends varying from Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 *per mensem*.⁸² These stipends were so miserably inadequate that the profession of a school master offered no attraction.⁸³ Some of the best teachers did not stick to the scholastic profession but

78. Mehta, H. R. A., *History of the Development and Growth of Western Education in the Punjab*, p. 54.

79. PAR (1866-67), para 161.

80. PAR (1860-61), para 74.

81. Mehta, H. R. A., *History of the Development and Growth of Western Education in the Punjab*, p. 55.

82. PAR (1866-67), para 160.

83. PAR (1868-69), para 384.

sought most lucrative employment in other departments.⁸⁴ Relief was however afforded to these schools in 1870 by raising the salary of a school teacher from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per month.

The training of female teachers during this period was left entirely to private enterprise. The first normal school for girls was opened at Delhi by the S. G. P. Mission in 1863-64.⁸⁵ Normal schools next year were opened at Lahore and Amritsar by the Local Committees of Instruction.⁸⁶ The European Training School at Delhi was established in 1875.⁸⁷

Medical School

The year 1860-61 was memorable for the opening of the Medical School at Lahore.⁸⁸ This institution consisted of two classes, the senior class providing training of sub-assistant surgeons and the junior that of hospital assistants and local doctors. In each class there were two groups of students. One group consisted of students who had to join Government service on the completion of the course. They were maintained at Government expense. The other group consisted of students who had to join service in their local districts. They were helped by local funds.⁸⁹ Instruction in the Junior class was principally carried on in Urdu and the course of study extended over a period of three years.⁹⁰ The students who had to join Government service were selected on the basis of a competitive examination which was open to candidates from all parts of the Punjab.⁹¹ The course extended over a period of five years.⁹² Both the Departments were open to students from the North Western Provinces as well as the Punjab, but half the number of scholarships was assigned to students from

84. PAR (1866-67), para 160.

85. Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies, (1863-64), para 57.

86. Report of Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies, (1864-65), para 75.

87. Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies, (1875-76), para 100.

88. PAR (1860), para 90.

89. PAR (1870-71), para 368.

90. PAR (1871-72), para 603.

91. PAR 1871-72) para 603.

92. PAR (1873-74) para 326.

the former provinces.⁹³ In order to increase the usefulness of the institution and to ensure employment for all students who passed the final examination, it was arranged to provide them with appointments in the North Western Provinces, Oudh, and Central Provinces.⁹⁴

College Education

It was for the first time in 1864 that for the promotion of higher education two colleges viz. the Lahore College and the Delhi College were established in the Punjab.⁹⁵ The former was under the direction of G. W. Leitner, Esquire, M.A., Ph.D., Late Professor at King's College, London, and the latter under Mr. E. Wilmot B.A., a gentleman of distinguished attainments at the University of Cambridge.⁹⁶ College classes were also attached to the Lahore Mission School but these were discontinued from December, 1869 as there was no room for two colleges at Lahore.⁹⁷

The college authorities devoted themselves with much earnestness to the promotion of sound education. Societies for debating and essay writing were established. Students were encouraged to study English newspapers and a "Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge" was set afoot. Athletic sports were organized with success. With the assistance of the Principals of Lahore and Delhi Colleges the Director of Public Instruction started a magazine to assist students in preparing for the University Examination, and to diffuse intelligence upon educational subjects. Encouragement was given to oriental learning by the appointment of an Arabic Professor at each of these two colleges. This measure increased respect for these institutions in the eyes of the educated classes of the people.⁹⁸

These colleges were very popular. In 1866 the Delhi College had more students on its rolls than any college in the North Western

93. PAR (1874-75), para 314.

94. PAR (1871-72), para 603.

95. Educational Despatch to India, No. 20, dated 15th August 1864.

96. PAR (1864-65), para 136.

97. Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies (1869-70), para 45.

98. PAR (1864-65), para 137.

Provinces.⁹⁹ But the facility with which students with the slightest pretension to education obtained comparatively well-paid appointments rendered it a matter of great difficulty to induce them to complete the courses of college and university education. The value of a college scholarship was less than the pay of an ordinary English copyist or a clerk in a Government or mercantile office—position for which matriculated students were qualified. The demand for such clerks was at that time large and appointments were easily obtained by those who had just entered college. Punjabi students who had not yet learnt to prefer the advantages of a finished education to an immediate increase of salary left their studies for a clerkship, and the number of candidates for the higher university examinations continued to be small. This evil could only be checked when the number of qualified candidates for these appointments increased. Until this was done the number of college students could not be expected to be large.¹⁰⁰ It is interesting to point out that in 1868-69 when the Punjab University College sanctioned Rs. 8,400 *per annum* for scholarships for the students of the two colleges every student could get a scholarship of some kind. Even this liberal measure did not attract the students to join the college. The students could not resist the temptation of Government service which was easily available in those days and left college without completing their education.¹⁰¹ In 1875 the question of the abolition of the Delhi College was under consideration. Two years later it was abolished.¹⁰² The reasons for its abolition were two-fold. In the first instance, "the Government was unable to supply funds to place both colleges in a position to give their students the best and most complete education."¹⁰³ It was thus better in the true interests of Delhi and Lahore that one first-class and efficient institution should be maintained than two inefficient colleges where instruction could never become as com-

99. PAR (1865-66), para 108.

100. PAR (1866-67), para 150.

101. Mehta, H. R., *A History of the Development and Growth of Western Education in the Punjab*, p. 46.

102. Lepal Griffin, Esq., Offg. Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab to the Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India, Home Deptt. No. 2244, dt. Lahore 23 May, 1877. Home Education Procdg. Nos. 27-34, dt. August 1877.

103. Procdgs. of the Hon'ble the Lt. Governor of the Punjab in the Home Department, No. 567, dt. 15 February, 1877. Home Education Procdgs. Nos. 27-34, dt. August 1877, para 6.

plete as was essential in the interests both of the Government and the people. Secondly, Delhi was fast growing into commercial importance and had ceased to be a centre of literary activity. Its interest in high education, as tested by the number of college students, was less than that of Lahore.¹⁰⁴

Oriental University Movement

In 1866 Dr. Leitner started a movement by arousing a spirit of self-reliance among the people. He founded an association called the "Anjuman-i-Panjab" for the diffusion of useful knowledge, the discussion of subjects possessing literary and scientific interest and for the free expression of public opinion on questions of social and political reform. The Association flourished and spread throughout the Punjab.¹⁰⁵ Its distinguishing ideals were to establish a National University in the Punjab, to promote the diffusion of European science as far as possible through the medium of the Vernacular languages of the Punjab, to improve and extend Vernacular literature generally; to afford encouragement to the enlightened study of Eastern classical languages and literature; and to associate the learned and influential classes of the Punjab with the officers of the Government in the promotion and supervision of popular education.¹⁰⁶ The scheme thus conceived enlisted the warm support of Sir Donald Macleod, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, who gave his approval to the movement. A portion of this Punjab scheme viz. the movement in support of the Vernacular literature, was at length adopted in the North Western Provinces and eventually the Calcutta University made substantial concessions to the popular requirements in favour of oriental learning.¹⁰⁷

Early in 1870 a University College was established at Lahore.¹⁰⁸ There was some initial opposition to it on the score that it would

104. *Idem*, para 3.

105. Leitner, G. W., *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab*, (Calcutta, 1882), p. v.

106. PAR (1871-72), para 573.

107. Leitner, G. W., *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab*, (Calcutta, 1882), p. vi.

108. Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies, (1869-70), para 38.

confer cheaper degrees than those given by other Universities in India. Owing to the less advanced character of education in the Punjab it was feared that the degrees conferred by the Punjab University would degrade and lessen the value of an Indian degree, and would prejudicially affect the spread of higher learning in India.¹⁰⁹ It was, however, stated by the Government that the name of "College" was added to that of "University" in order to mark that the arrangement was temporary and that as soon as the College created a large number of students for examinations the full rights of a University would be conceded to it.¹¹⁰

The Punjab University College was governed by a Senate which consisted of promoters of the oriental movement, persons eminent for their literary attainments, and ex-officio members appointed by Government.¹¹¹ The Senate was empowered (a) to spend the income at its disposal in the foundation of fellowships and scholarships; (b) to make grants-in-aid to educational institutions conducted in accordance with the principles of the movement, grant rewards for Vernacular translations of European standard works, and for the encouragement of the enlightened study of oriental literature; (c) to grant "Certificates of Proficiency" after examinations conducted under rules framed by the Senate on certain accepted principles, the general object of which was to encourage the diffusion of Western literature as far as possible through the medium of the Vernaculars but where this was not possible through the medium of English.¹¹²

The Punjab University College conducted examinations in Arts, corresponding with those of the Calcutta University, in Oriental Languages and Literature, in Law and in Medicine. Arrangements were also made for holding examinations in Civil Engineering. The Entrance Examination and the Proficiency in

109. E. C. Bayley, Esq. Secy. to the Govt. of India to the Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab, dt. Simla the 22nd May 1869. Home Education Procdg. Nos. 20A-20F, dt. 12 June, 1869.

110. Leitner, G. W., *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab*, p. vi.

111. Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies, (1869-70), para 38.

112. *Idem*, para 39.

Arts Examination were held both in English and in the Vernacular.¹¹³ The Lahore Medical School was affiliated to the Punjab University College and its examinations were conducted under the instructions of the Senate.¹¹⁴

The Oriental College maintained by the Punjab University College was placed under the charge of Mr. Palmer Boyd. Instruction was given in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, while Mathematics, History and Geography were taught through the media of Urdu and Hindi. In 1875 classes were opened for the study of the English language and literature. Students were permitted to learn English on the condition that they would devote some hours daily to the study of oriental languages.¹¹⁵

In 1872 students were given the choice of appearing for the examinations of either the Calcutta University or the Punjab University College. Most of them appeared for both, for the former in order to receive the stamp which the University is supposed to impress and eventually to secure the University degree; for the latter so that they might be entitled to the scholarships granted by the Punjab University College.¹¹⁶ This practice of appearing for two examinations was abolished in 1875.¹¹⁷ Students could now only appear for the Punjab University examinations.

Under the auspices of the Punjab University College the School of Industry and Art was established in 1875.¹¹⁸ The object of this school was to convey to the Punjab students such knowledge of painting and drawing as might assist them in their own special trades, and especially, to develop, by improvement of tools and the introduction of more economical and better modes of workmanship, the manufactures of India. Such a school was urgently wanted. Year after year the arts and industries of India seemed

113. Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies, (1874-75), para 13.

114. *Idem*, (1870-71), para 45.

115. *Idem*, (1874-75), p. 93.

116. *Idem*, (1874-75), para 13.

117. *Idem*, (1875-76). Review by Major Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction, para 2.

118. *Idem*, para 101.

to decline and the country was becoming more and more dependent on English products. The School of Art committed a grave and indeed a fatal mistake in attempting to engraft European canons of art upon oriental art. The muslins of Dacca, the silver work of Gujarat, the *koftgari* of the Sialkot district, the shawls of Kashmir, the carpets of Lahore, the silks and brocades of Delhi, had all a beauty of their own, and the introduction of English designs and English taste degraded and ruined them. The almost complete ruin of the kashmir shawl trade was, in part, due to the injudicious introduction of French patterns. The object of the School of Art was to develop and improve the Indian art and not to change or supersede it by a "bastard art which was neither English nor Indian."¹¹⁹

Female Education

The first impulse to female education was given by Captain Elphinstone, Deputy Commissioner of Jullundur, and this was followed up by Mr. F. C. Cooper, Deputy Commissioner of Delhi.¹²⁰ Both these officers established numerous schools and in some degree conquered the prejudices which prevented the education of the girls. But a much more influential measure was the securing of the co-operation, in this cause, of the principal chiefs and gentry of Lahore and Amritsar. This was effected at the Educational Darbar held at Lahore on the 14th February, 1863, when Robert Montgomery, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, invited the prominent chiefs to consider the subject, and offered aid in carrying out any plans which they might suggest.¹²¹ Accordingly committees were appointed at Lahore and Amritsar.¹²² It was arranged that each family priest would undertake to teach at least one

119. PAR (1875-76), para 85.

120. Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies, (1862-63), para 62.

121. T. H. Thornton, Esq., Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab and its Dependencies to E. C. Bayley, Secy. to the Govt. of India dt. Lahore the 13th May, 1868.

122. Secy. of State for India to Govt. of India. dt. 15, August 1864. Home Deptt. Procdg. No. Nil, dt. 15 August 1864.

female from his own or his client's families. During the course of instruction, the priests were paid at the rate of ten rupees *per mensem*. On the pupils becoming sufficiently proficient to impart knowledge, they were taken into the service of the families with which they were connected as governesses. The governesses taught the females of their own families and of respectable neighbours of a lower social rank who again opened schools of their own and took service as school mistresses with Government or private persons. A movement of vast importance for the moral and intellectual welfare of the people was thus begun and the prejudices of caste or creed were set aside. Much depended on the personal influence of the officers and it was hoped that beginning with the upper classes the stream of female education would gradually permeate into the other strata of society.¹²³

This scheme was afterwards changed. It was found that the adult females, who were under instruction, had domestic cares and duties which sadly interfered with their speedy advancement in study, and young girls were much sharper learners than adults. It was also found that there was no real objection to the employment of male teachers. Whatever objection there was, was mainly directed against the innovation of teaching females at all. These objections were gradually overcome when the leading members of the community openly supported the cause of female education. The system of private female instruction by family priests in the houses of the chiefs and notables and the establishment of schools in every *mohalla* for the middle class women were welcomed by the people. The subject of female education was thus taken up far more earnestly than could have been expected in so short a time. Most of the schools provided elementary instruction and a good deal of the students' time was devoted to the study of their own religious books. A fair amount of attention was paid to secular studies as well. The teaching of plain needle-work was introduced and proved popular. The formation of these schools at the two chief cities of the Punjab attracted the attention of all classes in the province and greatly facilitated the spread of female

123. Monteath, A. M. *Note on the State of Education in India during 1865-66*. Selections from the Govt. of India Home Deptt. Records No. LIV, para 213.

education. Baba Khem Singh, a lineal descendant of the Guru Baba Nanak and greatly revered by all classes of the Punjab, preached at Jullundur and its neighbourhood in favour of female education. He, of his own accord, even proceeded to Rawalpindi district and its adjoining areas and stirred up the people there to educate their daughters. The success of his mission was immense and girls' schools came into existence by scores and even hundreds in those parts of the Punjab which he visited.¹²⁴ The spontaneous efforts made by the chiefs and other people, especially by Baba Khem Singh, to establish schools for females were encouraged by the Government and it promised to afford assistance in aid of the movement.¹²⁵ At first there were considerable doubts as to the value of the success of the measures inaugurated at Lahore and Amritsar but a few years' results greatly modified these views. By operating mainly through the leaders of society irritation or even alarm was dispelled and the distrust with which female education was regarded soon declined among the middle classes, though the movement had not yet made much headway amongst the agricultural population.¹²⁶

By 1868 female education greatly improved. The residents of Lahore and Amritsar consented to place the female schools under the superintendence of trained English mistresses and an English lady was appointed Inspectress of female schools. Lastly in Amritsar arrangements were made for allowing students to continue their studies after marriage. Before long all prejudices were overcome and female education was placed upon a sound and firm footing.¹²⁷ The progress during the remaining period upto 1875 was exceedingly slow. It was found that the great majority of people saw no advantage in educating women, but on the contrary, a probable evil. In order to stand well with the Government many gentlemen of position interested themselves in the

124. *Idem*, para 214.

125. Secy. of State for India to the Govt. of India dt. 31st Oct., 1864. Home Department Procdg. No. 22, dt. 31st Oct. 1864.

126. T. H. Thornton Esq., Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab and its Dependencies to E. C. Bayley Esq. Secy. to the Govt. of India, Simla No. 404, dated Murree the 13th September 1865. Home Education Procdg. Nos. 10-11, dt. 11 October 1865.

127. PAR (1868-69), para 382.

movement more from loyalty than conviction with the result that the moment the impulse given by Government officials was relaxed, female education declined. This was not disappointing as the Government had already anticipated it. The Government was aware that much could not be hoped for in a matter so closely connected with custom and prejudice.¹²⁸ In spite of this slow progress the proportion of students receiving female education showed that as early as 1866, the Punjab stood foremost among all other provinces in this respect.¹²⁹

Suffice it to say, during a span of twenty six years of our study the educational system of the Punjab was revolutionized. The intentions of the Despatches of 1854 and 1859 were successfully carried into effect, but for the establishment of the University the foundations of which, however, had been laid by the inauguration of the Punjab University College. Five years of its working showed that the number of candidates appearing for its examinations had speedily increased. The college won the popularity it deserved, and was raised to the status of a full-fledged University in 1882.¹³⁰ Education not only received constant and increasing attention at the hands of the Punjab administrators but every care was taken to see that there were no hard and fast lines among the various classes that attended the schools. Every section of the population enjoyed the opportunity of receiving education. Of course care was taken that it was the poor alone who received gratuitous instruction upto elementary standard but those receiving higher education were called upon to pay a fair share of its cost.¹³¹

128. PAR (1874-75), para 83.

129. Monteath, A. M., *Note on the State of Education in India during 1865-66*. Selections from the Govt. of India Home Deptt. Records No. LIV, para 212.

130. The Secretary of State being satisfied that the examinations of the Punjab University College were of such a nature as to justify that body being entrusted with the power to grant degrees accorded his permission to the introduction of an Act of the incorporation of a University in 1880. By an Act of 1882 the Punjab University was incorporated on the model of the London University.

131. PAR (1875-76), para 77.

Lahaul and Spiti: A Forgotten Chapter in Panjab History

BY

P. L. MEHRA

Panjab University, Chandigarh

(An abbreviated version of this paper was read at the First Panjab History Conference, held at Patiala.)

Despite their recognised importance, no major definitive work, offering a connected historical account of Lahaul and Spiti, is known to exist. Lately, however, there has been a spate of activity and since the constitution of the Scheduled Areas and Tribes Commission, a great deal of attention has been riveted here. Yet the Dhebar Commission Report—and its terms of reference made its scope of work understandably limited—offered what was principally a demographic-cum-ethnographic survey.¹ Nor, from the point of view of the professional historian, have matters improved with the increasing emphasis now laid on developmental activities under the state, or central government aegis. Actually, as an army of busy bureaucrats, with no dearth of funds at its disposal descends on an area, the finer, more intangible aspects of the community's life are bound to receive short shrift. More to the point is the fact that valuable, important data, from the point of view of the student of history may be irretrievably lost, not least on account of the callousness, if one may add cussedness, of a soulless governmental machinery.

What then is the stock-in-trade of the novitiate? Herein one may mention a small number of works neatly printed, and pro-

1. *Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission* (Government of India, New Delhi, 1961). The Commission constituted in April, 1960, under the Chairmanship of Mr. U. N. Dhebar was charged with the task of "investigating and reporting on the problems of the Scheduled Tribes." In October 1961, it submitted a unanimous report "based upon our investigations and study." Specifically the problems of Panjab's 'Scheduled Areas' of Lahaul and Spiti are referred to in Chapter 40, pp. 423-27.

fusely illustrated, what with coloured plates and black-and-white photographs which are now increasingly ready to hand. Unfortunately, however, most of these are no better than travelogue with all that that term implies. Well-written, informative too in a manner of speaking, yet one must guard against the inaccuracies and mis-statements in which their authors abound. In this context, three of the more recent studies spring readily to mind. Perhaps the best known is the United States Associate Supreme Court Judge, Justice William O Douglas' "*Beyond the High Himalayas*",² which is useful for Lahaul, though providing a somewhat superficial and sketchy fare. Panjab's former Chief Justice G. D. Khosla's "*The Himalayan Circuit*",³ which incidentally was published in the same year as Justice Douglas' book, is complementary to it. For Mr. Khosla's principal forte is Spiti and his description of its chief valleys is at once graphic and informative. Another work in this category is Pran Chopra's "*On an Indian Bordēr*".⁴ This, one regrets to note, is an unmixed journalistic tour-de-force with all the questions neatly answered.

Essentially thus the student has to fall back upon the old Gazetteers of the districts of the Panjab. In so far as Lahaul and Spiti constituted, until lately, parts of the Kulu sub-division of the Kangra district, it is to the latter one has to revert. Most of these Gazetteers in the Punjab, as elsewhere in the country, are now in the process of being revised and one only hopes that the revision will be as thorough and authoritative as the time lag of nearly a hundred years calls for. Of the old Gazetteers, however, it may be said without fear of contradiction, that their authors were some of the best qualified men for the job. What was more, they often-times furnished an inkling into the policies and approach of authority to some of the more important problems of the day. A phrase here and there in not a few of these old, now rare, books holds the key to governmental thinking on some of the crucial issues then agitating the public mind. H. H. Riseley's "*Gazetteer of Sikkim*"⁵ deserves a special mention in this respect for it spells

2. William O. Douglas, *Beyond the High Himalayas* (New York, 1956).

3. G. D. Khosla, *Himalayan Circuit: the story of a journey in the Inner Himalayas* (London, 1956).

4. Pran Chopra, *On an Indian Border* (Bombay, 1964).

5. H. H. Riseley (editor) *Gazetteer of Sikkim* (Calcutta, 1894).

out succinctly the then British policy towards Sikkim, as indeed towards Tibet itself. In the pages that follow, the present writer has drawn on the '*Gazetteer of the Kangra District*', Vol. II: Kulu, Lahaul and Spiti, 1883-4 and the '*Gazetteer of the Kangra District*' Parts II to IV: Kulu, Lahaul and Spiti, 1897.⁶

II

The old story of these districts may be briefly recounted. Their association with Ladakh has been of the most ancient. If Reverend Francke's thesis that the kingdom of Tibet itself owes its origin to, and in reality sprang out of, Ladakh be accepted,⁷ the link with Tibet becomes clearer, as doubtless more intimate. Later when Ladakh's own political ties with Lhasa were sundered, Lahaul and Spiti came within the vortex of politics in Kashmir and the hill-states of the Panjab. It is on this period that attention needs to be increasingly focussed.⁸ Out of a fairly complicated, if confused political situation, certain broad facts emerge. Nepal under the Gurkhas—and this was long after the war of 1814-16—remained unfriendly to the British and by and large, opportunist in its policies and approach. Again Zorawar Singh, the Dogra General of the Jammu Raja Gulab Singh, was interested in Ladakh more as a stabilising factor and as a base for an incursion into western Tibet. It may be recalled that on December 14, 1841, the General and his Dogra army were worsted at Taklakot, an encounter in which Zorawar Singh lost his life. This was due, it may be

6. The former, 'Compiled and published under the Authority of the Punjab Government', was printed at the Calcutta Central Press Co. Ltd., Calcutta, in 1884; the latter under the same 'Authority' at the Civil and Military Gazette Press, in Lahore, in 1899.

7. A. H. Francke, 'The kingdom of Nya-khri-btsanpo, the first King of Tibet', *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta), VI (1910). Reverend Francke contends that the pre-Songsen Gampo Tibet must correspond broadly to Ladakh. Francke's viewpoint, however, should be accepted with a goodly pinch of salt. It is interesting that neither Bell, *Tibet, Past and Present* (Oxford, 1924) nor Richardson, *Tibet and its History* (Oxford, 1962) mentions Ladakh in this context. The Dalai Lama, *My Country and My People* (London, 1962), pp. 62-63; too is silent on the point.

8. In the Panjab hills, the Rajput kingdoms of Kulu and Chamba fought each other. Again, Ladakh continued to fight Kulu and Chamba whenever the two were not fighting each other.

added, not so much to the superior armed might of the Tibetans as the fury of the elements—a heavy snow-fall and a blinding blizzard.

A side-result of the Dogra conquest of Ladakh was the fall of Lahaul and Spiti into the hands of the Sikhs. There is mention of a sikh foray deep into Spiti in 1841 though, mercifully for the inhabitants (all of whom are reported to have fled) the armed incursion was both temporary in nature and extremely short-lived.⁹

The first Sikh War and the defeat of the Khalsa army brought to the fore the problem both of a short-term settlement of the Panjab and a long-range arrangement concerning the hill areas. The treaty of Lahore, of March 9, 1846, disposed of a large and viable chunk of the Panjab—the Jullundur doab as well as the entire hilly region. Barely a week later came the Treaty of Amritsar, with the Dogra ruler, Gulab Singh. Herein the initial British thinking appears to have been to hand over to him Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. Later, however, it was decided to take away Lahaul and Spiti, sunder them from Ladakh, and join them to British territory. The obvious aim was to prevent a rival domain being “interposed” between “our own provinces on the Sutlej and the shawl-wool districts of Chang Thang”.¹⁰ It is interesting in this context to recall that Article I of the Treaty of Amritsar specifically laid down that the British Government “transfers and makes over for ever in independent possession “to the Jammu Raja” all the hilly or mountainous country with its dependencies situated to the eastward of the river Indus and the

9. The Sikhs sent a force, on the morrow of Zorawar Singh's conquest of Ladakh, to plunder Spiti. The local inhabitants retreated into the high-lands. The Sikhs plundered their homes and temples. Later, however, the Lahore Durbar did not attempt to annex the country to Kulu nor even separate it from Ladakh. *Gazetteer*, (1899). Part iii, Chapter 2, p. 77.

10. “It is not for us to share with others the allegiance of petty princes, nor should we desire that our dependents should have any claims on the territories of other states. Our feudatories should have no political connection with strangers although we may allow them to interchange friendly letters, and even visits, with their neighbours under the rule of others”. *Secret Letters*, Vol. 89, No. 38, Cunningham to Clerk.

westward of the river Ravi". And yet pointedly the territory of Lahaul was excluded from the operation of this clause.¹¹

The British interest, as no doubt that of the Dogras, was in securing a monopoly of the supply of that highly remunerative commodity, shawl-wool. The latter came through from Chang Thang,¹² the northern frozen desert of that vast table-land in the heart of high Asia, Tibet. Apart from the fact that the British were increasingly suspicious of a not-improbable alliance between the Dogras of Jammu and the Gurkhas of Nepal, with China, through Tibet, as a third partner,¹³ John Company was not oblivious of the fact that any interference in the flow of shawl-wool to Bushair would not only be injurious to its prestige in the hill-areas but help deal a death-blow to its sedulously-fostered pushmina industry. Nor was the lesson of Zorawar Singh's conquest of Ladakh lost on the Governor-General and his advisers. Hence the ultimatum that was delivered in 1841 to Gulab Singh, through the Sikh *darbar* at Lahore, to desist from his efforts at conquering western Tibet.¹⁴ It is a strange, albeit rather striking, coincidence that the dead-line set—December 10, 1841—was, in actual fact, exceeded only by four days, although the end-result could not have been what the Company may have anticipated.

The mission of Alexander Cunningham and Vans Agnew to demarcate the eastern boundary of Maharaja Gulab Singh's territory may be briefly alluded to here. Article II of the Treaty of Amritsar had laid down that the eastern boundary of the Maharaja's dominion "shall be laid down by the Commissioners ap-

11. For the full text of the Treaty of Amritsar see K. M. Panikkar, *The Founding of the Kashmir State*, 2nd impression (London, 1953), pp. 111-15.

12. Pran Chopra's *op.cit.*, p. 41, description of 'Chang Thang' as 'western Tibet' is at once erroneous and misleading.

13. Recent writers refer to the threat assuming "nightmarish proportions". It is further held that "the inevitability of war with Nepal was coming to be accepted by British policy-makers. They did not wish to be confronted with a Nepali-Dogra-Sikh coalition nor did they wish Chinese attention to be fixed on this region as a result of Zorawar Singh's rashness." Margaret W. Fisher, Leo E. Rose and Robert A. Huttenback, *Himalayan Battleground: Sino-Indian Rivalry in Ladakh* (New York, 1963), pp. 51 and 53.

14. "Compared to events in Afghanistan, the Himalayan crisis of 1841 to 1842 seems insignificant enough. Yet this crisis was to have a significant effect on the subsequent course of British Himalayan policy." Alastair Lamb, *Britain and Chinese Central Asia*, (London, 1960), p. 72.

pointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively for that purpose and shall be defined in a separate engagement after survey". The British intent, however, was clear and could be gauged from the letter of the Governor-General to the Secret Committee written two days before the Treaty of Amritsar was signed and sealed:

It is highly expedient that the trans-Beas portion of Kulu and Mandi, with the more fertile district and strong position of the Nurpur and the celebrated Fort Kangra—the key of the Himalayas in native estimation—with its district and dependencies, should be in our possession. These provinces lie together, between the Beas and Chukee rivers, and their occupation by us will be attended with little cost and great advantage. The Chukee river in the hills will hereafter be our boundary to its source and thence a line drawn to the Ravee river, and along its course, and across the Chenab to the snowy ridge on the confines of Lahool. This line will be laid down by officers sent for the purpose according to mutual agreement and will be accurately surveyed.¹⁵

"In consideration of the retention by us", the Governor General further wrote, "of the tract above described", Gulab Singh was to be allowed a sizeable remission in the sum he had originally contracted to pay.¹⁶

If laying down the boundary, in a manner spelt out fairly well in advance, was all that the Joint Commissioners were supposed to do, there was not much to it. Actually, whatever their ostensible objective, much more was in the offing. For, as their instructions made plain, besides the demarcation of the frontier, the trade question was to be settled and an enquiry conducted into the prospects of British commerce not only with Western Tibet but also with the whole of Central Asia. There had been indications that the Tibetan authorities might be willing to enter into some form of agreement. The real British anxiety, however, was to

15. Governor General to the Secret Committee, letter, March 14, 1846. The treaty itself was concluded on March 16. For the text of the letter see K. M. Panikkar, *op.cit.*, Appendix I, pp. 161-64.

16. *Ibid.* Actually "a remission of 25 lakhs from the crore of rupees, which Raja Gulab Singh would otherwise have paid" was to be allowed. Of the sum now stipulated fifty lakhs "are to be made good at once" i.e., upon the ratification of the treaty and the remaining twenty-five lakhs "within six months from that date."

develop a regular channel, through their territory, for traffic with Tibet. The Governor General wrote to this effect to the Court of Directors in August, 1846:

I am in hopes that the measures now in progress for opening a line of communication with the Chinese frontier and Lhasa running entirely through our territories, or those under our control, and unmolested through its whole length by transit duties, will have a very beneficial effect on the trade between our provinces and those of Chinese Tartary.¹⁷

The British authorities made repeated overtures through their representative in Hong Kong, to impress upon the celestial kingdom, the desirability of associating Chinese Commissioners with their work. The settled purpose of their common endeavours was to proceed to the western frontiers of Tibet so as to carry out a demarcation jointly with the British and the representatives of the Dogra ruler of Jammu and Kashmir. Although the verbal response from Peking appears to have been favourable, the Chinese Commissioners never arrived. Necessarily, therefore, both Cunningham and Vans Agnew spent the summer of 1846 laying down the boundaries of Lahaul and Spiti. In the year following, when the Commission was reconstituted, its instructions were to be more comprehensive, broad-based. For not only was it now charged with defining the Kashmir-Tibet frontier, in which task it still hoped that the cooperation and assistance of the Chinese Commissioners might be available, but also with endeavouring "to place on a more satisfactory footing than at present the commercial relations between Tibet and the provinces of British India."

From 1846 thus Lahaul and Spiti came securely within the ambit of British Indian administration. So unprepared was the latter for its new responsibilities, that initially the revenues for the area were farmed out to Mansukh Dass, the Wazir of Bushair, for a sum of Rs. 700/- per annum. Later, in 1849, both Lahaul and Spiti were placed under the direct management of the Assistant Commissioner of Kulu, Major Hay, who now took over charge.¹⁸

17. Hardinge to Court of Directors, letter, August 14, 1846. Cited in Lamb, *op.cit.*, p. 75.

18. Hay's report, published by Government, gives a valuable description of the country. Later Mr. Egerton, Deputy Commissioner of Kangra

The story of the succeeding decades does not form a part of this paper. Two facts, nonetheless, deserve close scrutiny in this context. For most part under the British, the areas were in complete neglect. The administration's real interest seems to have been to keep the routes with western Tibet open and to ensure that a steady supply of shawl-wool reached Bushair, Kulu and Hoshiarpur. Thus as the Gazetteer of 1883 so aptly remarked—"a trifling amount of revenue" to be collected (in Spiti) mattered much less than "a recognition of the tenure of the British Government in Spiti". It would seem to follow that once this recognition was for the coming, the rest was, for all practical purposes, left to the local families. Thus there was continued authority wielded by the Thakurs throughout the period of British rule in the area. Further, the Thakur of Lolang, who was designated as Wazir of Lahaul, enjoyed the powers of a Third Class Magistrate and was head of the revenue and administrative machinery in these parts. Besides the Wazir, there were two jagirdars. This arrangement continued down to 1914 when a Naib-Tehsildar was appointed and all powers taken from the Wazir and the Thakurs.

Since their religion is for most part Lama Buddhist, with a preponderantly heavy dose of tantric ritual, the spiritual dependence of the people on Lhasa remained deep and abiding. An interesting institution was the establishment, in 1884, of a Moravian mission at Keylang.¹⁹ The missionaries were a band of zealous men who, besides their evangelic activities which, unfortunately for them, were not very rewarding, did a great deal for the community. They held knitting classes for women, improved the crops, introduced buckwheat and opened a dispensary and a school besides setting up a printing press. Their end, however, was sad for in 1945 one of their more prominent members, Dr. Bernardo, was murdered. As a consequence thereof the mission decided to fold up and withdraw.

in 1864, submitted a report based on the findings of Mr.—later Sir—James Lyall, Sub-Divisional Officer in Kulu, in 1862.

19. The Moravians had worked with the Mongols ever since they founded a settlement on the Volga in 1765 and in the first half of the 19th century tried to penetrate China, through Tibet,

Nawab Sadat Ali and the Administration of Oudh

BY

DR. A. MUKHERJEE, *Shantiniketan*

The administration of Oudh under Nawab Sadat Ali has two distinct phases; the first covers the period from 1798 to 1801, and the second that from 1802 to 1814. This paper deals only with the first phase.

On becoming the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Sadat Ali found its administration in a hopeless mess. In every department of administration, civil or military, the worst disorder prevailed.¹ The army, ill-disciplined and inefficient, had not been paid for several months. Under Asafud-Dowla every vacant military command had been filled by taking *Nazrana* varying from Rs. 5000/- to 7000/-. The army commander, having secured his job in this way, reimbursed himself by defrauding his soldiers of a large part of their emoluments. In order to prevent them from protesting against this unjust action, he allowed them to make unauthorized exactions from the zamindars and the ryots.² Moreover, the army in Oudh was paid only ten months' salary in a year.³

The country's finances were also in a miserable state. Asafud Dowla, the extravagant, had not left behind more than 44 lacs of rupees of which Wazir Ali had wasted 4 lacs. Of the property in jewels and other valuables the latter had squandered not less than 2 crores.⁴ The Nawab's exchequer had been further depleted by non-realization of a large part of the public revenue. The public expenditure for the year 1205 *Fasli* (ending in September, 1798) was estimated at Rs. 1,79,68467/5/6 whereas the estimated revenue for the same period was Rs. 1,61,36,147/10/6. This

1. Foreign Secret Consultation (F.S.C.) no. 2, the 27th Feb., 1798.

2. Foreign Political Consultation (F.P.C.) no. 1, the 6th April, 1798, para 3.

3. F. P. C., no 36, the 5th March, 1798, para 5.

4. F. S. C., no. 2, the 27th February, 1798.

implied a deficit of Rs. 18,32319/11/ which together with Rs. 44,05,808/1/11, the budgetary deficit of the preceding year i.e., 1204 *Fasli*, was a serious problem Sadat Ali had to solve. From "the Account of the charges on the Net Revenues of the state for the year 1205 *Fasli*",⁵ we know that there were 42 heads of expenditure, few of which were really productive. The following figures may give some idea:—

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
(a) Nawab's personal and private expenses ..	2268809	0	0
(b) Expenses for the Nawab's kitchen, elephants, camels and other animals ..	3016709	3	9
(c) <i>Toshakhana</i> ..	449540	0	0
(d) Salaries of the eunuchs ..	60850	2	0
(e) Charges for the maintenance of gardens ..	134226	8	0
(f) Yearly emoluments of the writers, accountants and other officials ..	151150	5	6
(g) State Intelligence service ..	63200	9	6

The deplorable thing about the state expenditure was that in almost every department there were huge arrears, few items of expenditure being completely disbursed during the *Fasli* year 1205. For land revenue collection Oudh was divided into a number of *Mahals*.^{5a} They had been framed out to renters, called *Amils*, who collected the revenue and exercised magisterial powers within their jurisdictions. During their term of office they were generally outside the control of the Lucknow authorities. The success of this system of revenue collection, therefore, depended upon the integrity and talent of the *Amil*. But unfortunately in the then Oudh it was difficult to find an *Amil* with whom a *Mahal* could be safely entrusted. This was because the *Amil* was always apprehensive of losing his job as a result of court intrigues and could never think that his personal interests were connected with those of the ryots. Naturally, instead of endeavouring for the betterment of agriculture and the agriculturists he provided for himself as speedily and as much as he could.⁶

5. F. P. C., no. 31, the 6th August, 1798.

5a. Kara, Etawah, Bareilly, Sandila, Malihabad, Azamgarh, Allahabad, Akbarpur, Sandipali, Shahabad, Syluck, Bahraich, Banswara, Bhutwal, Khairabad, Tanda, Pratapgarh, Sultanpur, Dalmow, Farukhabad, Gorakhpur, Gonda, Muhamdi, Manuatari, Haveli Lucknow and Khyragarh. ,

6. *Ibid.*

Consequently, in most of the *Mahals* land revenue had fallen off. During the period from 1783 to 1798, land revenue in the district of Bareilly had fallen from Rs. 45 lacs to less than Rs. 36 lacs and in the district of Gorakhpur from Rs. 4,50,000/- to Rs. 3,97,000/-. It had decreased by nearly a lac in the district of Allahabad and by more than 3 lacs in Banswara. The *Amil* of Banswara was in prison at Lucknow and the government could not make him disgorge the revenue he had misappropriated.⁷

The state of judicial administration was also disappointing. There was a nominal court of justice at Lucknow. Outside Lucknow there was none in existence. The annual expenditure over the judicial administration seems to have been small when compared with the Nawab's private expenses. During the year 1205 *Fasli*, Rs. 4158/- had been allocated out of which only Rs. 577/8, had been disbursed. The judges were meagrely salaried and of questionable integrity. The result was that crimes were committed with impunity and the people got little justice.⁸

Law and order within the country was at the vanishing point. The turbulent Zamindars resisted rack-renting by the *Amils* and fought against coercion, hiding themselves in their mud-forts. The whole of Oudh was studded with such unauthorized forts. In the district of Farukhabad alone there were eleven mud-forts built by the refractory Zamindars. The forts of Bejoygarh and Sasni were under powerful Zamindars who treated the *Amils* "more on the footing of independence than as subjects with the representatives of their sovereign."⁹ The Zamindars looted the property of the people, obstructed trade and commerce by detaining and destroying the merchant boats plying in the Gomati¹⁰ and made unauthorized exactions on the country's export.¹¹

A lawless spirit was in evidence even among the common people a section of whom, without any ostensible means of livelihood, took to highway robbery. They "with a declared and determined

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. F. P. C., no. 10, the 24th December, 1798.

10. F. P. C., no. 8, the 24th December, 1798.

11. E. P. C., no. 12A, the 9th August, 1804.

plan of supporting themselves by plunder and rapine" moved in country boats down the river as far as Katwa in Bengal.¹²

Sadat Ali had, therefore, a difficult task before him—the task of purging the administration of the aforesaid evils. First of all, he tried to deal with the defective military system. Having paid the arrears of their salary, he disbanded the *Huzuri* troops and a part of the cavalry that had mutinied within six months of his accession to the *musnud*. He abolished the system of putting every vacant military command on auction. But the military system was rotten to the core and needed something drastic for its rejuvenation.¹³

For the reorganization of civil administration he made certain new appointments retaining, of course, a few officials of the previous regime. Tafazzul Hussain Khan was sent to Calcutta as his *Vakil*; Hasan Raza Khan, Tikait Rai and Rai Tulsi Ram were appointed *Naib*, *Diwan* and *Bakshi* respectively. Sahab Ram and Jayanti Prasad were appointed news reporters, one for the capital and the other for the *mufassil*. Sarfarazud Dowla who had been serving as Treasurer since the days of Nawab Shujaud Dowla, was retained in office.¹⁴ Moulvi Saddam, his erstwhile tutor, was first appointed Steward of his Privy Purse and then in addition to it, he filled the office of the Chief Justice. Petitions to the Nawab went through him and he served as a link between the ruler and the ruled.¹⁵ Sadat Ali was an excellent man of business and of thrifty habit. He loved discipline, regularity and order in administration. He himself supervised the administrative work and scrutinised the official papers.¹⁶ Under him was organised an efficient espionage system. In the countryside there were a large number of informers who gathered all sorts of information and sent them direct to the Nawab. The activities of these informers were spied upon by a batch of special detectives appointed by the Nawab as an extra measure of caution. These detectives also watched the movements of the nobles, the officials and the *Begams*.¹⁷

12. F. P. C., no. 1, the 7th November, 1799.

13. E. P. C., no. 39, the 5th March, 1798.

14. *Tilism-i-Hind* by Munshi Totaram Shayan, p. 339.

15. *Ibid.*

16. F. S. C., no. 2, the 27th February, 1798.

17. *Tilism-i-Hindi*, p. 339.

Sadat Ali tried his best to curtail state expenditure and to replete the depleted treasury for which he abolished the sinecure office of the deputy, seized all articles of pomp, auctioned his artillery and stable, inflicted heavy fines on criminals,¹⁸ and, as Lord Valentia has said, melted gold and silver ornaments used for the ceremony of *Muharram*.^{18a} In order to prevent dishonest officials from absconding with ill-gotten wealth, he allowed none to leave the city without a passport. He had asked the English neither to protect nor countenance the persons who embezzled his property.¹⁹

Sadat Ali rented his districts at increased "*Jama*" which is accounted for by his money-hoarding propensity. He appointed new *Amils* retaining only a few old ones and almost in every case he accepted princely sums as *Nazrana*. But well-intentioned as he was, he did not favour the adoption of annual settlement in his dominion and gave the districts in farm at least for three years.²⁰ The district of Azamgarh, for example, was farmed out to Shahawattulla Khan for five years.²¹

Nevertheless, Oudh administration could not be totally purged of its evils during this period and certain grave defects remained. The "indisciplined and licentious army" of the previous regime existed and the *Amil's* power to employ it against the refractory landlord and the ryot did more mischief than good. In the absence of an efficient system of judicial administration, crimes were seldom detected and offenders escaped unpunished. The "destructive practice of anticipating the revenues" and "of assigning the charge of the collections to such persons as offered the highest terms"²² alienated the landed gentry of Oudh who, having fortified their villages, refused to pay the revenue even at the point of bayonet.

18. *Ibid.*

18a. Lord Valentia's Travels, Vo. I, p. 157.

19. F. P. C., no. 53, the 1st May, 1798.

20. *Outlines of the topography and statistics of the southern districts of Oudh* by Butter, p. 49. (Published in 1838).

21. F. P. C., no. 27, the 29th October, 1798.

22. English Translations of Persian letters received from the 7th January to the 31st December, 1802, at Fort William. Letter no. 50.

Inshae Madhoram — A Persian Source of Mughal-Maratha Conflict (1690-1700)

BY

P. SETU MADHAVA RAO

The Persian work *Inshae Madhoram* which was compiled in 1120 a.H. (1709 A.D.) is a collection of letters and reports drafted in flowery and ornamental language by Madhoram on behalf of the Mughal General Lutfullah Khan, Prince Jahandar Shah, Kokaltash Khan and a few others. There are about fifty letters addressed by Madhoram himself to his relatives and friends in this compilation of about two hundred and eighty six letters. The aim of Madhoram, in collecting these letters drafted by himself has been, as he himself says, to preserve for the guidance of future *Munshis*, that is writers and clerks, models of correspondence. Although the aim of Madhoram was a modest one, nevertheless a number of his letters are of profound interest to the students of History. The work was printed thrice (Litho Lucknow, 1844, 1864 and 1879).

I have before me a manuscript copy of *Inshāe Madhoram*. I could obtain it from the National Library, Calcutta through the kind efforts of Shri Marshall, of the Library Department of the University of Bombay. This copy was prepared sometime before 1840 A.D. by one Karimullah, son of Muhibullah, an employee of Bajirao, the last Peshwa then residing at Bithor. It was copied from an earlier copy of the Manuscript prepared in 1804 A.D.

There are only brief references of Madhoram about himself in the work. After acquiring knowledge and achieving accomplishment in various fields such as writing and study of poetry, he sought and obtained service under Lutfullah Khan, the son of Shah Jahan's Wazir Sadullah Khan. It cannot be ascertained precisely when Madhoram entered the service of Lutfullah Khan. But judging from the letters which start from at least 1689 A.D. we may be sure that Madhoram was in the service of Lutfullah Khan from some time prior to 1689 till the latter's death, in 1702 or

1704 A.D. During this period Madhoram came in contact with Prince Muizuddin Jahandar Shah, the grandson of Aurangzeb and son of Prince Muazzam. Prince Muizuddin was engaged in the siege of Panhalgarh in Maharashtra from October 1692 to March 1694. One report of Muizuddin to Aurangzeb about a battle with the Marathas during the siege was drafted by Madhoram and is to be found in this collection. After the death of Lutfullah, Madhoram seems to have been employed as a collector of *Jazia*, and *Fauzdar* in the District of Aurangabad. In his letters there are references to places such as Ambad, Rajpur, and Anur or Antur which he indicates as being in the Aurangabad region. Madhoram refers to Mughal Ali, the custodian of Aurangabad, who helped him to restore order in the District. We know that Mughal Ali was a Turani officer deputed by Aurangzeb to Aurangabad at the end of 1704 A.D.

Madhoram must have continued to serve in the Aurangabad region till the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. He then came in contact with Kokaltash Khan, a trusted officer of Prince Muizuddin Jahandar Shah and was appointed as *Mir Munshi* or chief writer to that Prince. He must have also been an assistant to Kokaltash Khan.

Following the death of the Emperor, Bahadur Shah, (1707-1711) war broke out among his sons until Muizuddin Jahandar Shah succeeded in becoming Emperor. He had hardly reigned for a year before he was displaced by his nephew Farrukhsiyar in 1713.

Madhoram refers to the loss of his personal goods in this strife. With some difficulty he succeeded in saving the letters drafted by him. He must have started compiling them in 1709 A.D. as the chronogram 1120 A.H. suggests. As there are references in this work to the wars among the sons of Bahadur Shah in 1711, the work of compilation must have continued for some time.

We do not know how long Madhoram lived nor do we know whether he was employed after the death of Jahandar Shah in 1713.

Madhoram has divided his work into two parts. In the first part he has included orders, reports and letters drafted on behalf of Lutfullah Khan, and Nawab Kokaltash Khan. In the second part he has included his own letters to his relatives and friends.

About Lutfullah Khan there are a number of references in the *Masire Alamgiri* of Saqi Mustad Khan. Lutfullah Khan served in the establishment of Aurangzeb from 1669 A.D. in various posts such as *Darogah* of *Dakchauki* that is postal services, *Darogah* of *Arzi Mukarrar* (presentation of petitions), *Darogah* of *Filkhana* (elephant stables), Deputy Governor of Lahore, *Darogah* of *Ghusalkhana* (superintendent of Emperor's retiring chamber), News Reader and other offices.

Lutfullah was present at the siege of Golconda (1687). In 1689 he accompanied Ruhulla Khan, the *Bakshi* in his campaign against the fort of Raichur. In May 1690 Santaji, the Maratha General, defeated and captured Rustam Khan *alias* Sharza Khan, the Mughal General near Satara.

Lutfullah was appointed as *Thanedar* of Khatav in the District of Satara where he served for nearly one year. He returned to the imperial camp. In October 1692, he was appointed as *Thanedar* of Akbiz (Sholapur District). In December 1692, he was ordered to join Prince Muizuddin, then engaged in the siege of Panhala, where he continued till March, 1694.

In 1696 A.D. Lutfullah appears to have been deputed from the imperial camp against Santaji, who had defeated the Mughals at Dodderi. We next find him serving with Shahabuddin *alias* Gaziuddin Firuz Jung. He captured the fort of Devgarh near Nagpur in June 1699 A.D. He was appointed the Governor of Bijapur in November 1699 from where he was transferred to Aurangabad in August, 1701. In August 1702 he was transferred as Deputy Governor of Berar. But as the *Masire Alamgiri* says, he died before reaching that place, his death must be presumed to have taken place in 1702.

There is however a letter in this collection congratulating Gaziuddin Firuz Jung on his defeat of Nemaji Shinde in Malwa and obtaining the title of *Sipah Salar*. Gaziuddin's wife was the sister of Lutfullah Khan. Gaziuddin was given the title of *Sipah Salar* in March 1704 by the Emperor Aurangzeb. If this letter drafted by Madhoram is from Lutfullah then he must have died sometime after 1704. It is possible that although appointed as Deputy Governor of Berar, Lutfullah might not have taken charge of the post on account of illness or some other reason. Ali Murad Kokaltash Khan, the next patron of Madhoram, was the foster

brother of Muizuddin Jahandar Shah and rose to the position of the first *Bakshi* under the title of Khanjahan.

Most of the letters drafted by Madhoram, although written in flowery and ornate style, so popular in the 18th century, deal with subjects no longer interesting to students of History. Some of the subjects may be referred to here: Letters of felicitation on birthdays, birth of children, weighing in ceremonies, on recovery from illness, on the gift of articles such as mangoes, *Hukka* or the smoking pipe, shield and other articles, letters of condolence on the death of some person, letters to physicians for medicine, letters of congratulation on promotions and such other subjects.

The letters are not chronologically arranged. Nor were they meant to be so. However there are about fifty letters in the *Inshae Madhoram* which include among others the following subjects:—

- (1) Mughal campaign against Raichur in 1689.
- (2) Lutfullah Khan's fight with the Maratha Generals Santaji, Dhanaji and others.
- (3) The Mughal siege of Panhala—1692-94.
- (4) The conquest of the Gond capital of Devgarh near Nagpur, 1699.
- (5) Movements of Mughal Generals.

The letters are not dated. The dates have to be fixed from references to other corroborative evidence. The letters written in flowery style give a highly exaggerated account of Mughal victories. Yet they are important. For the Mughal-Maratha struggle from 1680 to 1707, there are very few Marathi sources. Hundreds of skirmishes must have taken place between the Mughals and the Marathas during this period. If it is possible to record as many of them as possible through sources such as *Inshae Madhoram* or other Persian sources like Khafi Khan, Ishwardas Nagar, Saqi Mustad Khan, Bhimsen Saxena, a clearer picture of the struggle would be available. I have translated a few of the letters from this collection. I have fixed dates of these letters tentatively. If better evidence is available they can be modified subsequently. I have also avoided translating the flowery and decorative portion of the narrative, confining myself to a description of the incidents.

(1)

This is a report from Lutfullah Khan to Aurangzeb on the battle of Piliv in Sholapur District, fifteen miles south of the Mughal military post of Akluj. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has fixed the date of this battle as 1690 A.D. as the letter mentions Santaji and Dhanaji, the Maratha Generals, as being present. In 1692 when Lutfullah Khan was posted at Akluj, Santaji and Dhanaji were at Jinji in the South.

Translation

Since Your Majesty had ordered me that Santaji, Dhanaji, Daphle, Mane and More with their armies had spread in the District of Mhaswad, I should hasten to put them down. Immediately after the receipt of orders I marched to my destination and reached the village of Piliv (twelve miles east of Mhaswad and fifteen miles south of Akluj). The next day I marched away from that place. The enemy which consisted of eight thousand horse and innumerable infantry and was spread in the hills and ravines appeared on the way. They surrounded our army. I arranged my army. I placed the baggage in the centre and engaged the enemy. The fighting became fierce. Daphle, (the Maratha General) had more than two thousand Karnataki musketeers with him. The volleys of guns and rockets fired gave one the impression of the last day of judgment. On whatever side the enemy attacked our warriors beat them back bravely. The fighting lasted from morning to evening. At the end, Santaji and Dhanaji attacked us with a select body of five thousand horse. They advanced boldly and engaged us. Our warriors stood their ground. Many of the enemy were killed and many were wounded. In short the enemy was defeated. A great victory was won by us. About one thousand of the enemy soldiers were killed and many were wounded. About two hundred from our ranks died and about three hundred were wounded. The news will be duly reported to you by the news reporters.

(2) Page 4

Lutfullah Khan to Aurangzeb. In May, 1690, Lutfullah was appointed as *Thanedar* of Khatav (twenty five miles east of

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(Satara). No sooner had he arrived at Khatav than he was set upon by Santaji. Sir Jadunath has placed the battle of Khatav in 1690. The date, morning of seventh, July, 1690 has been fixed by him with reference to the 9th of Shawwal occurring in the letter.

Translation

Humble obedience to Your Majesty. On receipt of orders from you to put down the Marathas and set up *Thanas* (outposts) I traversed fifteen marches and on the ninth of Shawwal I camped in the plain of Khatav. The spies brought to me the news that Santaji had an army of ten to twelve thousand horse and innumerable infantry with him and was camping at the foot of the fort of Satara. It was raining incessantly. Our troops had no time to settle down and prepare *Morchas* (defences). Santaji seized this opportunity and came down with his forces in the last hours of the night. The shouts and cries of the enemy awakened our troops. Our troops started arming themselves and saddling the horse. At this juncture my son, Muhammad Khalil, undaunted by the bold advance of the enemy, collected musketeers from among his personal guards, as also foot soldiers from his personal servants and faced the enemy. It was raining heavily. My son, by his bold attacks, pushed the enemy troops swarming through the lanes and bazars of our camp.

Following this, Mamur Khan, Khudavand Khan and other officers got ready and joined my son. They mounted their horses and in the face of the enemy stood their ground. The fighting became fierce. On hearing of this I, with my followers, joined my troops. I permitted my son, Mamurkhan and others to advance. The enemy with a large army fell on our troops. The fighting was intense. Our troops fought gallantly. After the fighting had lasted for one *Pahar*, the enemy retired. Our troops pursued them to the foot of the fort of Wardhangad. The enemy took refuge in the fort. Their followers dispersed in the neighbouring hills and ravines. Our troops then returned to the camp. About five hundred of the Marathas were killed. A number of the enemy were wounded. About one hundred were captured. They were put to death. Three hundred mares, kettle drums, standards, four hundred spears and guns was the booty we captured. From our troops sixty seven were killed and one hundred wounded.

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(3) Page 10

To Prince Azzam

In obedience to your orders that I march from Mhaswad and join you with my contingents, I have arrived at Mahman Garh. I hope to see Your Highness during this week.

(4) Page 10

To Prince Bedar Bakht

I am in receipt of Your Highness's orders. I have been asked to march from Khatav with my contingents and join you urgently. I am to accompany you in putting down the Marathas. Further, I am not to leave you unless permitted to do so.

As soon as I received your orders, I marched from Khatav the same day. I am camping at the foot of the fort of Satara. I am awaiting the arrival of your army. I will march to wherever you order me to go.

(5) Page 13

To Firoz Jung

I have received orders to the effect that I should hurry to join you, and make efforts to capture or kill Santaji who is operating in those regions. I have accordingly left Indapur and am on my way. I may be informed if there is any news of fresh activity of Santaji.

(6) Page 21

To Miya Yar Ali Beg, June, 1700 A.D.

I have received the news that the fort of Parli has been captured. Impressed by the might of our arms, the garrison begged for security of life and quitted the fort. Thank God that the might of our arms dispirited the garrison. The garrison must have been greatly frightened by our demonstration or else they would not have quitted the fort. My congratulations on this victory.

(7) Page 22

The Mughals laid siege to Panhala in October 1692. The siege ended unsuccessfully in March 1694, when Prince Muizuddin who was conducting the siege returned to the imperial camp. Lutfullah Khan had been appointed guardian to the young Prince. This letter is addressed to Khem Savant of Sawantwadi not to assist the Maratha garrison in the fort of Panhala.

To Khem Savant 1693 A.D. From the news reports it has come to our knowledge that your followers are in league with the garrison and that they are planning to attack our *Morchal* (defences) in front of the fort of Panhala. It has been ordered to instruct you to restrain your followers from this evil design. Act accordingly, and send a report.

(8) Page 22

To Izzat Khan, Governor of the fort of Parenda

Thank God Almighty. Our troops pursued the Marathas night and day. They came up with the enemy at last. Our army fought bravely. The enemy was strong in numbers but he could not make a stand. He lost a number of men in killed and wounded. The enemy forces then fled. You might have heard of this engagement from the news-reporters. Iftikhan Khan is leaving tomorrow to see the emperor. On account of his quick movements he had to deposit his equipment in the fort of Parenda. Kindly sent it here immediately.

(9) Page 24

To Fazail Khan, about 1690-91

I am receipt of your letter. You have written as follows. "Owing to his quarrel with Santaji, Dhanaji will not be in a position to go to Jinji. He should be pursued to the boundaries of Karnatac. If he takes refuge in a fort, you should camp at the foot of the fort and devastate the surrounding countryside". I received your letter containing the above message on the twenty first of Rabilawal. Dhanaji will not be able to go to Jinji. Our

troops arrived at one march from Chikodi. The enemy (Dhanaji) did not make a stand. He fled and entered the fort of Wardhiangarh. As ordered by the Emperor I have established my camp at the foot of the fort. I am now engaged in devastating the countryside. God willing, I will scorch the entire region. I will exert to my utmost in evicting the enemy (Dhanaji) from the stronghold. I will finish the enemy.

(10) Page 25

To Fazail Khan

I had sent you letter in which I had informed you that Dhanaji was in the neighbourhood of Chikodi and that I was proceeding towards Bhum and Parenda. It appears from your letter received by me on the fifth of Jamadi Lawal, that the emperor has asked "when you have been appointed to put down Dhanaji why are you proceeding towards Bhum and Parenda?"

Sir, when I took leave of His Majesty at Anandapur, I had been entrusted with the task of keeping a watch over the four Subas and also fighting with Dhanaji. I felt that it was an important task to oust the Maratha from the Parenda region. I sent Rizman Khan to that area. I myself camped at Anandapur. I was determined not to allow the Marathas to enter the imperial territory. At present the Marathas are raising disturbances in the Chikodi region. I will march against them and put them down. If they flee, I will pursue them. I will not allow them to stay anywhere.

It was not my intention to proceed towards Bhum and Parenda.

(11) Page 43

To Mukhtar Khan

I took leave of you. I was on my march to pursue and put down the Marathas. After traversing seven stages I reached the river Narmada (Nira?) on the ninth of the month of Shawwal. Nila, Daphile, Mane and other Maratha chiefs were moving in

this region with an army of fifteen to twenty thousand men. Frightened by our army they began to flee. In the course of their flight they went towards Rahimatpur situated near the Krishna river. I pursued them. I attacked them just when they were crossing the river. The Marathas then turned back and began to shower bullets and rockets on us. The Maratha chief Daffe had more than two thousand Karnataki *Barqandazes* (musketeers) with him. They boldly advanced against us. So heavy was their gunfire that it appeared as if the Day of Judgment had arrived. My officers, Abdul Qadar, Khudawand Khan, Achal-singh Chawhan, Captain of the artillery Aga Ashoorbeg, Najmuddin Khan and others from the imperial troops held their ground. They performed feats of bravery. They killed a number of men from the enemy. The Marathas were numerically strong. Still they fled. Many were drowned while crossing the river. The Marathas lost about five hundred persons in killed. About one hundred were captured. They were put to death. His Majesty must have heard of this battle from the news reporters. I will write separately about the recognition of the services of my colleagues.

(12) Page 49

To the Custodian of Aurangabad

The following news has been received. Khan Muhammad, a resident of Karnapura in Aurangabad is working under the instigation of undesirable persons. He has been purchasing horses in Aurangabad and sending them to the Maratha territory. His Majesty has ordered that Khan Muhammad should be paraded in the streets and handed over to the custody of the Commandant of the fort of Daulatabad. A receipt to this effect be obtained from the Commandant. You should always be alert as such activities are undesirable.

(13) Page 50

To Mampur Khan

I have received your letters. You write to say that the Marathas have gathered near the fort of Satara and that they are

harbouring evil designs. You have requested that a force be despatched to help you. Our trustworthy spies had already brought the information of the gathering of the Marathas. I felt that if I were to send a force to your help, it might not be sufficient for the purpose of putting down the enemy. It might make our task difficult later. I therefore marched with my army on the same day and traversed fifteen Kos (thirty miles). You should stand your ground firmly and exert to defend yourself against the enemy. Be sure that our army is marching to your aid without taking any rest.

(14) Page 60

Congratulations to Firoz Jung. 1704 A.D.

Nemaji Sindhia had with his army raised commotion in Malwa. The pursuit of Nemaji has been successful. The Marathas were put down by the victorious army (Mughals). They scattered in various directions. Your pursuit of the Marathas has been rapid. The Marathas had to return without attaining their purpose. These are noteworthy exploits. Following these victories His Majesty has bestowed upon you the title of *Sipah Salar*. Many notable generals with eminent service to their credit have pined for such recognition. My Congratulations.

(15) Page 66

To Prince Muizuddin. 1692 A.D.

I have received a *farman* from His Majesty appointing me as your guardian. You are engaged in the siege of Panhala. I have been asked to go over to you and join your army. I am very happy and rendered thanks to God Almighty. On the day of the receipt of the orders, I marched from Akluj, and reached the plains of the village Bahawali (Bhawli). I am happy that my long cherished desire has been fulfilled. God Willing, I will join you soon.

(16) Page 68

To Mir Rahmatullah Khan. 1693 A.D.

It has been learnt from the spies that the Marathas are coming from the direction of Devgarh which dominates the approaches to

the fort of Panhala and that they have evil designs against our *Morchal* (defences). Under orders (of the Prince) you are hereby instructed to be alert and watchful of the tricks of the enemy. You should aim at checking their designs. You should never relax your vigilance. Your request for promotion was received. It has been ordered that this is improper at this juncture when the campaign is in progress. God willing, after the victory is won, your desire will be fulfilled.

(17) Page 68

To Kishen Singh (Rajah of Chanda) 1693 A.D.

It has been learnt through messengers that the Marathas are carrying provision to the garrison in the fort from the left side of your *Morchal* (defences). I have been ordered (by the Prince) to inform you that this is entirely against all canons of watchfulness and security. Immediately on receipt of these orders, establish the *chowkis* and *thanas* (defence posts) on the route of the Marathas. Capture a few of them and hang them to the trees so that the other evil doers (Marathas) learn a lesson. You have applied for leave to go to your home. It has been ordered that the Emperor's service demands precedence over everything at this juncture. Granting of leave would be like poison to you at this time. You should exercise tact and not ask for leave. On the other hand you should exert yourself in the service of His Majesty.

(18) Page 70

To Fazail Khan. Friday Nine. Rabiussani, 8 December 1692 or End of November 1693

This is to inform you that in the last hours of the night of Friday, ninth of Rabiussani, Himmat Rao Maratha arrived with a big contingent of horse and infantry and ten thousand persons who were carrying provisions on the heads from the direction of Devgarh. He came towards the Gateway of the fort of Panhala. Itmaji, the chief who is an old servant, was in charge of the *Morchal* (defences) at that place. Mir Ajal with his Mughals was posted both in front and the rear of these defences. With the arrival of Himmat Rao, these officers guarding these posts became alert and

engaged the enemy. In the darkness of the night the contestants started firing at each other. The battle became fiercer and hand to hand fighting started. As luck would have it, an arrow struck the enemy leader (Himmat Rao) on the head and killed him. The enemy troops became dispirited. A commotion rose among them. Our troops became aware of this. They lighted torches, and coming out of their defences (*Morchal*) started firing with guns and *Zamboorak* (light cannon) at the enemy. A number of them were wounded. Our troops appropriated the provisions which the enemy was carrying. This victory has been won by the Emperor's good fortune. This report may be submitted to His Majesty. Itmaji may be rewarded with an increase in his *Mansab* and an appropriate title. His colleagues too may be given appropriate rewards.

(19) Page 75

To Janbaz Khan. 1696 A.D.

The wretch has destroyed the armies of Qasim Khan, Khanzad Khan and Safshikan Khan. He has subjected them to the utmost danger. I have been appointed to go to their relief.

(20) Page 76

To Amanat Khan

It has been brought to the notice of His Majesty by the messengers that the Marathas have gathered in great numbers, in the vicinity of Asadnagar (Akluj) and that they are creating disturbances in the region. You have been ordered to put them down. His Majesty's instructions are as follows. Since the force under you is small, do not be in a hurry to engage the enemy. Doola Khan, the *Thanedar* of Mhaswad has been ordered to join you. You should work together and exert yourself to evict the Marathas from that region.

(21) Page 80

To the Wazir, Asad Khan

I am in receipt of His Majesty's orders wherein I have been asked to devastate the territory of the Marathas, capture the fort

J. 36

of Basantgarh and otherwise reduce the Marathas to great straits. Immediately after the orders were received, I marched the same day. Although I had a small force and the enemy was numerous, I marched three stages and arrived on the banks of the River Krishna. The fort of Basantgarh is on the other side of the river. The river was in flood and boats were hardly available. The Marathas had set up defences on the other side of the river. They had mounted cannon. They also had posted Karnataki musketeers. They had closed this route (crossing the river) to the Mughal army.

I, therefore, camped for ten days. During this period I reached for a ford where one could cross over to the other side. At this time Toku (Tuko or Tukoji ?) the *Deshmukh* of Khatav brought the information that there was a ford at Shamsherpur where the river could be crossed. Immediately on receipt of this news I marched with my force and reached that place before the break of dawn. Our advance guards, undaunted by the enemy, pushed their horses in the river, without waiting for my permission. They reached the other bank. Men of the artillery and other forces of the advance guard followed them. They swam across the river. The Marathas became aware of our crossing the river. They fled and sought refuge at the base of the fort. Our troops pursued them and set fire to habitations round the fort. They then returned to the bank of the river. God willing, tomorrow, when the entire army crosses the river, operations to carry out the siege of the fort and setting up *Thanas* will be devised and reported to you. I hope his letter will be placed before His Majesty.

(22) Page 85

To Bakshi Bahramand Khan March 1689 or October 1699

I received his Majesty's orders to accompany Ruhulla Khan in the campaign of subjugating the districts of Konkan. We marched together. Thank God, the region was thoroughly devastated. Ramchand (Ramchandra Pant Amatya) was the Maratha officer of that region. He arrived with a large army and barred our way. He took advantage of the extremely thick forests. Relying on his large infantry he engaged us in fight. With great bravery he started firing on us. A severe battle took place. Thousands of

shots were fired from both the contesting forces. Many from the enemy were wounded. After great efforts and exertion we forced the difficult path. Undaunted by deep ravines and difficult paths our warriors crossed the forest and attacked the enemy. On this the enemy became frightened. They fled in confusion. Ramchand (Ramchandra Pant Amatya) fled with the remnant of his troops. By Grace of God and the good fortune of His Majesty, our army easily crossed the region full of dense forests and big and deep streams. We are now planning to devastate this territory.

(23) Page 85

To Mir Khan, Darogah of the Khawas

The custodians of the fort of Wardhangad and a part of their force hiding in the hills and valleys nearby became aware of the might of our army. The roads had been closed. Owing to rains the roads were full of mud and thus impassable. The garrison felt that they could not get provisions. They therefore, begged for security of their lives. They quitted the fort in the darkness of the night. The fort with all its cannon fell into our hands. I am sending the keys of the fort. For the present, my son Muhammad Khalil has taken charge of the fort. He will hold charge until His Majesty appoints a custodian for the fort.

(24) Page 87

To Rajah Ramnath 1693

The news that you have moved out with speed has greatly pleased His Highness (Prince Muizuddin). Now that the siege of Panhala is in progress, you should reach your appointed place as soon as possible.

(25)

To Rajah Kishen Singh (of Chanda) 1693

You had been given leave on grounds of the settlement of your affairs at home. The leave is over. You have not returned

yet: His Highness (Prince Muizuddin) has ordered that fighting with the Marathas is in progress. You should arrive at your appointed place with a strong and equipped force as early as possible. Consider this as taking precedence over everything else. Otherwise you will be subjected to His Majesty's anger. You should carry out the orders.

(26)

This report is not from Lutfullah Khan. 1693

It is the report of a skirmish with the Marathas when Prince Muizuddin was engaged in the siege of Panhala from October 1692 to March 1694. Since Lutfullah Khan was acting as the guardian of the Prince during this siege it is possible that the Prince engaged Madhoram to draft his particular report. Sir Jadunath on the basis of the *Akhbarat* describes a battle between the Mughals and the Marathas in front of Panhala between twentieth October 1693 and the following days. (*Life of Aurangzeb*, Volume V). He identifies this battle with the one described in the report of Madhoram. But going through the description of the battle, it appears probable that the engagements described in the *Akhbarat* of 27 October 1693 and the one recorded in Madhoram's report are different. The report is a highly exaggerated one. It speaks of the death of Parshuram Pant by a bullet wound in this battle. This is absurd. Parshuram did not die in this battle.

(93)

Report from Prince Muizuddin Jahandar Shah to Aurangzeb. 1693

During this period when I am engaged in the siege of Panhala, the garrison was reduced to great straits due to shortage of equipment and scarcity of grain in the fort. The garrison begged for pardon, safety of lives and some monetary consideration in return for evacuating the fort. They could not get these terms as it was against the wishes of Your Majesty.

At this juncture two chiefs Ramchandra (Ramchandra Pant Amatya) and Parshuram (Parshuram Pant Pratinidhi) came with a huge army of eighty thousand horse and innumerable infantry.

Their aim was to help the garrison and throw provisions in the fort. Their army was equipped with guns, *rehkalas* (light cannon), rockets, artillery and other weapons. They boldly marched in our direction. They crossed the river Krishna. Some used boats, while the others swam across the river. They advanced intending to give battle.

On hearing of this I arranged my army as follows. Sarmast Khan, Afzal Khan, Sher Andaz Khan, Mir Muhammad Khan and other Mughals were posted as advanced scouts. The artillery was placed under the *Daroga* Safshikan Khan. I appointed Marhamat Khan to command the (*iltamash*) advance wing. Lutfkhan with a strong force was placed immediately next to him (*Haraval*). On the right wing of the army (*Maimanat*) I posted Kishen Singh, the Rajah of Chanda with his troops assisted by a few of our officers. On the left wing I posted Rajah Satrasal and some Deccani Amirs. I myself, accompanied by my son Azzuddin, troops from the personal bodyguard and officers such as Hasan Khan, and Abdul Qadir Khan took my stand in the centre. Our army then moved and took its stand in the plain selected for battle. The battle began with an exchange of fire. Slowly it gained momentum. Fighting became more intense. Cannon started firing. This fighting would have daunted even seasoned warriors. But our warriors fought bravely.

At this time a gunshot struck Parshuram on the head and killed him. He was the leader of the Maratha army and equal in rank to Ramchandra (*Pant Amatya*). At this the enemy lost heart. Our troops then advanced and fell upon the enemy. After fierce fighting the Marathas fled. Many were drowned while crossing the river. Many from the enemy infantry were killed.

By the grace of God, a great victory has been obtained by us. The entire artillery of the enemy, two thousand spears, an equal number of guns, a number of mares and all the other equipment was captured by us. The guns, light cannon and big guns have been credited to the Government armoury.

The above letters deal with the struggle against the Marathas. The Mughals captured Devgarh, the capital of the Gond ruler Bakht Buland in 1699. There are four letters of Lutfullah Khan on this subject.

Says Sir Jadunath (*Life of Aurangzeb*, Volume V, 1924 edition, page 409).

"Firozjung was ordered to move from Berar and punish the rebel. A detachment from his army under his brother Hamid Khan Bahadur defeated Bakht Buland and captured Devgarh (June 1699)" Lutfullah however claims credit for the capture of Devgarh which according to him fell to the Mughals on the first of Zilhaz, that is about the twenty first of May 1699. Here is a gist of Lutfullah's letters as drafted by Madhoram.

(1) Page 57

To Firoz Jung. 1699 A.D.

I took leave from you and with a view to put down Bakht Palid (derisive epithet for Bakht Buland) I marched to capture the fort of Devgarh. I camped in the plain of Paunan. Pitmar Sing, the Rajah of Chanda and the *Fauzdars* of the neighbouring districts joined us with their troops. On the tenth of Shawwal we marched and after seven stages we came to the foot of the fort (Devgarh). The enemy had put the fort in a state of defence. The enemy troops were spread in great numbers in the hills and valleys. I moved with great caution. I prohibited my troops from any fool-hardy adventure. After five or six days the enemy became confident that we would not move. Our warriors then boldly advanced and fell upon them. They reached the waist of the hill fort. A number of the enemy were killed. The rest fled in a disorderly condition to the foot of the fort. Our troops pursued them. The garrison in the fort raised the alarm. Our troops then retired with much booty. Guns captured have been credited to the Government armoury. Messengers have brought the news that Kamnakht (Bakht Buland)) has left the fort and is wandering in the dense forests. The fort is on the top of a hill. It is not easy to lay mines or construct covered lanes. I am awaiting further orders on the course of action to be taken.

(2) Page 58

To Mirza Nasir Beg

As it is not easy to lay mines or construct covered lanes to the fort of Devgarh I have reported to His Majesty. At present

I have established outposts in three directions and stopped provisions from getting into the fort. My troops are devastating the countryside. It is said that there is abundance of grain in the fort. If a strong force with artillery is sent to assist us the garrison can be reduced to straits and the fort captured. This may be brought to the notice of His Majesty.

(3) Page 61

To Firoz Jung

Your letter promising the despatch of troops to my assistance has reached me. It gave me great satisfaction. Rajah Uttam Ram Goud, under orders of His Majesty arrived with the troops in time. The enemy, relying on his numbers and difficulties of the terrain was full of pride. There was fighting every day. I had established posts, stopped provision from getting into the fort and reduced the garrison to great straits. A few days passed in this manner. As it was a hilly terrain, the siege dragged on without any appreciable result. At last our officers held consultations and decided on a frontal assault on the fort. On the first of Zilhaj our troops emerged out of their camps and advanced. There was heavy firing from the enemy. But our troops bore it bravely. They reached the foot of the fort. They attached ladders to the fort walls and scaled the walls. A heavy slaughter of the enemy troops took place. The fort was captured. The keys of the fort and a communication will be sent to you. I hope it will be sent to His Majesty. Our veterans for all their exploits deserve a rise in their status.

(4) Page 64

To Aurangzeb

After the arrival of Rajah Uttam Ram Goud with select troops and artillery a regular siege of the fort began. The garrison used to fire at us everyday. As the siege dragged on for a few days our troops decided upon a direct assault. They did not await the arrival of troops from Firozjung. The assault was launched on the first of Zilhaj. Our troops scaled the walls and bastions by means of ladders and wrought heavy slaughter among the enemy. The fort was captured.

To Aurangzeb

My humble thanks. Following the capture of Devgarh I have been honoured by an increase in my rank by five hundred and increase in horse by three hundred.

In the face of these letters of Lutfullah Khan it is difficult to accept the statement of Sir Jadunath that the fort was captured in June 1699 by Hamid Khan, the brother of Firoz Jung.

The few selected letters translated above will show that the work *Inshae Madhoram*, in spite of all its flowery language and exaggerated accounts, is an important source material for the Mughal-Maratha struggle during the period from 1690 to 1700 A.D. The rest of the letters will prove useful to students of life and manners in the eighteenth century India.

Travancore's Dispute with the Carnatic over Kalakkad

BY

K. RAJAYYAN

Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati

A fertile tract watered by running streams, Kalakkad lies in the district of Tinnevely on the eastern side of the Western Ghats. For long in the course of the eighteenth century it was the bone of contention between Travancore and the Carnatic. The dispute over this territory accounted for a series of conflicts along the borders and some of the major military campaigns of Travancore. In 1766 a settlement was effected, but much against the interests of Travancore.

Originally a part of the kingdom of Madurai, Kalakkad passed under the sway of Travancore by 1752. Taking advantage of the war between Mohammad Ali and Chanda Sahib (1744-1752), Rajah Martanda Varma of Travancore acquired possession of the territory, being ceded by Miana, the rebel Governor of Madurai. The Poligars of Tinnevely, at times in alliance with Travancore, too occupied the Nawab's villages. Yet the Nawab, deterred by his hostilities with Chanda Sahib and the French and subsequently with Mysore, took no immediate notice of the encroachments on the southern parts of the Carnatic.

However in March 1755 when the affairs at Trichinopoly improved, Mohammad Ali sent an expedition to Tinnevely for the recovery of the lost territories. Commanded by Maphuz Khan and Alexander Heron, the combined forces of the Carnatic and the English Company attacked the strongholds of the poligars, as a first step in the assertion of the Nawab's sovereignty. Determined to spread terror, the forces stormed the fort of Nattakotai, slew the whole garrison as well as the fleeing population. Taken

1. Military Country Correspondence, Madras, 21 June 1757, Vol. 5, pp. 127-128.

by alarm, Raja Martanda Varma, with no loss of time, withdrew his forces from Kaḷakkad. The Nawab, in consequence, regained possession of this territory.¹

However, immediately after the return of the Nawab's forces to Trichinopoly, the Rajah of Travancore re-occupied the territory.² In 1756 when the Poligars of Tinnevely and Maphuz Khan organised a rebellion against the Nawab, Travancore annexed Valliyūr, a territory adjoining Kaḷakkad.³ The French invasion of Trichinopoly and Hyder Ali's incursion into Madurai prevented the Nawab from taking any immediate action against Travancore.

In July 1759 the combined forces of the Nawab and the English Company commenced a second campaign against the rebellious chiefs. Led by the gallant General Khan Sahib (Yusuf Khan), the forces won a series of victories over the Poligars of Tinnevely. But the task of driving out the Travancore forces from the Nawab's territory appeared difficult because of the military strength of the Rajah and his alliance with the Poligars of Tinnevely. In the meantime the Poligar of Wadagarai appeared as the common enemy of the Nawab as well as the Rajah. Not only did he occupy the Nawab's villages, but he made incursions into Travancore through the passes of Shencottai. The Rajah of Travancore now offered his services to Khan Sahib for the suppression of the chief of Wadagarai. Welcoming this opportunity of creating dissensions among the rebel ranks, Khan Sahib held a conference with the Rajah and decided on co-operation. Travancore furnished 12,000 troops for the reduction of Wadagarai to submission.

In September, 1759 the combined forces marched on Wadagarai. Alarmed at the approach of a formidable army, the Poligar fled to Nelcatansevval, the territory of his ally, Puli Tēvar. Taken by complete surprise, Puli Tēvar made overtures to Travancore. He offered compensation for the losses inflicted upon Travancore by the troops of Wadagarai if the Rajah would withdraw from his alliance with Khan Sahib. The tactful Rajah showed this letter to Khan Sahib and demanded the cession of Kaḷakkad in return for his continued assistance. Pressed by the critical circumstances, Khan

2. *Ibid.*, 8 November, 1755, Vol. 3, p. 80.

3. *Ibid.*, 23 February, 1757, Vol. 5, pp. 25-33.

Sahib agreed to the terms. Travancore thus obtained possession of the coveted territory, but without the approval of the Nawab.⁴

Actively supported by the forces of Travancore, Khan Sahib launched a vigorous campaign against Puli Tēvar on the 6th of November, 1759. The Company's forces from Anjengo and the Marawa troops from Ramnad and Sivaganga too joined the offensive against Nelcatansevval. The combined forces took Easertalva after a fierce battle of three days and on the 22nd of December made an assault on Vasudēvanallūr, one of the strongholds of Puli Tēvar. When the operation was in progress, Puli Tēvar with 3,000 troops from Nelcatansevval fell gallantly upon the invaders, with no regard for the formidable strength of the enemy. In the fierce contest that ensued, Puli Tēvar lost 350 of his men and killed 200 of Khan Sahib's. Despite his heavier loss, he broke the lines of the assailants and drove them out of his territory. Khan Sahib withdrew from the venture while the forces of Travancore retreated to the Ghats in consternation. Nevertheless the gallantry of Puli Tēvar triumphed over the phalanx, far superior in number thrown into action by Khan Sahib and his allies.⁵

The alliance of Khan Sahib was indeed opportunistic. No wonder it broke down with the serious reverse suffered by the allies before Vasudēvanallūr. In an attempt to further his interests,

4. *Ibid.*, 30 November, 1759, Vol. 7, pp. 363-365.

Lord George Pigot, the Governor of Madras supported Khan Sahib's settlement with Travancore on the ground that it brought with it the alliance of Travancore. (Military Country Correspondence, 5 December 1759, Vol. 7, pp. 375-377). But Mohammad Ali refused his approval and asserted that Khan Sahib made the cession in order to enlist the support of the Rajah to the rebellion he contemplated (S.C. Hill, *Yusuf Khan, the Rebel Commandant*, London, 1914, p. 101). But the version of the Nawab is disproved by the hostile policy adopted by Khan Sahib against Travancore subsequently.

5. Military Country Correspondence, Madras, January 1760, Vol. 8, pp. 3-43. It is interesting to note how historical accuracy is watered down in the Trivandrum District Gazetteer when it deals with the cession of Kalakkad. It asserts thus: Yusuf Khan (Khan Sahib) represented to the Nawab of Arcot and the English Company of the advisability of entering into a treaty of alliance with Travancore. The proposal was accepted and Kalakkad was ceded to Travancore. The forces of Travancore, in consequence, helped Yusuf Khan to defeat his enemies and to re-establish his authority. (A. Sreedhara Menon, ed. *Trivandrum District Gazetteer*, Trivandrum, 1962, p. 205).

Dharma Rajah, the successor of Martanda Varma, abandoned the camp of Khan Sahib and made common cause with the rebel chiefs of Tinnevely against the Nawab. After extending the limits of his territory upto Cochin, the Rajah displayed an ambition to acquire more territory on the eastern side of the Ghats. The possession of a considerable territory and command of a large army of 16,000 men trained by De Lannoy gave him the leadership of the rebel powers. This rebel confederacy included Travancore, Sivagiri, Wadagarai and Pāñjalamkurichi.

In October, 1762 the rebel powers occupied Circar-territories in Tinnevely. The situation appeared favourable to the confederacy. Khen Sahib had been engaged in the suppression of the Kalliar tribes and in the settlement of the affairs at Madurai. A rift that developed between Mohammad Ali and Khan Sahib portended a long phase of conflict in the Carnatic. Taking advantage of these factors, Travancore forces, 16,000 strong, assembled at Tōvāḷa, on the south-eastern border of the kingdom. Reinforced by the troops of the Poligars of Pāñjalamkurichi and Pittapuram, the forces of Travancore captured a number of posts and occupied Panaguḍy, Yārwady and Tirucamguḍy in November, 1762. Dharma Rajah personally supervised these operations. Another army of Travancore led by the crown prince gathered in strength at Aryankavu on the Western Ghats and made a junction with the forces of the Poligar of Wadagarai and the chief of Sivagiri. These combined forces numbering about 30,000 captured Shencottai and Puliwara and routed the troops of Khan Sahib, encamped at Wadagarai.⁶

Soon after these aggressions began, Khan Sahib with all his forces which consisted of only 1,000 horse and 6,000 sepoy marched to Tinnevely. He greatly increased his strength by obtaining the assistance of the Marawars and some of the Poligars.⁷ Thereupon, he opened two fronts against the aggressors. After sending one army to the south, he himself advanced to the west. His western campaign proved a brilliant success. He boldly attacked the invading troops, encamped at Wadagarai and dispersed them in a short battle. The forces of Travancore and the Poligars evacuated Shen-

6. Military Country Correspondence, Madras, 4 February, 1763 and 6 February, 1763, Vol. 11, pp. 41-70.

7. *Ibid.*, no date, Vol. 11, p. 135.

cottai and Puliwara and retired to the hills.⁸ After posting two columns on the western border, he with the remaining forces, marched to Kalakkad. Before he could reach to the rescue of the detachment which he had already sent to the south, the Rajah defeated and drove it back.⁹ On the 14th November he pressed upon the columns of Travancore, but the assault failed. Between the 14th November, 1762 and the 22nd January, 1763 he engaged the invading powers in ten bloody actions but all of them proved indecisive.¹⁰ The forces of Travancore held firm and constantly harassed the camp of Khan Sahib. In February he received reinforcements from different quarters in consequence of which he embarked upon another drive against the enemy, leading to victory. Inflicting heavy losses, he obliged the Rajah's troops to evacuate all their posts and to retreat to the walls of Aramboly. The Rajah now wanted to make peace, but he was dissuaded by his allies, the Poligars, from doing so. The state of war continued.¹¹

Unmindful of the consequences, Khan Sahib took a forward step by carrying the war into Travancore. He captured Aramboly, plundered South Travancore, set fire to the villages and temple-chariots, and cut off the noses of the prisoners of war. A series of victories having been won over the forces of Travancore, he advanced as far as Neyyattinkarai. He continued the war with as much ferocity as with a determination to conquer the whole state. The Rajah, unable to check the triumphant invader, made entreaties to the Nawab for protection. Finding them of no avail, he begged for quarters and submitted to the terms dictated by Khan Sahib. On the 21st February 1763 a treaty was signed.¹²

8. *Ibid.*, 14 November 1762, Vol. 10, p. 314.

9. *Ibid.*, 11 November 1762, Vol. 10, p. 299.

10. *Ibid.*, 22 January 1763, Vol. 11, p. 46.

11. *Ibid.*, 4 February, 1763, Vol. 11, pp. 41-43.

12. *Ibid.*, 25 February, 1763 and 18 October, 1764, Vol. 11, p. 147 and Vol. 12, pp. 356-367.

The Trivandrum District Gazetteer makes no mention about this humiliation of Dharma Rajah by Khan Sahib. But it contents itself with a statement that Yusuf Khan invaded Travancore as the Maharajah refused assistance to the rebellion organised by the former (Trivandrum District Gazetteer, p. 205-206). It was fantastic on the part of Khan Sahib to have contemplated an expedition to Travancore when he was caught in the flank by the Nawab's army advancing to Madurai.

By the terms of the settlement, both the chiefs agreed to render mutual assistance against any external aggression upon the territories they held. In an attempt to reconcile the Rajah and to win his definite support to his contemplated rebellion Khan Sahib restored Kaḷakkad to Travancore.¹³ This settlement was clearly directed against the Nawab, but as it was a settlement enforced by the sword, the Rajah felt no sympathy for his enemy. On the other hand, he assured the Nawab of all his support for the suppression of Khan Sahib.¹⁴ The hostile attitude of the Rajah rendered the alliance as of no service to Khan Sahib in his rebellion against the Nawab.

Dharma Rajah, despite his promise, rendered no assistance to Mohammad Ali for the suppression of Khan Sahib's rebellion (1763-64). The crushing defeats which he suffered at the hands of Khan Sahib inflicted such a heavy mortality upon his army that the Rajah found it impossible to carry out his word.¹⁵ Still, in July 1764 the Rajah requested Mohammad Ali to grant him a *sanad* for the districts of Kaḷakkad and Wadagarai and to free him from the obligation of paying tribute. In return, he promised to remain in firm alliance with the Carnatic.¹⁶ The Nawab, however, flatly rejected the terms. He held the Rajah guilty of withholding payment of the tribute and of neglecting to assist the suppression of Khan Sahib's rebellion. He even requested the co-operation of the English for sending an expedition against Travancore. But Lord George Pigot, the Governor of Madras, hesitated, for fear that a rupture with the Rajah would adversely affect the Company's pepper trade with his territory. Nevertheless when the Nawab sent an army to Tinnevely, the Rajah in order to avert a renewal of hostilities with the Carnatic, evacuated Kaḷakkad in October 1764. After the withdrawal of the forces of the Nawab from Tinnevely, the Travancore forces returned to Kaḷakkad. Thereupon, the Nawab's army commanded by Donald Campbell marched

13. Military Country Correspondence, 25 February, 1763, Vol. 11, p. 147.

14. Military Despatches from Madras to England, 30 May, 1763, Vol. 3, pp. 84-85.

15. Military Consultations, Madras, 2 December, 1764, Vol. 21, p. 845.

16. Military Country Correspondence, 21 July, 1764, Vol. 12, p. 367.

The Nawab claimed that he was entitled to receive 40,000 silver *chakrams* and four large elephants as annual tribute from Travancore. (Military Country Correspondence, 18 October, 1764, Vol. 12, pp. 356-362).

a second time and forced the troops of the Rajah to retire to their posts on the Ghats.¹⁷

In December, 1764 Mohammad Ali, pressed by the Madras Council, deputed Major Call for a peaceful settlement of the disputes with Travancore. The deputy held conferences with the Rajah at the latter's capital at Trivandrum and appraised him of the Nawab's claims for tribute and the rights to the possession of all the territories extending up to the crest of the Western Ghats. But the Rajah repudiated the Nawab's claims, and even asserted that he was entitled to the possession of Kalakkad. As the two view-points clashed with each other, no wonder, the negotiations failed. The situation became grave in May 1765 when the Rajah invaded Panagudi and Kalakkad and captured Shencottai—all, in Tinnevely province.¹⁸ Campbell thereupon again marched to the far south and expelled the invaders.¹⁹

Despite his success, Campbell earnestly suggested to the Nawab to seek an amicable settlement with Travancore in the interest of the preservation of peace along the borders.²⁰ The deputies of the Nawab and the Rajah met again in a conference, now at Palayamcottai in December 1765. The Nawab's deputy reiterated the usual claims on Travancore. He demanded the payment of the arrears of tribute for 22 years and the rent for the districts of Kalakkad and Kanyakumari for the period of the Rajah's occupation. The Minister of Travancore who represented the Rajah, on the other hand, desired to have a reduction of the tribute and a re-adjustment of the boundaries. As the Nawab envisaged a big margin for his claims, a compromise formula was accepted on the 13th of December, 1766.

The Nawab recognised the Western Ghats as the general boundary of the Tinnevely province. He ceded Kanyakumari and Shencottai situated on either side of the Ghats to Travancore. The Rajah on his part abandoned all his claims over Kalakkad, paid 700 white Madurai *chakrams* as the price of the pagoda of Kanyakumari and 3,000 white Madurai *chakrams* for Shencottai. He agreed to pay 2 lakhs of Travancore rupees in lieu of the Nawab's

17. Military Despatches to England, 8 August, 1765, Vol. 3, p. 19.

18. Military Country Correspondence, 18 December, 1764 and 10 May, 1765, Vol. 12, p. 417 and Vol. 13, p. 93.

19. *Ibid.*, 20 June, 1765, Vol. 13, p. 169.

20. *Ibid.*, 2 December, 1766, Vol. 13, p. 169.

claims for the arrears of tribute as well as the compensation for his incursions into Kaḷakkad.²¹ Besides, he consented to pay 4,000 Travancore *chakrams* together with an elephant as the annual tribute as it was the practice during the reign of the Nayaks at Madurai.²² Further, the Rajah promised to maintain friendship with the friends of the Nawab and enmity with his enemies and to refuse protection to the Poligars and rebels of the Carnatic. The letters of the Rajah couched in submissive language acknowledged his dependence upon the Carnatic.²³

In making this settlement with Travancore, the Nawab enforced the political rights which he inherited from the Nayaks and the Nevayets. The Rajah of Travancore acquired Shencottai and the undisputed possession of Kanyakumari but accepted the overlordship of the Carnatic and agreed to pay tribute. The settlement recognised a natural boundary for political purposes, providing thereby an effective safeguard to the preservation of peace along the borders. The stipulation made against the granting of shelter to the Poligars by the Rajah was aimed against the rebels of Tinnevely. In addition, the settlement furnished an opportunity to the Company to maintain cordial relations with both the Nawab and the Rajah and to promote its trade in pepper.²⁴

Travancore acquired a large territory on the western coast but it failed in a similar bid for acquisition on the eastern coast. While the political disunity on the west rendered its task easy, a contrary situation on the east thwarted its ambition. The Rajah obtained the cession of Kaḷakkad from the rebel governors of Madurai taking advantage of the unsettled conditions in the Carnatic. He retained possession of it in spite of the repudiation of the cession by the Nawab. However when the Carnatic returned to order and when the Nawab asserted his rights with the powerful military support of his ally, the English, the retreat of Travancore from Kaḷakkad became inevitable.

21. *Ibid.*, 14 December, 1766, Vol. 15, pp. 8-48.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

24. In 1795 the Rajah of Travancore entered into a treaty of perpetual peace and amity with the English. By this treaty the Company stationed a body of its troops for the protection of the State, for which the Rajah paid a subsidy. (R. Sewell, *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* p. 310).

Reviews

CONCEPTS OF BUDDHISM (Second and revised edition), by
Bimala Churn Law, Ph.D., D.Litt., M.A., L.L.B., Hon. D.Litt.,
Published by the Kern Institute, Leiden, 1966—Pp. IV, 142
with Index.

This is a revised edition of the treatise first published in 1937. It is a systematic study of the concepts of Buddhism, based on available sources in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit and Chinese. In his illuminating foreword, Lord Zetland remarks that Mr. Law is the most prominent among the research workers, in post-graduate studies "who, for some years past, have been carrying on work, first undertaken by European scholars of world-wide reputation.... The present volume is a scholarly analysis based upon a careful study of the original texts".

The book contains 13 chapters dealing with profession of faith (*śaraṇa*), the four noble truths, the noble eight-fold path, dependent origination, perfection (*pāramitā*), morality (*sīla*), meditation, individuality and personality, action (*kamma*), amity, caste (*jāti*) norm (*dhmma*) and perfect beatitude (*nibbāṇa*). The main doctrines of Buddhism are widely known. But the more complicated factor is the correct interpretation of the technical terms, in a broader outlook. The credit of having done this goes to Mr. Law. In the literature of Buddhism, two very short but widely known words, *dhmma* and *nibbāṇa*, have lent themselves to controversial interpretations and it is here that the author has done unique service in making a reasonable and correct approach.

Dhmma or Sanskrit *dharma* means the end to be accomplished in conformity with the injunctions of the Vedas. Asoka has used the word to mean 'conscience' or 'duty'. With the Buddha, it meant not merely *rita* and *satya* but righteousness to guide a king in the course of proper administration. The Buddhist *Nikāya* says that "it is the king of kings, as the Blessed One has said". *Dharma* is characterised as *purāṇa* (most ancient) and *śāsvata* or *sanātana* (eternal). There is no sphere of existence of activity without

dhamma. *Nirvāṇa* or *mōksha* is itself a *dhamma* as it is to be achieved through a life of effort. As the author has rightly concluded "Dharma is not only that which was, is or shall be in itself, in its inherent right or in its nature or characteristic form, but that which comes to happen or prevail on account of its inherent force or intrinsic merit or value".

Nibbāna or *nirvāṇa* on the other hand is the *summum bonum* of Buddhism, the ultimate of all that the Buddha taught. In the *Abhidānappadīpikā* nearly a dozen synonyms of *nirvāṇa* are given. It is the direct outcome of the *dhamma* followed in life. The Brahmanist approaches *nirvāṇa* from the point of view of *ātman* (*brahmanirvāṇa*, *saguṇa* or *nirguṇa*) while the Buddhist thinker from the view point of *anātman*. It is the opposite of *samsāra* (cycle of birth) and the progress of the Buddhist aspirant to this goal of *nirvāṇa* "is poetically" described in terms of a noiseless, fearless and steady procession or chariot-march by a straight road and with an unerring aim", reaching the charming romantic place, *Buddha Khēṭṭa* (realm of Buddha) "in which all Buddhas, all disciples and all followers and worshippers, find their place" (p. 128). He who gains the highest fruit of *arhatship*, is said to have seen *nirvāṇa* face to face.

The other aspects of Buddhism like the faith in *Tripīṭaka* and the eight-fold path, the belief in the four kinds of Buddha and the reasons for calling him *Dasabalā* (with ten powers) are also discussed at length.

On the whole, the book serves to enlighten the lay man as well as the scholar with an analysis of all concepts of Buddhism.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

JINNAH AND GANDHI, Their Role in India's Quest for Freedom, by S. K. Majumdar; Published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. Pp. XIX, 310, with Appendices, Index, Errata etc., 1966. Price Rs. 20/-.

The book is the result of a critical and unbiassed study, about the events in the 19th and 20th centuries, which led to the partition-

ing of India in 1947. It is based on the vast body of literature left by the Indian National Congress, the Muslim league, and the reports of other great thinkers of the period, which have been extensively quoted in the body of the book.

The book contains 32 chapters dealing with the entire course of events upto the tragedy of the partition, on account of the imprudence of enforcing the crude Gandhism which led to communal discord. The author begins his narration from the time of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, when, on account of the impact of western education, culture and political contact, a quest for freedom and modernism began in India. This movement created a new class of intelligentsia looking for a forum where they could exchange political ideas imbibed from British sources. Thus came into being the Indian National Congress, which played a vital role in the shaping of the destinies of political India. With the growth of institutions leading personalities cropped up to give the lead to the institutions and in this context Gandhi and Jinnah played the vital role. "Both were pilgrims in the quest for Indian freedom". But, it was impossible for them to work on the same platform since "their ideologies were poles asunder, one being nurtured in the western way of politics and the other deadly opposed to it, with an abhorrence for western civilisation itself". This conflict of ideology ended in a disastrous communal tension resulting in the vivisection of India. The main purpose of the author in portraying their history is to show clearly that Jinnah alone, as some think, was not responsible for the partition but Gandhiji and his blind followers were equally responsible.

The need for a struggle by the Indians arose, when on account of a series of acts of commission and omission by Viceroy's like Lytton and Curzon the noble and liberal sentiments expressed in the Queen's Proclamation were thrown to the winds. With their immense material prosperity, the British developed a sense of racial superiority and felt that they were the chosen people to rule the Indian masses. The Press Act, the discriminatory and preferential tariffs and the measures taken to throw difficulties in the way of the Indian aspirants for the Indian Civil Service directly led to the formation of the Indian National Congress, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Hume in 1885. By 1915, there were such outstanding minds like Gokhale, M. R. Jayakar, T. B. Sapru,

Mrs. Besant, Tilak, Poet Tagore and Malaviya who made a practical approach to problems with a conciliatory attitude. It was at this time that Gandhiji returned to India after having successfully carried out his Passive Resistance Movement in S. Africa. All, including Jinnah, gave him a royal reception at Bombay. But they did not then know that he would aim at leadership through mass-movement and that he would sound the death-knell of western ideas. His ideas of Non-Cooperation, Sarvodaya and Passive Resistance were foreign to India and were, to a large extent, shaped by the works of Ruskin, Tolstoy and Thoreau. If there was then a born leader to correct this approach, it was Gokhale. "A formidable Trio of Gokhale, Gandhiji and Jinnah would have been an ideal Triumvirate for the salvation of India" (page 30). But fate willed otherwise and Gokhale died in February 1915. He prophetically remarked, prior to his death, "This personality (Gandhi) is going to play a great part in the future history of India... But, be careful that India does not trust him on occasions where delicate negotiations have to be carried on with care and caution".

During the first World War Gandhiji became a recruiting sergeant. To him, a votary of *Ahimsa*, shuddering at the word, bloodshed, "wastage of human life could be endured but not wastage of money". (page 42). In 1920 he plunged into Khilafat movement, discarding even Jinnah, thus bringing religious fanaticism into political questions. While the Turks under Kamal Pasha exiled the Khalifa and abolished the Caliphate, Gandhi was clinging to it. None shared his hostility to English language, excessive fondness for khaddar, and dislike of urban life—which cut at the root of progressivism. His ideas published in *Hind Swaraj* are significant. "It is not the British people who are ruling India but it is modern civilization, through its railways, telegraphs and almost every invention which has been claimed to be a triumph of civilization. Bombay, Calcutta and other chief cities are the real plague spots" (Page V). When, in 1920 the Congress surrendered to Gandhiji, at the time of Non-Cooperation Movement, Jinnah left the Congress and joined the Muslim League after denouncing the Congress as paving the way for chaos. Gandhiji's call to the students to come out of schools and colleges invited strong protests from Tagore and Jinnah. Tilak and C. R. Das were sceptical about Gandhiji's programme and in the early stages Jawaharlal Nehru

was also so inclined. But throughout, Jinnah appealed to Gandhiji's good sense, in the name of the unity of India and the concord between the two great religionists.

Just on the eve of the appointment of the Simon Commission, the Nehru Report was drawn up, as a "challenge" to Lord Birkenhead's call to produce an agreed constitution. To facilitate a conciliatory approach, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League were expected to hold the conference at Calcutta on 22nd December 1928. Jinnah produced his 14 Points which made a near approach to Nehru's. But the Congress rejected it and thus deepened the rift. The next ill-fated step was the refusal of the Congress to participate in the Round Table Talks. Jinnah remarked that Gandhiji was "constitutionally incapable of learning and unlearning things and his Himalayan blunders of the past had failed to open his eyes to the realities of the situation" (page 125). Hence the Dandi march, which is looked upon as a colossal failure from the point of view of results. The Lahore session of the Congress took the Independence Pledge on 26th January, 1930 and hence our adherence to that date for the Republic Day. The part that Gandhiji played in the Round Table Conference was not at all to the credit of the Congress. In fact, during 1937-38 Jinnah tried his best to come to personal contact with the Congress and Gandhiji. But, when he found that he was treated with indifference his self-respect was wounded and he became very bitter.

When the Congress chose to accept office and worked in the elections side by side with the League in 1937 and when the League wanted equal partnership, the proposals were rejected. The failure of the Cripps' Mission and the wreck of the Interim Government were due largely to the imprudence of the Congress. During the Second World War Gandhiji took a stand which was, as it were, to make India a partner of the Axis Powers. His "Quit India" move was ill-timed and the penalty was the vivisection of India. Jinnah made capital out of the situation and insisted on separation based on the Two-Nation Theory. The British Government now supported him to make the cleavage marked and thus to gain its ends. At the crucial hour, the part played by Lord Louis Mountbatten was as much significant as the one of appeasement suggested by C. Rajagopalachari. As a result the Attlee Government declared the division of India into two Unions. This Declaration of Inde-

pendence and the horrors of the Bengal and Punjab partitions that followed formed a tale of woe, with tragic reactions in India and Pakistan.

The author concludes, with a fervent prayer, that tolerant India should study the policy of rapprochement with the sister state, on the basis of a federal union so that there may be a glorious future for both. If goodwill among the masses developed and if communalism is avoided, a reunion may be effected, thus making the Federation one of the strongest powers in the world. The author would feel amply rewarded if this book turns the mind of the Hindu and Muslim readers towards introspection and reunion.

The book is well documented and is an original approach to the problem in a dispassionate and appealing manner. It is sure to make a strong and effective impression on the readers though it carries numerous misprints.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

CORPUS OF INDO-GREEK COINS, by A. N. Lahiri, published by Poddar Publications, 34, Raja Santosh Road, Calcutta, 1965, Pp. 287, Plates A—C and I—XXXIV; price Rs. 60·00.

The volume under review is divided into three sections, viz. Introduction (pp. 1-68), Catalogue of Coins (pp. 71-191) and Appendices (pp. 195-275). The first section deals with (i) importance of the coins, (ii) history of their study, (iii) art and technique—artistic merit, metals used and weight standard, fineness, shape and method of striking, (iv) devices, (v) special issues, (vi) language, script, etc., (vii) monograms, and (viii) forgery. The second section represents the catalogue of the coins of 42 rulers. There are five appendices in the third section dealing with the following topics—(1) types, (2) monograms with reference to kings, (3) kings with reference to monograms, (4) titles and epithets, and (5) problem of the attribution of certain coins. The volume concludes with a bibliography and index. The printing including that of the Plates is satisfactory. The number of misprints is not many. 'Something' in line 5 at p. 4 in a quotation should have been 'Sometime'.

The present work is a welcome addition to the literature on the numismatic source of early Indian history. Of the catalogues of Indian coins in the various collections in India and outside, very few come from Indian scholars. Dr. Lahiri's comprehensive study of the coins of the Indo-Bactrian Greeks will rank among the best of such publications. He has collected the data diligently and carefully and his treatment of the subject including the various controversial issues is generally sober. The sections dealing with the monograms and the Plates illustrating them will be exceptionally useful to the future students of the subject.

The author gives us to understand that he is preparing another work entitled *The History of the Indo-Greeks*. This may be the reason why the volume under review, which deals with the coins under the names of the issuers arranged in alphabetical order, does not have any section on their chronology. This will however inconvenience the reader considerably. We therefore suggest that, while revising the book for a future edition, the learned author should at least put within brackets, after the kings' names, the approximate period of their rule, even if a separate section on the chronology of the rulers is avoided.

We recommend the book to the students of early Indian history in general and of Indian numismatics in particular.

D. C. SIRCAR

JASWANT RAO HOLKAR: *THE GOLDEN ROGUE*, by Sudhindra Nath Qanungo. Abhinava Bharati Printers and Publishers, Lucknow, 1965. Pp. 341+IX. Price Rs. 20/-.

This excellent research production is based on a critical examination of all available primary sources in Persian, Marathi and English. The author has also made use of secondary sources in various languages. The work is divided into fifteen chapters and, also contains a full bibliography and an Index. It is primarily a political biography, and was substantially the author's thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of Lucknow in 1965. The book opens with an account of the rise of the House of Holkar and then gives the early career of Jaswant

Rao Holkar, his rise to power and his activities. We get a good account of Jaswant Rao's relations with Daulat Rao Sindhia, of the civil war in Poona, and the Holkar's ascendancy at the Maratha capital. This is followed by a very scholarly description of the break-up of the Maratha Confederacy, and the war with the English. The conflict between Jaswant Rao and the Jat rulers of Bharatpur, including the fall of Deeg and the siege of Bharatpur, have been objectively narrated. The book ends with the last phase of Jaswant Rao's career and his character and place in history.

It is a very well-written work and makes a valuable contribution to Maratha history. It helps understanding the circumstances prevailing in the Maratha dominions in the early years of the 19th century, which brought about the down-fall of the Maratha empire. The young author deserves congratulations in producing this authoritative volume after years' patient research. The paper, printing and get-up are excellent, but a few mistakes of typography have crept in, which, it is hoped, will be corrected in the next edition.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

MUSLIM REVIVALIST MOVEMENTS IN NORTHERN INDIA IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

By Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi. Balkrishna Book Company, Hazaratganj, Lucknow, 1965. Pp. 498+XVI. Price Rs. 30/-.

Dr. Rizvi has done well in publishing this book, his thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Letters by the Agra University. It is a scholarly work, no doubt, but the reviewer is embarrassed by the eulogistic reports of his examiners reproduced in full by Dr. Rizvi on the jacket of the book and by his injudiciously converting one of them (Prof. Mohammad Habib's) into the Foreword. This has placed the reader on the horns of a dilemma—whether to endorse the opinions of the three learned historians of Medieval India or to form his own independent judgment about the merit of the work.

This well-documented work begins with an account of sufism in India from the 13th to the 16th century. In this account one

notices both orthodox and liberal trends among the sufis existing side by side. The Ulama were opposed to some of the fundamental principles of sufism which, in their eyes, ran counter to the orthodox Islam and the root principles of the *Shar*. Next we get a detailed description of the Mahdavi Movement, which centred round the personality of Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpur and which continued to exert influence long after his death. The most exhaustive is, however, the treatment of the Naqshbandi Order of the sufis and more particularly of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi, entitled *Mujaddid*, and of his disciples. The author discusses at great length the conflict between the two principal schools of thought among the sufis, viz. those who believed in the theory of unity of Being (*Wahadat-ul-wujud*) and those who did not, and believed in that of Apparentism (*Wahat-ul-Shuhud*). He also examines the influence of *Mujaddid* on the politics of the 17th century. Scholars have hitherto been of opinion that *Mujaddid* exerted profound influence on the Mughal emperors, particularly on Shah-jahan and Aurangzeb and on the Muslim nobles and Muslim rank and file. But Dr. Rizvi says that this influence amounted practically to nothing. "The way," writes Dr. Rizvi, "*Mujaddid* sought to tackle the political problem showed his utter lack of understanding of the contemporary political problems and the evolution of the administrative machinery of the Mughals." His disciples who were sent to various parts of the country achieved, according to Dr. Rizvi, practically nothing, and in some places they evoked the hostility of the local population. These conclusions seem to give a highly overdrawn picture, especially as the Indian Musalmans have throughout their history in India been more inclined to lean towards religious orthodoxy than liberalism. Moreover although it is rightly recognised that the religious literature dealing with the lives and teaching of sufis and saints is not of much historical value as it is full of miracles, tales, exaggerated anecdotes and gossip, it did nevertheless greatly influence Muslims in the past and does so even now. It is too much to say that the life-long labours of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi and his well-organised movement and his letters in three volumes proved absolutely fruitless and that the reaction that set in in the Indian politics of the 17th century during the reign of Aurangzeb was not in any way the result of the teachings of *Mujaddid*. His teachings have even now great hold on the Muslim community

and his services to the cause of orthodox Islam are commemorated in the form of numerous modern books and pamphlets.

One would have expected the learned author to discuss the effect of the Muslim Revivalist Movements on the Hindus and their religious, social and economic life. Is it not a truism to say that the appearance of bigoted religious leaders from time to time kept the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims wide and made their integration into one community impossible?

Although Dr. Rizvi's book cannot be said to be the last word on the subject, as Prof. Habib seems to think, it is nevertheless a scholarly work of great merit to which the author has devoted many precious years of his life and in the preparation of which he has not left any source untapped. But the paper, printing and get-up of the book are hardly satisfactory. The proof reading seems to have been lax and there are many printing errors, besides those given in one-full-page errata. It is hoped that these will be corrected in the next edition.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA.

RENAISSANCE, NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL CHANGES IN MODERN INDIA. By Dr. K. K. Datta, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University. Bookland Private Limited, Calcutta. Pp. 144+VIII+VI. 1965. Price Rs. 12/-.

Dr. K. K. Datta is a foremost scholar of modern Indian history, and any book from his pen is very welcome. But dealing, as it does, with more than a hundred years of India's development in various fields, a book of this size is bound to be sketchy. Nor could the author be expected to take note of all important personalities and movements, that shaped the course of Indian history in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. It is perhaps for this reason that the learned author has altogether omitted Swami Dayanand, the founder of the Arya Samaj, while recording the heavy debt one owes to our distinguished countrymen from Ram Mohan Roy to Haraprasad Shastri. Nor has he mentioned the weighty contributions of the Arya Samaj to the Indian awakening. Like Renaissance and Reformation, the chapter on the genesis and the early history of the Indian National Congress

is very brief, but it does not leave out significant facts and incidents. The learned author seems to have assumed much in describing the changes in the structure of the Indian society. Nevertheless the book is an authoritative description of the cultural, political, constitutional and social progress of India during the past one hundred years and deserves to be read by students and teachers in our Universities.

The paper and get-up are good; but there are several mistakes of typography which, we hope, will be corrected in the next edition.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA.

THE DESTINY OF INDIAN MUSLIMS. By S. Abid Husain.
Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Pp. 276, 1965. Price Rs. 25/-.

Dr. S. Abid Husain needs no introduction to the scholarly circles in India. He has, besides the present work, a number of other books to his credit of which 'National Culture of India,' 'The Way of Gandhi and Nehru' and 'Indian Culture' are quite popular. He is a good scholar and a practised writer. 'The Destiny of Indian Muslims' not only presents a lucid and clear account of the problems of the Indian Muslims today, but also poses practical solutions for them. The necessary historical background is not as objective as one would have liked it; but it gives in a frank manner the Muslim point of view. He has unduly stressed the movement for making Hindi the court language in the early sixties of the 19th century, the Institution of Ganapati Fair in Maharashtra with the patronage of Lokamanya Tilak, and the initiation of anti-cow-slaughter movement, as the principal causes of the rift between the Hindus and the Musalmans. He has minimised Sir Saiyid Ahmad's anti-national views and Syed Ahmed Barelwi's anti-Hindu and anti-Sikh activities, and described him, like other writers, as "the martyr". He does not analyse the causes of Muslim separatism in the historical context, as also their failure to identify themselves with India, and its ancient history and culture. But as far as the main part of his work is concerned, it has been performed in a scholarly and objective manner.

In a learned discourse on the causes of the backwardness of the Indian Muslims, Dr. Abid Husain says that they made no attempt to study the modern world culture and to 'learn from it

the new methods of scientific research, technology and social and political organisations which could give freshness and continuity to their own cultural life.' In the present state of affairs the Indian Muslims have to choose, according to him, between two alternatives: (1) to live as an integral part of a secular nation and at the same time preserve their distinctive religious entity, or (2) to live as a minority which does not believe in the prevailing political and social order, but is forced to submit to it. Though he admits that many Muslims fear that their integration with the Indian nation would make Muslims' ties with their religion weaker and weaker "until one day they will lose their soul," which is dearer to them than the whole world, yet he advises them to integrate with India's population because India is a secular state and its Constitution guarantees religious freedom, equality and justice to all. He explains secularism of the Indian variety and says that it does not connote absence of religion. The fundamental values enshrined in the Indian Constitution and modern Indian culture are in accord with the fundamental values stressed by Islam as well as other religions. It is a baseless apprehension that if the Muslims live as an integral part of the Indian nation they will have to face duality in religious and secular life. "On the other hand," he adds, "there is a reasonable possibility that it would help them in living an integrated religious and secular life." And therefore the learned author advises his co-religionists to participate in the common life of the people, and to look at the common problems in the light of the larger interest of the Indian nation and in fact in that of the whole human brotherhood. If they choose this line of action, they could safely look forward to a bright future.

The author has devoted one full chapter to an examination of 'secularism' and 'scientific attitude of mind'. He has also a good deal to say about democracy and socialism, and he is definitely of opinion that Muslims could not be associated with any form of Marxian socialism, for Marxism is not only an economic programme but is also an ideology. It is anti-religious and crushes individual liberty in the name of social justice and equality. He believes in that kind of nationalism and patriotism, which is opposed to religious devotion to the nation and the country and which does not believe in having hatred for other countries and nations. He is against religious education of Muslim boys and girls in Government and other common schools and colleges, even though that

religious teaching may consist of broad fundamentals of all religions. He wants religious teaching to Muslim boys and girls to be imparted by Muslim teachers, and separate seminaries for the teaching of Islamic theology to all those who want to adopt religious teaching and religious service and propaganda as their avocation in life. But an outline of modern liberal scientific education must be imparted in these religious seminaries also. He is against the direct moral teaching as a separate subject and thinks that cultural integration should be infused through the existing syllabus with a true and deep moral spirit. He feels that Muslims are shy at the name of a common national culture, because "they are afraid lest any un-Islamic old religious traditions or new-fangled religious ideas be imposed on their minds, or the domination of the common culture suppresses their own distinctive cultural traits." He pleads for facilities for the teaching of Urdu language and literature to Muslim boys and girls for whom it is not only a cultural, but also a religious necessity, as books of Muslim religion and culture have been translated into Urdu and not into any other modern Indian language to an equal extent.

The learned author has devoted a great deal of space to the economic difficulties of the Muslims and to the necessity of technological and industrial education of Muslim young men. He also stresses the necessity of Muslims sharing in social service and tells them that if they want to compete with other communities "they have not only to do their share of work in the field of social service but make up for the negligence of their predecessors during the last hundred years." He wants his co-religionists to make a study of ancient Indian history and culture, philosophy and art to make India's past their own. Otherwise, "they would be precluded not only from understanding the art, literature and the whole social and cultural life of the Hindus, which are valuable in themselves, but also from understanding and bringing themselves in harmony with the soul of India". He wishes the Indian Muslims to be truly religious, but at the same time patriotic nationalists. They have a bright future in the common Indian nationality.

The book is valuable not only for Muslims, but also for all Indians, and should be read by all those who care to know the Muslims' point of view, Muslims' hopes and fears, and what Muslims want for the good of themselves and the country.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

INDIA AND THE PERSIAN GULF REGION (1858-1907): By
Ravinder Kumar. Published by the Asia Publishing House.
Price Rs. 25/-.

Comparatively few Indian historians have devoted their attention to the study of the strategic importance of the Persian Gulf region and the role it has played in the modern period. Since the region was of great concern to the British imperialists several intensive studies on the subject have appeared from British writers. Sir Arnold Wilson's *The Persian Gulf*, Sir Philip Hay's *The Persian Gulf States* and J. Marlowe's *The Persian Gulf* are some of the prominent monographs on the subject. Though they have all certain shortcomings of their own, doubtless they reveal the importance of the Persian Gulf as a factor in British and international politics. The location of the Persian Gulf on the one hand, and the possession of oil wealth on the other, had made the region supremely important, and little wonder, that the powers vied with one another in securing a mastery over the region.

For the major part of the 19th century the Gulf remained away from European intervention. The only exception was the Napoleonic interlude which projected the Gulf into the international politics for about a decade. This isolation of the Persian Gulf from the notice of the European powers coincided with internal struggles on the one hand and the clever study of the problems of the land by British experts on the other. The British authorities were really hostile towards Arab nationalism though the British played the diplomatic game astutely. They realised the importance of control over the Persian Gulf for the safety and security of the Indian sub-continent.

With the appearance of the French threat under Napoleon, the British under Wellesley bestowed adequate attention on the strengthening of the British hold over the region of the Persian Gulf.

The book under review surveys the British policy from 1858 to 1907 and traces the conflict between the Forward Policy on the one hand and Lawrence's Policy of Masterly Inactivity on the other. The British influence over the Arab Chiefs was increasing, and this was viewed with uneasiness by Persia and Turkey. Of these Persia was enfeebled by domestic problems, and therefore,

British statesmen had to concentrate on Turkey. It was to eliminate the danger that the Lytton Government suggested the division of Arabia-on-the-Gulf into English and Turkish spheres of control. However, Salisbury was rightly sceptical of Turkey acquiescing in the proposal. Thereafter, the increasing antagonism between England and Turkey over questions like that of Egypt made any understanding between the two powers over the Gulf impossible.

The real challenge to British hegemony came after the 1890's, when other Powers began to participate vigorously in the scramble for power and influence in Asia and Africa. Germany under Kaiser William sought to convert the land mass from the Bosphorus to the Persian Gulf into a German economic protectorate. Naturally this provoked the hostility of Russia. Britain was pleased with the rivalry that had begun between these two Powers and did not yield to the policy of appeasement attempted by Russia.

On the whole the British policy in the Persian Gulf was successful during the period under survey. Britain sought to maintain for herself a complete monopoly over the Gulf. It was this aim which determined the policy pursued by Britain towards Russia on the one hand and the expansion of Germany in Asiatic Turkey on the other.

The author of the book deserves to be congratulated on his balanced treatment of the subject. Though the book has grown out of a doctoral dissertation presented to the Punjab University it would have been better if the period surveyed had been brought down to 1947, especially because, as the author himself is aware: 'Several factors combine to impart an unusual interest to the subject, some of which are linked to the political ties which existed till 1947 between Great Britain and her Indian Empire'. This monograph, as it is, is based on the holdings of the National Archives of India in New Delhi. Assuredly, a consultation of British documents in the Commonwealth Relations Library, if possible, would have enhanced the value of the book. A map showing the region of the Persian Gulf and of the adjoining countries is a desideratum.

K. K. PILLAY

THE LIFE OF AN EGYPTIAN DOCTOR, by Naguib Mahfouz,
Published by E. & S. Livingstone Limited, Edinburgh and
London, Price 40s. nett.

This is the autobiography of a medical expert in Egypt. Though it is doubtful whether it can be treated as a book on history in the strict sense, it is nevertheless an interesting and useful book. The author evinces a remarkable frankness and fidelity to truth, which are unquestionably the most essential requisites of a dependable autobiography.

He traces his life from his childhood, schooldays and medical education down to the period of medical service. Interesting and instructive anecdotes which reflect his attitude towards men and things are narrated vividly.

Devotion to the medical profession is conspicuous in his career as a doctor, particularly as a gynaecologist. No wonder, he attained a high reputation in the field and his skill in the profession was recognized even outside his country, particularly in Britain where he was honoured by the Royal College of Surgeons, the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists as well as by the Royal Society of Medicine. He has travelled widely and visited varied Gynaecological clinics in different parts of the world.

While working as a gynaecologist he lectured to medical students at Cairo. His advice to teachers is worth noting. He says: "Teach the student to do his work efficiently by making him feel that he is being treated with justice". (p. xii). Professor Naguib Mahfouz applied himself with great zeal and enthusiasm to whatever work he took upon himself; little wonder, he achieved a remarkable success in all his efforts.

He had wider interests than medicine and surgery. He took a keen interest in the study of the Arabic language and he is considered a great oriental language scholar. Gifted with an acute understanding of things in their proper perspective, he is also a philosopher of note.

Through the pages of his autobiography one finds emphasis on certain valuable truths of life. One of his small but thought-provoking chapters is that entitled 'Is life worth living?' Observe what he says about the trials of life. "Struggle is a pleasure in

itself. The discovery of something unknown and the attainment of efficiency in one's work are a source of great happiness in life. The search for truth is a pleasure" (p. 184). These are admirable prescriptions indeed. This gospel runs throughout his book.

At another place he writes: "In their struggle in life they should not allow obstacles or misfortunes or treacherous attacks to overpower them. They must have the courage, every time they are knocked down, to rebound higher and higher" (p. xii). The same idea is even more effectively expressed when he states: "The lesson I learned from life is that if we meet our failures and misfortunes with a brave heart, and are neither disheartened nor bitter, we are bound to succeed. An honourable struggle will succeed in the long run. In rare cases in which it does not, the feeling that we have done the right thing creates in us an inner satisfaction which, in itself, is a great reward (p. 189).

Not less important is the emphasis he lays on humility. He says: "Those who have attained success should beware of a swollen head. Of all objectionable defects of character conceit is the worst and eventually leads to a downfall". (p. xii). Many profess to know this truth; but it is doubtful whether any respectable number of persons even in the learned professions evince it in actual practice.

This book is well produced. There are a number of interesting illustrations.

K. K. PILLAY

THEORIES OF THE INDIAN MUTINY: by Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri,
The World Press Private Limited, Calcutta, 1965, Rs. 15/-.

No other subject in recent times has attracted so much attention of the Indian historians, or roused so intense a controversy as the Indian Mutiny. Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri's study is the latest and the most interesting addition to the subject. It centres round the factors that motivated the great event, and upholds the view that the Mutiny was linked up with the civil rebellion. The learned author is prompted to make a strong assertion of this view owing to the fact that a historian of Dr. R. C. Majumdar's eminence has

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challenged the popular content of the revolt, and has laid great stress only on the military character of the movement (*British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*). Partly with the help of new material, letters, diaries and memoirs of those on the spot, and partly by the realignment of the known material, Dr. Chaudhuri has very well sustained his theme that the events of 1857 were motivated by other factors than the exclusively military ones, and that one can never ignore the popular aspect of the drama. He argues, with some force of course, that the *British Paramountcy* has toed the line of the British historical writing on the Mutiny, and that it has relied too much on the official reports which were interested in presenting the movement in the military colour. Although the British officers like Norton and Mead acknowledged in private the genuineness of the popular movement, they would not officially commit themselves to that view lest it should be a sad reflection on their own administrative ability in not detecting the trouble well in advance.

Dr. Chaudhuri has brought into the field a variety of evidence, addresses, proclamations, manifestoes, letters and diaries to prove his point of the popular participation in the upheaval. The speeches of Maulavi Ahmedullah, Maulavi Sarfaraz Ali, Khan Bahadur Khan and Nana Sahib are quite convincingly quoted to establish that the motive was the achievement of freedom. It was preplanned that the centenary of the battle of Plassey should be the occasion to start the fighting against the British. Such inflammatory utterances as "Wash away the name of the English from India in the stream of your blood" by Sarfaraz Ali too well establish the motives of rebels, which were made still more explicit by Nana Sahib's declaration that the goal was the annihilation of the English in order to establish Hindu and Muslim governments in accordance with the traditional pattern of the national life of India. It is not difficult to agree with the author that the broadest national unity could be forged in those days only by restoring the Mughals and the Marathas back to power. He rightly argues that there is no historical reason to presume why seditious extremism of the first two decades of the 20th century could not have been anticipated by the generation that lived in the mid 19th century, "unless there is an allergy to admit the anti-British revolt of 1857 as a war of independence". Even Kaye has admitted the fact that "a great movement from within was

beginning to make itself felt upon the surface of the rural society and all traces of British rule were rapidly disappearing from the face of the land".

By the resumé the author has given of the revolt of the people at several places, Delhi, Lucknow, Muzzafarnagar, Saharanpur, Rohtak, Jaunpur, Azamgarh and others, the conclusion is irresistible that the revolt of the army was linked with the people's movement. One is tempted to agree with him that the Mutiny was transformed into a revolutionary war, which found a leader and a flag. Far from playing into the hands of the British, Bahadur Shah acted as "the torch-bearer of Hindu-Muslim unity, and proved a great personal force in cementing inter-communal relations during the critical days of the Mutiny".

Thus Dr. Chaudhuri has thrown a flood of light on a highly controversial theme, and has brought out in bold relief such aspects as had been deliberately kept in dark. He has been bold enough to strike a totally different note from his own preceptor, who is universally acclaimed as one of the great historians of our land. Judged from the very sensitive ground he covered, the extent of new material he utilised, the refreshingly new approach he struck in the interpretation of the known material, Dr. Chaudhuri deserves unqualified praise for his brilliant exposition. He has established the fact that our forefathers of 1857 had given a rude shock to the British power in India, not just accidentally but in consonance with a deliberate plan, of which every Indian may feel highly proud.

B. SHEIK ALI

RAJA MAN SINGH OF AMBER: by R. N. Prasad, xv 196 pp.; World Press, Calcutta, 1966; price Rs. 25/-.

Professor R. N. Prasad has laid the readers of medieval Indian history under a debt of gratitude by publishing this interesting monograph on the life of one of the greater politicians, administrators and generals of Akbar's reign, Man Singh of Ambār, who was one of the ancestors of the House of Jaipur. As the author says in his Introduction "the history of Akbar's reign will be incomplete without a detailed knowledge of the contributions of

Raja Man Singh, not only to the expansion of the Mughal Empire but also to the enrichment of the art and architecture of the period." Entering Mughal service at the age of twelve in 1562 he showed his mettle as an officer of the Mughal army at Rantambhor, Disa, Broach and Surat, and was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Mughal army which operated against Pratap Singh Sissodia at Haldighat in 1576. Thenceforward he rose step by step, and was commissioned along with his father Bhagwant Das to proceed to Badakhshan to help Mirza Shah Rukh against Mirza Hakim, the ruler of Kabul. He carried on a number of campaigns in the far north-west, and was appointed Governor of Kabul, which was pacified in the face of all odds and settled as one of Akbar's *subahs*. He was then posted to the Governorship of Bihar and Orissa and then as Governor of Bengal. It was when Kunwar Man Singh was Governor of Bengal—he was then aged a little over forty years—that his father died and he was placed on the ancestral *gaddi* with great pomp at Ambēr. Wherever he went, whether it was in Mewar, or the country of Yūsufza'is and Raushanias, or in the zemindaris of recalcitrant Nawabs (mainly Pathan) and Rajas of Bihar, Orissa and Bengal, he put down rebellions with a stern hand, and his whole conduct testifies to his devotion to his duties as well as the secular policy of the Empire (if we may use that term) in those days. A Kacchwaha army was fully in attendance of Man Singh when he was the Governor of Kabul or Panjab, and he was equally in the field against Muslims as against Hindus who might defy the Mughal power.

The author has the advantage of being at home with Sanskrit, Hindi, Persian and Urdu. His book is fully documented and based on practically all the historical literature on which he could lay his hands. He is not satisfied with copying down what he reads, and is not merely critical but also judicious when he has to weigh contradictory statements, such as the ancestry of his hero, and the question whether Man Singh had five hundred wives or just twenty one. He has also brought out Man Singh's personality as a patron of learning, and as a man of letters. But what makes the book doubly valuable is a description of the buildings constructed by Man Singh at his capital, Ambēr, Varanasi, Telkupi (Manbhūm), Mānpūr (Central India), Baikunthpūr (Baikatpūr near Gaya), Brindaban, Manihari (Santal Purganas) and finally the great fort at Rohtāgarh, (a unique Mughal structure on the top of the Kai-

mūr Hill in the district of Shahabad, Bihar). He founded the cities of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) to which he transferred the capital of Bengal from Tanda, Salīmīnagar (East Pakistan) and Mānpūr (near Gaya). He was a strict Hindu, and scores of temples were constructed by him in some of the provinces in which he was stationed, as well as in his home town of Ambēr. But this did not desist him from repairing some mosques and even erecting new mosques such as five Jāmi'Masjid at Sahib-ganj (Bihar). The author has fully described Man Singh's contributions to architecture in a separate chapter.

The book has a full bibliography and a fairly good Index. Unfortunately the 36 odd photographs illustrating fine structures erected by Raja Man Singh practically all over northern India, are too small in size and some of them are not distinct, and one has to refer to a separate list to identify these structures. They are all probably the reproductions of the photographs taken by the author's own camera, but some of them could easily have been enlarged. The collection does not give a correct idea of the grand edifices constructed by Man Singh. In the same way the two photographs of Man Singh's portrait in the Jaipur Museum have the lower portions inordinately exaggerated. They were probably photographed by a camera on the ground and would have been life-like if the camera had been placed on a level with the portraits which are about 15 feet from the ground level. The book is well printed and well bound, but unfortunately a number of mistakes have crept in and all of them have not been covered by the short errata at the end.

The work deserves well to be placed in our libraries and on the bookshelves of scholars who have a flair for the medieval period of the history of India.

H. K. SHERWANT

INDIAN TRADE UNIONS—A Survey by V. B. Karnik (Manaktalas, Bombay, Second Revised Edition, 1966, Pp. 343, Rs. 25/-).

The first edition of this book which appeared at the end of 1960 was well-received by the reading public. In the present revised edition fresh material has been incorporated in many of

the chapters and a new chapter is added bringing the information up-to-date. The author of the book, Mr. V. B. Karnik, has been intimately associated with the Trade Union Movement in India and has held important positions in a number of Unions as well as in their central organisations. He has made good use of the knowledge gained from the inside and competently discusses many of the controversial issues which have come up in the course of Trade Union Development. It is noteworthy that the long association of the author with the movement has not prejudiced his views; on the other hand, his approach to the study is objective, his views are balanced and he writes with scholarly detachment.

In tracing the evolution of Trade Unions in India, Mr. Karnik has laid stress on two points; one is the political bias in the movement and the close association between the Government and the Labour Organisations in recent years; the second is the international aspect of the movement in India. He points out and illustrates how the Indian movement was never isolationist, but from the very beginning developed a strong international outlook. The concluding chapters deal with new trends in the movement, the problems it has had to face over the years and its prospects in the context of planned economic development. The author draws attention to the important fact that the Trade Unions have now an assured place in the national economy and have to discharge many responsibilities in the present economic set up. They should therefore discard the negative approach to the solution of their problems and adopt a positive attitude. They should grow "quantitatively and qualitatively", give up their role as mere agitating bodies and develop into a constructive agency devoted to the building up and strengthening of the nation's labour force so as to enable it to contribute its best to the country's economic progress.

The book is written in a readable style; it is neatly printed and well got up. The purpose of the study, as has been pointed out in the preface, is to indicate the main trends rather than furnish all details relating to the subject. It is a good introduction to the study of Trade Unions in India and may be commended to students as well as to the enlightened public interested in the problems and welfare of Indian labour.

D. BRIGHT SINGH.

INTERNAL MARKET OF INDIA (1845-1900), by Tarasankar Banerjee, Academic Publishers, Calcutta-9, 1966, Pp. 358, Rs. 20/-.

Although some sort of political unity was established in India by the British about the middle of the 19th century, the country remained economically dismembered. Professor Banerjee points out that the existence of internal trade barriers in the form of Transit and Town duties, lack of communication facilities and the great diversity in the system of weights and measures in the different regions of the country were the causes as well as the symptoms of economic disintegration. India was then a mere aggregation of heterogeneous economic units; regional specialization and inter-regional trade were practically impossible. And in the absence of an organized extensive market, specialisation or division of labour or mechanisation which are the basic constituents of modern industrialisation could not be hoped for.

The first part of the book contains a detailed account of the nature of the problem and the measures taken towards integration. The Trevelyan Report on the Inland Customs and Town Duties (1834) marks the first step taken in this direction. Between 1836 and 1844 the Transit and Town Duties were abolished in the three Presidencies. By the close of the 19th century real progress had been made in the construction of roads and railways and in improving means of communication. Also, much attention was devoted in the 1860's to the standardisation of weights and measures. Freedom of internal commerce affected the set up of external commerce as well; and this called for fiscal reform and the adoption of a regular system of tariff. If in spite of these reform measures there was no economic progress, the explanation has to be found in the fact that the country was politically dependent and the external trade policy that was adopted at this time was anything but helpful to India's economic development. Nevertheless as Professor Banerjee correctly points out towards the close of the book, the economic reforms of the latter part of the 19th century definitely altered the medieval structure of the Indian economy and took it towards the era of modern economic activities.

In the second part of the book an attempt is made to illustrate the baneful effect of transit duties and other hindrances to internal

trade with reference to three commodities—opium, salt and cotton. There is a detailed historical account of these industries but the details are not presented in a manner that would focus the attention of the reader on the basic question, namely, how the existence of the difficulties mentioned earlier stood in the way of the growth and expansion of these industries. The merit of the study consists in the fact that it analyses fully the factors preventing the emergence of an extensive internal market which, it has been increasingly realized, is a precondition for economic expansion.

D. BRIGHT SINGH

MERCHANT CAMPBELL 1769-1846—A study in colonial trade, by Margaret Steven, Australian National University, Oxford 1965, Pp. 360, Price Rs. 60/-.

The subtitle of this book conveys a better idea of its contents than its main title. It is not so much the biography of a merchant prince as an illustrative record of the problems and difficulties which pioneering traders in the British colonies in the East had to face in the early years of the 19th century. Born in Greenock, Scotland, in 1769, Robert Campbell came to the Penal Colony of New South-wales in 1798 to investigate commercial opportunities for his firm, Campbell & Co. of Calcutta. By his enterprise and efforts he was able to open regular import trade with the colony, but he had to contend ceaselessly with the East India Company which had then the monopoly of the Eastern trade and the unhelpful attitude of the colonial governors. The worst problem, however, which he had to deal with, was to get return cargo for his ships. Before long he was able to organize a local export trade based on the development of a colonial fishing industry. In the depression of the second decade of the 19th century Campbell's business became almost moribund, but by his exertions he was able to get over the difficulties and retrieve his fortunes. In latter life he became involved in colonial aspirations and in the agitation for colonial rights and showed much interest in varied spheres of activity, such as banking, pastoralism, philanthropy and the propagation of Christianity in the Australian colony.

In order to glean these few facts about the career of Campbell as a trader from Margaret Steven's study, the reader has to wade

through a medley of factual data with which every page of the book is packed. These details which range all the way from petty incidents that happened in private trading ships to Parliamentary proceedings pertaining to colonial trade, are too many and quite often serve only to hide from view the hero of the narrative. However to the credit of the author it must be stated that her painstaking research has brought to light a forgotten page in Australian Commerce. Her book presents a true picture of the vexatious difficulties with which colonial traders in the 18th and 19th centuries were beset and dispels the glib notion that to the British traders of this period the seas in the east were always a sure and easy way to fame and fortune.

D. BRIGHT SINGH

HISTORY ON THE MARCH: (Edited by Prof. P. S. Velayudhan and others), Ernakulam. Rs. 10/-.

"History on the March" is the outcome of a History Convention held in Ernakulam in 1965. The objective of the Convention was "to focus the attention of the public as well as the Central and the State Governments on the need to explore in a systematic manner, the vast and precious mine of history and other allied forms of knowledge in general, and of Kerala in particular." The cream of Kerala intellect of all denominations was represented at the Convention. The papers read at the Convention were of a high quality, be they in English or Malayalam. It is proposed to review only certain aspects of the Convention.

It seems the Convention overlooked the importance of research in the prehistory of Kerala. There can be no history without prehistory, a fact realised by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri who has devoted a chapter on the prehistory of South India in the *'History of South India.'* Kerala is not completely devoid of prehistoric research. Dewan Bahadur Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer in Cochin, Aiyappan in Malabar, and L. A. Krishna Iyer and R. V. Poduval in Travancore are pioneers in the field of prehistoric research in Kerala. The latest was a paper on "Dating the Past in Kerala", published in "Anthropology on the March" in 1963, which forms part of a monograph on 'Kerala Megaliths and Their Builders', now being published by the University of Madras. It is there-

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fore much to be appreciated that V. K. Sukumaran Nair has pointed out in his "Problems involved in writing a comprehensive History of Kerala" that the writing of a comprehensive history of Kerala is not only the work of historians, but of scholars representing anthropology, sociology, political science, philosophy, literature, and architecture. He could have added archaeology too, as it forms the bedrock of historical research.

It would have been therefore in the fitness of things if distinguished archaeologists like A. Ghosh, Director-General of Archaeology in India, V. D. Krishnaswami, D. Sarma, Thapar, Aiyappan, and others were invited to attend the Conference, and they would have contributed valuable information to make the proceedings more complete. There is much that remains to be done in delving into the past of Kerala. Millenia before Columbus sailed in the Atlantic, the Indian Ocean became an active thoroughfare of commercial importance and cultural traffic. Kerala forms the spring-board for cultural diffusion towards the East and the West, as oceanic navigation had been very common with the people of Kerala in prehistoric times. N. G. Unnithan has given some valuable information. But one swallow does not make a summer. There are several reasons why few fossil remains have been found in Kerala. One of them is that the primitive population at any given period would have been a small one so far as numbers went, and consequently, the chances of finding a considerable number of fossils will continue to be small. No human fossil has been found so far in Kerala. It seems therefore obvious that excavations should be made in Kerala along the alluvial river valleys by engaging an expert archaeologist of the eminence of Sir Mortimer Wheeler which may throw more light on the part played by Kerala in the development of Mesopotamian civilisation, as was found in the impoverished banks of the Indus, where was found a brilliant civilisation in touch with the Iranian plateau and the nascent city state of Babylon. Indeed I have here made an attempt to emphasise the importance of research in prehistoric archaeology which may remove the haziness about the early history of Kerala.

It would have been very valuable and useful if the proceedings were held completely in English. It is no reflection on or disparagement to those whose papers are in Malayalam. Suranad Kunjan Pillai, S. Sanku Iyer, Puthethath Raman Menon, and others

are honoured names to conjure with in Malayalam literature. Their papers would have drawn the attention of a larger world beyond Kerala if an English translation were also made available in the work. It is beyond me to do adequate justice to all the papers within the scope of this review. With no disparagement to others, I wish to confine myself to a few of the contributors.

The Government of Kerala are issuing a series of District Gazetteers compiled by A. Sreedhara Menon. It is a valuable series giving a complete picture of a district to those who are in charge of administration. The cultural scheme in each Gazetteer is the development of each district as an integral part of the State, and the country as a whole. In a work of this magnitude, it is difficult to avoid repetitions. The information in the chapter on People is rather scrappy. It is expected that Mr. Menon would bring out a volume comprising the whole State. It would be a very valuable work of reference to scholars. Suranad Kunjan Pillai's paper on the "Origin of Kerala and Her People" is interesting, as it has assimilated the results of modern research. Malayalam language has come to be greatly enriched by Sanskrit consequent on the aryanisation of Kerala by the Nambutiris, an exclusively Kerala feature, to which may be added the maximum impact of the English language on it, a feature referred to by K. Raghava Pillai. K. V. Krishna Iyer's "New Light on Old Problems" deals with the topic that succession in Venad was patrilineal till 1400 A.D., and says that matriliney among the Nayars was not an imposition by the Nambutiris, and that it would be more correct to say that they took advantage of their matriliney and entered into *sambandham* with their women. Matriliney is as old as man in Kerala. It has a hoary past. In Kerala, it extends from the sea coast to inland areas above 5000 feet above sea level among the tribal population, not to speak of those among the Dravidian castes in the midland area. It may not be a far-fetched idea that the torch of matriarchy was carried over the world by Kerala dolmen-builders (the Kurumbars).

The Aryan influence on Kerala history by K. K. Pillai is very enlightening. Reference is made to Kerala in the edicts of Asoka, Ramayana and Mahabharata, which may be sometime between 6th century B.C., and 4th Century B.C. He also deals with the origin of the Nambutiris. Elankulam Kunjan Pillai is inclined to

assign a later date, but K. K. Pillai opines that the fact that the Nambutiris established themselves in the governing body of Suchindram temple suggests that they had become powerful in the heart of Kerala much earlier. Their political influence began in the 9th century A.D. It was an age when religion was mixed with politics. Like the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages, they constituted a body owing nominal allegiance to temporal power.

Atmananda's paper on Sankara's influence in Kerala is an important contribution. There are valuable papers on the "Role of Islam in Kerala", the work of the Christian Missions, and the Jews, apart from that on Saraswaths by Purushothama Mallayya. Of them, K. M. Panikkar says "The Jews took refuge in Kerala among the Nayars and lived in their midst for well-nigh 2000 years. St. Thomas is said to have planted a community of Syrian Christians among them. They lived side by side with the Nayars as their social inferiors in Malabar. Ever since Muhammad founded his religion in Arabia, Allah found faithful worshippers among the Nayars. The militant Romanism of the Holy Inquisition, and no less militant Protestantism of the Dutch had their innings for about a century and a half. Yet with all the great religions of the world during the last 2000 years, it is nothing but a marvel to see the Nayars who assimilated a great deal of the material and intellectual culture of their neighbours...."

I may now conclude with a reference to the paper on "Importance of History" by V. R. Krishna Iyer. Kerala history is one of the neglected branches of research and study, and the convention of scholars has come none too soon. He poses the question: Who were Keralites? How integrally they form part of the Indian civilisation is being worked out in a series of monographs which may come into light in a couple of years under the caption "Kerala Through the Ages."

Lastly, it may be said that the Board of Editors has done a great service in bringing out "History on the March" for the first time. What a glorious achievement it would have been, if the Board had avoided the numerous misspellings that have crept in in the volume!

L. A. KRISHNA IYER

FOLKLORISTS OF BENGAL, by Sankar Sen Gupta, Indian Publications, Calcutta, Rs. 12/-.

In this work, Sankar Sen Gupta deals with the biography of eight folklorists of Bengal. He first refers to Lal Behari Day who took to Christianity which contributed to his successful life. His best work was "*Folktales of Bengal*." Rabindranath Tagore is a familiar name to conjure with. He drew the attention of the intelligentsia of Bengal by his contributions to folklore literature, and inspired a band of scholars for a systematic study of Bengali folklore. His eventful career not only helped him to mould his destiny as a social reformer, but also affected his literature, music, education and philosophy.

Sarat Chadra Mitra was a prolific writer of plant and bird myths, but the author makes a factual mistake in stating that he was in charge of the Department of Anthropology in the Calcutta University from 1921. A reference to the centenary volume "*Anthropology on the March*" (1963) will show that Diwan Bahadur Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer was the Head of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University, from 1920 to 1932.

Dineschandra Sen, Dakshinaranjan Mitra Majumdar, Guru-Seday Dutt, Chandrakumar De and others also have made notable contributions to folklore in Bengal. The author could have avoided the errors and bad English that have crept in the book. One misses the nerve and verve of A. G. Gardisar in the biographical sketches in it.

L. A. KRISHNA IYER

STUDIES IN INDIAN FOLKLORE, edited by Sankar Sen Gupta and K. D. Upadhyaya, Calcutta, 1964, Rs. 12/-.

The book embodies a collection of papers from various sources, and is dedicated to Dr. Verrier Elwin for his remarkable work to further the study of Indian folklore. The papers are well-arranged under three heads, Folksong and Dance, Folk Art and Craft, and Folklore and Literature.

In his general Editorial, Upadhyaya points out how Indian fables influenced the folklore literature of the world and how India came to be regarded as the motherland of all fables and fictions. Side by side with the development of religion and philosophy, India abounds in myths and legends of various kinds to entertain the general reader. The great national Epics of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are inexhaustible sources of folk tales and legends.

Reference is made to folk songs which are as old as folk tales. Their origin may be traced to the Rigveda. The history of folklore study in India is of recent origin, thanks to the initial interest created by Sir William Jones who encouraged enthusiastic workers in the field. Since the advent of independence, the Government of India have evinced interest in the publication of Indian literature and culture. Dr. Verrier Elwin occupies a prominent place in this connection.

Sankar Sen Gupta contributes a paper on "*Some Thoughts on Folksong*". Folksongs represent the joys and sorrows of the common people. They deserve preservation before they vanish in the present age of fast industrialisation. The demand of the moment is the determination of their social and historical value, for they give a correct account of social attitudes among singers. Folklorists of to-day have an uphill task in recording them before they reach the vanishing point.

Vijaya Raghavan's paper on "*Folk Music and Classical Music*" is interesting indeed. He points out that, though classical music has a very long tradition dating from 4th century B.C., the folk music of India is older than classical music, and he is right. Primitive people found folk songs enlivening, and felt ecstatic over them. Indian classical music has a long tradition, and there was only one system of music. It was later much influenced by Persian music in the north. In the south, the old tradition continues, and the music comes to be called Karnatic music. The above papers are followed by others by Lucio Rodrigues, R. C. Mehta, and B. Banarjee.

In Section II, S. S. Gupta appears prominently with a paper on Indian Folk Art and Craft followed by four others. In Section III, there are papers on Folklore and Literature.

The book has the merit of having a well-chosen series of papers representing studies in Indian folk culture and the editors deserve congratulations for bringing out the book in good form.

L. A. KRISHNA IYER

PROFILES OF TRIBAL CULTURE IN BIHAR, by Sachidananda, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta.

The volume under review represents a collection of papers published by the author between 1953 and 1964 on various aspects of tribal life. The first highlights the important characteristics of tribal village. One important feature is the Dhumkuria. As a boy's dormitory, it acts as a school for discipline and training from which the tribal youth not only learns his lore, but imbibes all the qualities which will make him a useful member of the tribal community. The boy is sent there at the age of 12, and remains there till marriage. There he learns dancing and singing. Marriage alone makes a man a full member of the tribe.

In regard to the role of music and dance, the author points out that their entire life and being are interwoven with music and dance. They play an important part in the socialisation of the tribal child. Its roots may be found in love and war. Under the stress of modern civilisation, the dormitories are disappearing. But for efforts for revival, they would have completely forgotten their own songs and dance styles.

In his Economic Co-operation in Tribal Bihar, it is a heartening feature to observe that the tribal villagers still maintain the traditional way of life and co-operation in economic undertakings, despite the disintegrating influence of the modern machine age. Tribal rights over land should be protected from alienation. The introduction of scientific shifting cultivation and improvement of agricultural practices are two other problems of tribal agriculture.

India is now making rapid strides in industrialisation. The opening of basic industries by exploitation of coal, iron, copper and other mines in tribal areas results in the displacement of the tribal from his hearth and home, creating new problems for their settlement. The introduction of community development blocks, as a

measure of their rehabilitation, should be in the hands of trained anthropologists who should be appointed as Project officers and a portion of the staff should be recruited from the tribals themselves.

In republishing a collection of papers written in a decade, repetition is inevitable. The work would have been more valuable, if the author had rewritten them and avoided such repetitions. It is a valuable work for social anthropologists and for those interested in tribal welfare.

L. A. KRISHNA IYER

THE GAZETTEER OF INDIA, Vol. I: COUNTRY AND PEOPLE.

Published by the Director, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1965. Price Rs. 22-50 or 45 sh. or \$ 6-75.

On the initiative of the great scholar and administrator, W. W. Hunter, the first edition of the Imperial Gazetteer of India was published as early as 1881. Its revised editions in more elaborate form came out in 1885-87 and 1907-09 respectively. In the light of the revolutionary changes that transformed the Indian society during the succeeding decades the need was increasingly felt, particularly after 1947, for a further revision with a view to give proper guidance to the administrators and make the people, in general, conscious of the fundamental unity underlying the rich variety of Indian life and culture. The Central Gazetteers Unit was constituted in January, 1958; and the work originally began under the leadership of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. It is intended to publish the Gazetteer of India in four volumes, the later volumes dealing with History and Culture; Economic Structure and Activities; and Administration and Public Welfare, the chapters (or sections as the case may be) being written by specialists.

In the present volume on Country and People there are ten chapters, the first five dealing with Nature and the rest with Man.

Chapter I on Physiography refers to major land forms, erosion and changing landscapes and physiographic divisions. Chapter II deals with Weather and Climate and chapter III with changes of geological formations while chapters IV and V are devoted to a study of Flora and Fauna.

The next two chapters deal with the people and the languages. It is quite proper and welcome that a short account has been given of Bengali literature and mention made of some of the great names associated with it. Space could have been found, in a comprehensive work of this kind, to include a *short* para on the literary development in each of the other regions as well. A reader should be enabled to know at least the names of the outstanding writers in each literature in India across the centuries. It is such an understanding that would promote mutual appreciation as well as the consciousness of the cultural affinities that bind the different parts of India.

The chapter on Religion which deals with Philosophies as well is lucid, concise and comprehensive. The treatment could have also embraced the Jewish community in India, though a microscopic minority.

Chapter IX surveys the social structure in India with reference to the caste system, religious groups, marriage, kinship and inheritance as well as the changing patterns of rural and urban life and the position of women. The Harijan movement started by Gandhiji and the anti-untouchability and other social reform movements which reached the climax in the revolutionary Temple Entry Proclamation in Travancore in 1936, the prohibition movement, and the stress on swadeshi, khadi, cottage industries, basic education and panchayats have all, in a slow and subtle manner, affected the socio-economic pattern of life in the past few decades and their importance can never be underestimated or ignored.

The last chapter effectively deals with social life including dwellings, decoration, material arts, rituals and ceremonies, recreations, festivals, fairs and pilgrimages. It is regretted however that only eighteen pages have been devoted to such a vast subject of absorbing interest. An account of Indian festivals, for example, without even the mention of a single one by name, of either national or local importance, is apt to leave the reader in the same state of ignorance or knowledge after reading the Gazetteer as before. As regards rituals and ceremonies, each community in India may have its own customary practices; the few paragraphs on Dance and Music do not appear to have done adequate justice to the important theme. The difficulties in compiling such a comprehensive volume are fully appreciated and the point of inade-

quate treatment is stated with regret and in the hope that in the next edition at least Man will get as much considerate treatment as Nature at the hands of the contributors.

Each chapter is followed by a select bibliography. There are two good maps in pocket, physiographical and political, apart from others bearing on geology, rainfall etc. The index is comprehensive and the tabular statements are quite useful.

Those responsible for this volume can congratulate themselves for having underlined the unity of India without ignoring its diversities. It should find a place on the shelf of everyone who is interested in knowing all about India. The undertaking has indeed been a complex and difficult one and the objective cherished while preparing this volume has been amply fulfilled. We stop with the prayer—May its tribe increase!

P. K. K. MENON

SELECTIONS FROM THE INDIAN JOURNALS: Vol. II: CALCUTTA JOURNAL. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1965. Price Rs. 25.00.

The objective of the *Calcutta Journal* was to disseminate "sound principles in politics" and conduct a "free enquiry on all topics of great public interest" so as to establish the "triumph of Liberty over its opposite quality." The Supreme Government had guaranteed that it could be sent to the subscribers free of postage through every part of India to which the Post Office Regulations "of this Presidency" extended. The price at which it was delivered to the subscribers of Calcutta was ten rupees per month. The volume under review which is the second in the series contains selected extracts from letters sent to the Editor of the Journal and reports and statements published in it during the year, 1820.

It is interesting to read a letter dated 19th December 1819 referring to the sad fact that there was "a general growing apathy or stagnation of literary feeling, especially connected with Indian subjects, ... not among the members of the Asiatic Society alone but among the *Anglo-Indian public* at large." In spite of various

difficulties the Society had published valuable volumes of its researches every second year until that of their fourth volume, the appearance of which was delayed for a year longer on account of the demise, in 1794, of its illustrious founder Sir William Jones, whose name was "associated not only with all the odour of a great reputation but with almost all the amiable and exemplary virtues..." The correspondent complains that in spite of the illustrious efforts of a few enthusiastic scholars very little had been done by the Society to study the religion, jurisprudence, manners and customs of various minor tribes in India or the commerce of either Asia or India.

Human sacrifices, female infanticide, immolation of widows, murderers called P'hansigars, Indian press, education, revenue, economic conditions, etc. are some of the main topics which are found discussed in the various letters to the Editor included in this volume. These letters reflect contemporary thinking on several existing practices and matters of public interest. As such this volume will be useful to the students of the social history of India during the nineteenth century.

P. K. K. MENON.

STORIA DO MOGOR OR MOGUL INDIA, by Niccolao Manucci.

Translated by William Irvine, Vol. II. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 6/1A, Bancharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta, 1966. Price Rs. 40.00.

Niccolao Manucci, the enterprising Venetian traveller, adventurer and man of letters came to India in 1656. Throughout the latter half of the seventeenth century he was intimately associated with the Mogul empire where "the nobles, and above all the king, live with such ostentation that the most sumptuous of European courts cannot compare in richness and magnificence with the lustre beheld in the Indian court." He visited, during his years of stay in India, various places like Delhi, Agra, Benares, Rajmahal, Dacca, Sunderbans, Patna, Lahore, Surat, Goa, Golkonda, Aurangabad, Madras etc. For some time an artillery officer of Dara Shikoh, he entered later the service of Shah Alam and got from

him the title of Mansabdar, a singular favour to be extended to a Christian. He pretended to be a physician, played practical jokes and often found himself in amusing situations. He travelled constantly and resisted several proposals of marriage. He died in 1717.

His interesting account of Mogul India, originally written in Italian and re-written in Portuguese and French, is, on the whole, divided into five parts. They deal with his travel from Venice to Delhi, social life in the Mogul empire and the various incidents during the reign of Aurangzeb, including the Mogul camp in the Deccan after 1701. Manucci's work was translated into English by William Irvine, a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service during 1862-88, who made it more useful by adding his own valuable notes and appendices. The volume under review is the second in the series and includes parts 2 and 3. Its first edition that made its appearance in London in 1907 had gone out of print long ago. By re-printing it, in unexpurgated form, the publishers have put interested scholars under a deep debt of obligation.

In this volume Manucci gives his own version of the various incidents of Aurangzeb's reign—Sivaji's struggle with Afzal Khan, Shayista Khan and Jai Singh; Aurangzeb's march to Kashmir; the attempted poisoning of Shah Jahan; Prince Akbar's rebellion; the death of Mir Jumla; the imperial relations with the Deccan States; the visits of the Balkh, Persian, Ethiopian, Dutch and French ambassadors and the king of Kashgar; etc. He does not forget to give us an intimate picture of the grand imperial court and seraglio with its princesses, concubines, dancing and singing girls, slaves, eunuchs, festivals and ceremonies. On such a background he diverts our attention to Aurangzeb's rigid austerity and puritanism, and his measures against wine-drinking and music. The sublime is combined with the ludicrous when he refers to the emperor's injunction that no Muslim should wear a beard longer than four finger-breadths and to his appointment of an officer to measure beards in the middle of the streets and to cut off the excess growth. He notes the emperor's policy and his treatment of the vassals, the manners and customs of the people and the economic conditions and the industrial products of the regions he

visited. He records the riches and grandeur of the Moguls and the Hindu princes, apart from several curious details and remarkable incidents.

The narrative provides delightful reading and the translation, needless to add, has been quite effective. There is a warm touch of intimacy in the descriptions that the author gives. He does not delve deep into the fundamentals or indulge in generalisations. He only records lucidly his experiences and impressions without attempting either to arrange the matter in scientific order or to synthesise facts. There may be a view that credulous, as he was, he indulged in "bazaar gossip"; but he states in one place that he has not "relied on the knowledge of others; and I have spoken of nothing which I have not seen or undergone during the space of forty-eight years that I have dwelt in Hindustan". The volume, as a contemporary store-house of information, will be extremely useful to the students of mediaeval history of India, with special reference to the reign of Aurangzeb, throwing light as it does, on social, economic and political features and administrative institutions of the period. We feel, in this volume, the pulse of a genial personality who observed men and things shrewdly, but who, as a rolling stone, gathered no mass.

P. K. K. MENON

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY:

John William Kaye. Kitab Mahal (Private) Ltd., 56/A, Zero Road, Allahabad, 1966. Price Rs. 35.00. Foreign \$ 8.00; 50 Sh.

Kaye served under the East India Company and later in the India Office until 1874. He lived at a time when great socio-economic changes were taking place in India and utilitarian thought was predominant. The British, as he wrote, first looked on Indians as a people to be subdued, then as revenue payers and later as those to be governed according to the rule of law. He believed that much had been done by the Company for the benefit of the Indian people and that a review of its work would reflect no little honour on its servants. He was happy that "out of hucksters and spoliators" there had arisen a "race of embryo statesmen with

dawning perceptions of the duties and responsibilities of governments and the rightful claims of the people." He tried to show that "the English in India have not sat down idly under the weight of their responsibilities and fallen asleep in the shade whilst they ought to have been bearing the burden and heat of the day in the strenuous efforts for the elevation of a long oppressed fallen race" and he cherished the belief that "our Indian empire is the admiration and the envy of the European world." "The history of civilisation," said he, "is the obituary of error" and "defunct fallacies" ought to be buried and "suttees of huge practical mistakes made". A benevolent imperialist with progressive views, he believed in redeeming the "fallen race" from the age-old social evils.

This book originally published in London in 1853 has for long been out of print and its republication is indeed timely. It is divided into five parts. The first part reviews the progress of India under the Muslims and the European powers including the East India Company. The second part deals with the revenue system and settlements as well as famines and the importance of irrigation. Then comes the study of the judicial system under the Company, Bentinck's reforms and the rise and growth of the civil service. As the empire extended to the "outskirts of civilisation", the Company "expediently subjected them to a ruder system of government." The reclamation of the savage tribes, the extirpation of human sacrifices by Capt. Macpherson who had prepared a report on the social and religious institutions of the Khond tribes, and the suppression of *Suttee*, female infanticide, sale of women, *thuggee* and dacoity are dwelt upon in detail. The last part is devoted to a description of the Company's educational policy, the progress of the church establishment and missionary efforts. "It must not be supposed," Kaye explains, "that Lord William Bentinck and his supporters ever contemplated the degradation of the vernacular. The blow which they struck was aimed not at the living but at the dead language of the country—at the Sanskrit and the Arabic—at languages which were employed as vehicles of inter-communication and which contained little in the books to elevate the mind, to invigorate the understanding or to facilitate the business of life." The Company was trying to work upon "the uninstructed many through the agency

of the instructed few" trusting as it were, "to the contagion of education."

In short the book is a review, from a benevolent foreign administrator's point of view, of the Company's achievements during the six decades that followed Lord Cornwallis' regime. Its value, as Professor O. P. Bhatnagar correctly points out in his Introduction, lies in the fact that he drew the attention of the administration in India and England to the social and economic problems of his day as he saw them. An original contemporary source, the book will be highly useful to research scholars as throwing light on the administrative, social and economic aspects of the history of India in the first half of the nineteenth century.

P. K. K. MENON

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.
2. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala*, Poona.
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4. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras.
5. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
6. *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*.
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23. *Political Scientist*, Ranchi.
24. *Studies in Islam*, New Delhi.
25. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Birmingham.
26. *University of Ceylon Review*.
27. *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Hoshiarpur.

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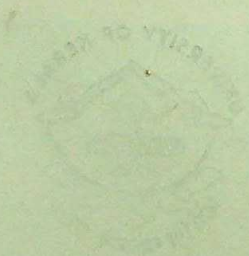
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Early History of Surāṣṭra

BY

DR. B. C. LAW,

M.A., L.L.B., Ph.D., D.Litt., Hon. F.R.A.S. (London).

Surāṣṭra or Saurāṣṭra (Pali Suratt̐ha) was known to the Chinese as *Su-la-Cha* and to the Greeks as *Sarostus*, according to Strabo, and *Syrastrene*, according to Ptolemy. It was founded on the ancient site of Sūryapura.¹ It is mentioned as a *Viṣaya* or dominion. The Suratt̐has or Saurāṣṭras were inhabitants of the kingdom of Suratt̐ha (Skt. Surāṣṭra). Suratt̐ha is included among twenty-five and half Aryan countries with Bāravai as the capital. It was divided into 96 *maṇḍalas*.² Saurājya was a synonym of Saurāṣṭra.³ Surāṣṭra is the Sulathika or Surāṣṭrika of the 5th tablet of the Dhauli Inscription of Aśoka.

The country of Suratt̐ha is mentioned in Luders' list No. 965. It is also known as Suratt̐ha.⁴ The *Apadāna* (ii, 359), a canonical work of Theravada Buddhism, also refers to it. At the beginning of the Virāṭaparva of the *Mahābhārata*,⁵ we find that Arjuna in describing the countries mentions Saurāṣṭras and some other kingdoms of Western India. In this Epic the Saurāṣṭras are associated with the Kuntis and Avantis (Ch. I, 12).

Surāṣṭra is identified with modern Sorath in Kathiawar on the Gulf of Kanthi or Kaccha or Cutch.⁶ It is applied to Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawar. It was situated at a distance of more than 500 *li* from the Valabhi country. Syrastrene, which extended from the mouth of the Indus to the Gulf of Cutch, was one of the

1. *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, 66.
2. *Jaina Bṛhat Bhāgavata Vṛtti*, I, 943.
3. *J.A.S.B.*, 1873, p. 105.
4. Luder's List No. 1123.
5. IV. 1. 12; *Kuntirāṣṭram Suvistīrṇam Surāṣṭrāvantayastathā*.
6. *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 140.

three divisions of Indo-Scythia in Ptolemy's time. Al-Biruni is wrong in locating Surāṣṭra in the South. It is mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* as the sea-board of Aberia (Abiria, = Ābhīra), which is to be identified with the region to the east of the Indus above the insular portion formed by its bifurcation. According to Hiuen Tsang Surath or Surāṭha also known as Surāṣṭra is identified with Mālava. The kingdom of Surāṣṭra lay on the West of Avanti.

According to the *Padmapurāṇa*⁷ Surāṣṭra is in Gurjara (modern Gujarat). Surāṣṭra was extended to Prabhāsa according to the *Mahābhārata* (iii, 88. 8344-46). The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*⁸ simply mentions it. According to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (Book II, Ch. III, 132-35) the Surāṣṭras are definitely located in the extreme West and associated with the Sūdras, Ābhīras, Arbudas and Mālavas; all of them dwelt along the Pāripātra mountains. The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (Ch. 57:52) includes them in Western India. The *Brahmapurāṇa* associates them also with the Aparāntas, Sūdras, Ābhīras and Mālavas. Rājaśekhara assigns Surāṣṭra to the Western division (paścāddeśa) along with Bhṛgukaccha, Ānarta, Arbuda, Daśeraka and other countries.⁹ To the South of Surāṣṭra lay the Anūpa country. The Anūpas seem to have occupied the country South of Sūrāṣṭra around Māhiṣmati on the Narmadā. The epigraphic evidence supports this view.

The *Rāmāyaṇa*¹⁰ refers to the Surāṣṭras who were a famous people frequently mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. In the Bhārata War the Pāṇḍavas were helped by the Western Yādavas from Gujarat and Surāṣṭra and also by other tribes.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* points out that Kosala's friendliest relations were with the Western kingdom of Surāṣṭra and the Eastern kingdoms of Aṅga, Magadha, Videha, etc. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* also mentions Surāṣṭra.¹¹ Pliny¹² mentions the Horatæ, evidently a corruption of Surāṣṭra or Sorāṭh. The river Sātodikā flowed

7. 190. 2.

8. 1.10.34; X, 27.69; VI, 14.10; 1.15.38; XI, 30.18.

9. *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, pp. 93-94 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series).

10. Ādikāṇḍa, Ch. XII: Ayodhyākāṇḍa, X; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, XLI.

11. 1.1.1; p. 31.

12. Lib., VI, C. XX.

along the borders of the Surāṭṭha or Surāṣṭra country. The sages were sent to dwell on its bank. The sage Sālissara of the Kaviṭṭhaka hermitage left it for Surāṭṭha country.¹³

We find in Aśoka's Rock Edict V that Aparānta includes Surāṣṭra and other countries e.g., Surpāraka, Nasik, Bharukaccha, Kacchiya, Daśeraka, Anarta, Arbuda and Yavana. Surāṣṭra and other places formed part of Gautamiputra's dominions. The term *Śaka-Muruṇḍas*¹⁴ possibly stands for those Śaka lords' or chieftains, who were ruling in the regions of Surāṣṭra and Ujjain at the time of Samudragupta.¹⁵ The *Mahābhārata*¹⁶ places the Saurāṣṭras in the West. The Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* locates them in the West. The country of Surāṣṭra is mentioned in Baudhāyana's *Dharmasūtra* in which we find it coupled with Dakṣiṇāpatha (Deccan). The country came to be included in the Maurya empire as early as the reign of Candragupta for the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman refers to Candragupta's *rāṣṭriya* (Viceroy) Puṣyagupta the Vaiśya, who built the Sudarśana lake.

Surāṣṭra was a centre of trade in ancient times¹⁷ and frequently visited by merchants. The trade connection between Bengal and coastal regions of Surpāraka and Surāṣṭra had been in existence from early times. Its prosperity was due to trade.¹⁸ According to Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who visited India in the 7th century A.D. the capital of Surāṣṭra lay at the foot of Mt. Yuh-shan-ta (Prākṛt Ujjanta, Sanskrit Urjayat of the inscriptions of Rudradāman and Skandagupta). It is identical with modern Junagāḍh, the ancient Girinagar or Girnar. The elephants of Surāṣṭra were inferior to those belonging to Aṅga and Magadha.¹⁹ Surāṣṭra was a fine city defended by marshes wherein lived man-eating crocodiles.²⁰ It was about 4000 *lī* in circuit with more than fifty monas-

13. *Jātaka* (Fausboll), v, p. 133.

14. Sten Konow says that *Muruṇḍa* is the later form of a Śaka word meaning lord or master.

15. Cf. Allahabad Iron Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. (C.I.I., Vol. III).

16. *Virāṭaparva*, Ch. 1.12.

17. *Dasaveyāliya-cūṛṇī*, I, p. 40.

18. *Apadāna*, II. p. 359; *Milinda*, pp. 331, 359; *Jāt.* III. 463; *Jāt.* V, p. 133.

19. *Kauṭīliya-Arthaśāstra*. p. 50.

20. Ptolemy's *Ancient India*, p. 140.

teries and more than 3000 monks, the majority being students of Mahāyāna Sthavira School. Its capital was about 30 li.²¹ The deva temples were more than 100 in number. This country had the river Mahi (Mo-hi) on the West. The population was dense. The inhabitants were rich and flourishing. The soil was brackish and fruits and flowers were scarce. Heat and cold were uniform and the storms were disturbing. The people were rude and violent in their nature. They did not care for education. Their belief embraced orthodoxy and heterodoxy. They utilised the sea and were traders by profession.²² The produce and manners of the people of Surāṣṭra were like those of Ujjayinī. Near the capital there was a hill known as the Ujjanta or Ujjayanta.²³ (Chinese Ujjinta) with a monastery on its top. The place was visited by sages and saints. Neminātha or Ariṣṭanemi, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas,²⁴ died on the hill. A King of Surāṣṭra named Maṇḍalika repaired Neminātha's temple on the Mount Girnar.²⁵

A grass-cutting wooden instrument known as *Kuliya* was in use in Surāṣṭra. It measured two hands and had iron nails fixed at the end with an iron plate attached to it (*Nisītacūṛṇī*, p. 53). The corn *kaṅgu* was available in plenty and rice was eaten in its absence.²⁶

There were three main trade routes, one of which connected Ujjayinī with Surāṣṭra, Bharukaccha (Bhṛgukaccha) and Surpāraka.

The later Śaka Satraps of Surāṣṭra seem to have inclined personally much more to the Brahmanical than to the Buddhist Cult. They certainly bestowed their patronage upon the Sanskrit language of the *Brāhmaṇas*.²⁷

21. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 248.

22. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 269.

23. A beautiful mountain in Saurāṣṭra. For details, Vide Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, p. 180.

24. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 248-249; vide also Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 270.

25. Law, *Indological Studies*, Pt. IV, Chap. XI.

26. J. C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons*, pp. 339-40; *Nisītacūṛṇī*, p. 129.

27. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 319; *JRAS*, 1890 and 1899.

King Piṅgala or Piṅgalaka of the Moriyas or Mauryas was a contemporary of Aśoka. He served the Moriyas.²⁸ He went to admonish Dhammāsoka and came back. His commander-in-chief Nandaka while returning from Dhammāsoka, instructed him to follow the teachings of the Buddha. Two hundred years after the demise of the Buddha king Piṅgala became the ruler of Surāṣṭha.²⁹

After his death Nandaka was reborn as a spirit. As spirit he related his whole history and told Dhammāsoka to take refuge in *Buddha*, *Dhamma*, and *Saṅgha*.³⁰ It has been wrongly pointed out by H. S. Gehman in the Introduction (p. 136) to his English translation of the *Peta* and *Vimānavatthus* published in the S. B. B. Series that King Piṅgalaka is identified with Aśoka by Dhammapāla in his *Petavatthu Commentary*.³¹

Piṅgalaka was the only feudatory of the Emperor Aśoka. This is a clear indication of the fact that the Magadha empire under the Mauryas included the kingdom of Kosala, Vatsa or Vamśa and Avanti. The Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman I dated A.D. 150 throws some light on the administration of Surāṣṭra during the reign of Aśoka. We learn from this inscription that a Greek officer of Aśoka Maurya in Surāṣṭra was called Yavanarāja.

Uttarā, daughter of Nandaka, commander-in-chief of Piṅgala, King of Surāṣṭha, was given in marriage to one of a family of equal rank.³² She had great faith in the Buddha and offered to a saintly elder cold and perfumed drink as well as excellent cake and sweets for the benefit of her departed father.³³

A King named Madhu who reigned from Madhuvana on the river Jumna to Surāṣṭra and Ānarta was descended from Yadu or Yayāti.³⁴

28. *Moriyānaṃ upatthānaṃ* (*Petavatthu Commy.*, PTS, p. 245).

29. *Milinda*, 331, 359; *Apadāna*, II, 359.

30. Law, *Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, pp. 72-73; *Petavatthu*, IV, 3, pp. 57 ff.

31. The commentary reads as follows: *Rājā Piṅgalako nāma Surāṣṭhānaṃ adhipati ahu Moriyānaṃ upatthānaṃ gantvā Surāṣṭham punar āgamā* (*Paramatthadīpanī*, III, being the commentary on the *Petavatthu*, edited by Prof. Hardy for PTS, London, pp. 244-45).

32. *Petavatthu Commentary*, p. 244—*paṭirūpe kūle dinnā ahoṣi*.

33. *Petavatthu Commentary*, pp. 244 ff.

34. Cf. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 122; vide also *Harivaṃśa*, 94, 5164.

Some of the Sāhis referred to in the Jain work, *Kālakācārya-kathānaka*, are said to have been induced by a Jaina teacher to proceed to Surāṣṭra where they overthrew some local chiefs and ruled for four years till they were ousted by the founder of the era of 58 B.C. Candragupta Maurya pushed his conquests as far as Surāṣṭra in Western India. The Maurya empire extended from Surāṣṭra to Gangaridæ, i.e., from the Western to the Eastern sea at the time of Candragupta Maurya. In the West the Aśokan empire extended to the Arabian Sea and embraced all the Western countries including no doubt the vassal state of Surāṣṭra, the affairs of which were managed by the Yavanarāja Tuṣāspha.³⁵

After the Scythian occupation Surāṣṭra seems to have passed into the hands of the Guptas. The Udayagiri Cave inscription³⁶ tells us that Skandagupta deliberated for days and nights before making up his mind as to who could be trusted with the important task of guarding the lands of the Surāṣṭras. At the time of the incision of Rudradāman's inscription at Junāgaḍh the seat of government of the Mahākṣatraps of the line of Caṣṭana was removed to Surāṣṭra and Ānarta. The extensive territory extending from Konkan to Sindh and from Surāṣṭra and Ānarta to Ākarāvanti and Anūpa, remained in full possession of the Śaka Satraps of Western India, even during the reign of Samudragupta, until these were wrested from them by Candragupta II. Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi seems to have established his sway over Surāṣṭra after defeating the Śakas (113-138 A.D.). Rudradāman is said to have reconquered it (150 A.D.). The Nasik Cave inscription of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāyi includes Surāṣṭra and other territories in the list of the Sātavāhana dominions. It not only represents Vāsiṣṭhiputra and his father Gautamiputra but also extols the latter as the exterminator of the Kṣaharāta family.

The Yonas or Yavanas as Bactrian Greeks established their suzerainty over Surāṣṭra. The Greek King Menander annexed the peninsula of Surāṣṭra on the West coast during the latter years

35. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th ed., pp. 297, 314.

36. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III.

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of the reign of Puṣyamitra Śūnga. Menander subjugated the King of Saraostos (Surāṣṭra).³⁷

Under the leadership of Śāka and Pahlava Satraps the Kuṣāṇa power was extended to Western India and the foundations were laid of the kingdom of the Kṣatrapas of Surāṣṭra and Mālwa.³⁸

At Saurāṣṭra close to the Girnar Hill a big stone inscription was discovered belonging to the reign of Rudradāman (A.D. 150).³⁹ This inscription records an account of the kingdom of Rudradāman who was then the ruler of East and West Ākarāvanti, Anupanivrit, Ānarta, Surāṣṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kaccha, Sindhu-Sauvira, Kukurā, Aparānta, Niṣāda, etc.

Candragupta II Vikramāditya conquered the Śāka Satraps of Saurāṣṭra about 390 A.D.⁴⁰ The greatest military achievement of Candragupta Vikramāditya was his advance to the Arabian Sea through Malwa and Gujarat and his subjugation of the peninsula of Surāṣṭra which was ruled for centuries by the Śāka dynasty of foreign origin, known to European scholars, as Western Satraps.⁴¹

The Surāṣṭras are said to have suffered a reverse at the hands of the Tājikas generally identified with the Arabs when the Maitrakas of Valabhi became extinct about the middle of the 8th century A.D. The Arabs took possession of Sind during the early years of the above century. They seem to have attempted a conquest of the neighbouring country of Surāṣṭra. Pulakeśirāja defeated the Tājikas according to the Nausāri copper plate grant. The Tājikas are reported to have destroyed the Saindhavas, Kachelas, Surāṣṭras, Cāvotakas, Gurjaras and Mauryas before they were defeated by the Cālukya King.⁴²

Surāṣṭra was an autonomous country.⁴³ The *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya says that Surāṣṭra had a *saṃgha* form of government. It

37. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., pp. 210, 227; Law, *Indological Studies*, Pt. I. (2nd Ed.), pp. 41-42.

38. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 585.

39. *E.I.*, Vol. viii, p. 36 ff.

40. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 153 fn.

41. J.R.A.S. 1890 and 1899; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 307.

42. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 109.

43. Vide Rock Edict V; R. K. Mookerjee, *Aśoka*, p. 140; Naushera version of Aśoka's R.E.V.

was governed by its own constitution framed by its own *saṃgha* or congregation or assembly.⁴⁴

Candragupta II, son of Samudragupta, had Surāṣṭra included into the Gupta empire after the destruction of the Śaka kingdom of Saurāṣṭra. He started inventing silver coins in his own name imitating the Śaka Kings of Saurāṣṭra. In the first series of coins there were the head of the King on one side and the figure of *garuḍa* on the other and below it the inscription *Mahārāja Candragupta* was engraved.⁴⁵ During the reign of Skandagupta silver coins were invented in Saurāṣṭra and Mālava. After Skandagupta Saurāṣṭra was not in the possession of the Gupta Kings. Only one coin was invented in the name of the father of Caṣṭana but Rapson says that it was the coin of Caṣṭana.⁴⁶

Rudrasena's son Dāmasena ascended the throne of Surāṣṭra. Silver coins were issued by him.⁴⁷ Dāmasena's third son Vijaya-sena was the ruler of Surāṣṭra. Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa are found in his coins.⁴⁸ Rudrasena II, son of Vīradāma, was the ruler of Surāṣṭra. In his coins occurs the title of Mahākṣatrapa. After Simhasena came Rudrasena IV as the ruler of Surāṣṭra.⁴⁹ The inscription No. 353 in Kielhorn's list points out that in 914 A. D. Mahīpāla was the lord of Surāṣṭra which was afterwards lost to him.⁵⁰ The gold coins of Mahīpāla were discovered at Surāṣṭra and Mālava.

It is interesting to note that in Surāṣṭra coins of very base silver with Śiva's sacred bull Nandi on the reverse were current.⁵¹ Silver coins were in vogue in imitation of foreign coins in Saurāṣṭra and Mālava.⁵²

44. Ed. Shama Sastry, 3rd Ed. p. 278.

*Samghalābhodandamītralābhānamuttamaḥ.....Kāmboja
Surāṣṭrasreṇādayo vārtāśāstropajivinaḥ.*

Kautilya refers to a number of *Samghas* among which were included Kāmboja and Surāṣṭra.

45. Allan, *B.M.C.*, pp. 52-53, Nos. 142-143.

46. *B.M.C.*, p. 71.

47. Rapson, *B.M.C.*, pp. 108-112.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-136.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

50. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 395.

51. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 47.

52. Allan, *British Museum Coins*, p. lxxxvi.

Civil Disobedience, Non-violent Non-co-operation, and Passive Resistance in Bengal before Mahatma Gandhi

BY

DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR

Every big national movement may be studied from two points of view. First, its immediate impact on the country and the ultimate success or failure to achieve the end for which it was launched. Secondly, an attempt to view it in its true historical perspective, tracing, as far as possible, its source by narrating incidents of the same or similar nature to which it might wholly or partially owe its origin. The first is treated as the domain of the politician, while the second is regarded as the proper business of the historian. The first is mostly a matter of sentiment while the second is an appeal to reason and knowledge of history. An excellent illustration of it is furnished by the non-violent Non-Co-operation and the Civil Disobedience or Passive Resistance Movement launched by Gandhiji. It is generally believed that in this matter Gandhiji was inspired by the writings of Thoreau, an American author of repute. Thus we find in the Life of Thoreau by William Condry, published in 1962:

"Thoreau, early in 1848, wrote the first version of his famous outburst on civil disobedience, which, since it inspired Mahatma Gandhi, can claim to be one of the fountain-heads of the passive resistance movement in India and elsewhere."

It is not, however, generally known that there is on record an instance of Civil Disobedience in Bengal four hundred years before Gandhiji's time. It is an important incident in the life of Chaitanya, the great Vaishnava leader, born in 1486 A.D. in Nava-dvipa, now called Nadiya, in West Bengal. He preached his new religion during the reign of the powerful Muslim ruler of Bengal, named Husain Shah, who is now believed to have been a Muslim of liberal views but is described by contemporary and nearly

contemporary Vaishnava writers as having earned notoriety for breaking the images of Hindu deities and desecrating Hindu temples. The populous city of Navadvipa where Chaitanya lived was ruled by a Muslim Qazi who was even a greater bigot than his master. One of the most characteristic features introduced in Vaishnavism by Chaitanya was the *kīrtana*, viz. singing in chorus devotional songs to the accompaniment of loud instrumental music. Sometimes the *kīrtan* party consisted of thousands singing in chorus and marching in a procession in the public street. The Qazi grew furious at the thought that the Hindus would dare make open exhibition of their religious feelings in the streets of his city. He and his followers assaulted the party, beat indiscriminately anybody on whom they could lay their hands, broke the musical instruments and threatened the people with dire consequences if they would sing *kīrtan* in public streets or even within the compound of private houses. One of his threats was that he would pollute the caste of the offenders, which meant that they would be forced to embrace Islam.

The threat of the Qazi unnerved the people. Many blamed Chaitanya for bringing this disaster upon the people and even his followers were so much demoralized that they decided to give up the *kīrtan* procession in the street and only sing the name of Hari inside the house and so inaudibly that the sound might not be heard outside. The *kīrtan* thus came to an end, and some were ready to leave Navadvipa for some time. It was at this crisis that Chaitanya decided upon the step which Gandhiji adopted four hundred years later. He asked his followers to defy the orders of the Qazi. He publicly proclaimed that he would himself lead a *kīrtan* party and appealed to all to assemble round him. The news caused consternation to some but inspired others with courage. So a huge concourse, singing *kīrtan* songs, marched towards the Qazi's house, who was wild with rage and came out with the determination to pollute the caste of all the Hindus who joined the procession. But when he heard the noise and tumult near his very door and saw the big and menacing crowd advancing towards him his courage failed and he took to flight. The excited Hindus entered the Qazi's house and did a lot of damage. Later writers who conceived Chaitanya as an image of the typical humility of the Vaishnavas represented the violence as an act of

folly on the part of the unruly members of the *kīrtan* party, and completely exonerated Chaitanya from any responsibility. But the contemporary biographer of Chaitanya puts the following words in his mouth: "The angry Lord (Chaitanya) said 'Where is that fellow, the Qazi, bring him quick and cut off his head. Break his house and put it on fire so that he might die with his men'." In any case ultimately the Qazi made up the matter and withdrew the ban on *kīrtan*. This is an instance of successful Civil Disobedience, though not non-violent, in character. In a public meeting a few years ago, I referred to this story and an old revolutionary, who spoke after me, narrated how he and his comrades were visited in jail by Gandhiji and there was a discussion on the usefulness of Civil Disobedience. He and his friends protested against the policy of Gandhiji, but the latter recited the story of Chaitanya and the Qazi narrated above, and added that it was from a great man of Bengal that he had learnt the lesson of Civil Disobedience.

A typical and successful example of Passive Resistance or non-violent Non-Co-operation was given by the indigo-cultivators in Bengal about a hundred years ago. They suffered in meek silence the terrible oppressions perpetrated upon them and even upon their women by the white tea planters with the full connivance of the English magistrates and police officials. The planters forced the peasants to sow indigo in their best fields and sell them to the planters at a very low price. If they refused, their crops in the fields were destroyed, they were kept in confinement in dark dungeons for indefinite periods, their bullocks, ploughs, etc., were forcibly seized and even their women were outraged. After suffering in this way for nearly half a century the peasants revolted. They decided not to sow indigo, come what may. Under able leadership there was formed a union of indigo cultivators in five districts. "Twenty lakhs of poor ryots combined and resolved, even at the sacrifice of their hearth and home, nay of their lives, not to cultivate their lands with indigo, nor to enter into any fresh contract with the planters for the same." (*Hindu Patriot*). The movement threw out two great leaders, Bisnu Charan Biswas and Digambar Biswas, to whose unwearied zeal and efforts its success was mainly due. Planters instituted cases against the recalcitrant cultivators and got money-decrees against them. But

the two Biswases helped them with money, and spent nearly seventeen thousand rupees from their own pocket to save them. No amount of fines, imprisonment, and physical torture could induce the peasants to sow indigo and the Government had ultimately to yield and remove the legitimate grievances of the indigo cultivators.

So far as non-violent Non-Co-operation in the form of Passive Resistance on a large scale is concerned a complete programme was given by Arabinda Ghose in a series of articles on Passive Resistance in his Paper, *Bandē Mataram*, between 9 and 23 April 1907. It was equally, if not more, comprehensive than the programme of Gandhiji's movement thirteen years later. It included various items such as boycott of schools, law-courts and administrative machinery, culminating in the non-payment of taxes. These articles have now been published in the form of a booklet and today, after the lapse of half a century, we are struck by the remarkable coincidence between the ideas of these two great personalities. Whether Gandhiji was aware of Arabinda's writings it is difficult to say. But the articles were written during the days of, and in connection with, the Swadeshi Movement which followed the Partition of Bengal, and Gandhiji was so deeply impressed with this movement that he wrote in 1909 in his *Hind Swaraj* that the Partition of Bengal would lead to the partition of the British Empire.

In any case I have tried to show that the three movements launched by Gandhiji which have been hailed as unique in India had their precedents in Bengal.

A Chinese Account of India—732 A.D

BY

D. C. SIRCAR, *Calcutta University*

Workers in the field of Indian historical research generally attach considerable importance to the early accounts of foreign writers, even though they are often found to be demonstrably defective. It is well known as to how the statements of Megasthenes regarding the absence of slavery in ancient India and the freedom of the country from famines¹ influenced some students of Indian history and how they are now usually believed to be on account of insufficient study or misunderstanding of the socio-economic life of ancient India.²

Recently our attention has been drawn to a Chinese account of India,³ which belongs to 732 A.D. and runs as follows:

“(I) According to the law of the Five Indies, from the King, the royal consort and the princes down to the chiefs and their wives, all build monasteries separately in accordance with their respective capacities and abilities. Each of them builds his own temple, but does not construct it jointly. They say, ‘When each person has one’s own meritorious virtues, what is the necessity of joint effort?’

“(II) Whenever a monastery is built, a village and its folk are immediately offered to support the Three Precious Ones. Merely building a monastery without making any donation of a village and its folk is not done.

“(III) This is followed as an example by foreign countries.

1. Cf. R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, pp. 224, 233.

2. See, e.g., *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 203, 416; A. N. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India, 600 B.C.-200 A.D.*, Vol. I, 1942, pp. 129ff.

3. See Jan Yun-Hua, ‘Hui Chao’s Record on Kashmir’ in *Kashmir Research Biannual*, No. 2 (1962), pp. 119-20; R. S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism: C. 300-1200*, p. 58-59.

"(IV) The King, the Queen and the royal consorts have their respective villages and their folk.

"(V) Donation is free and the King is not asked for that. This also applies in the case of building a temple. When it is necessary to build a temple, they build it and the King is not asked. The King dare not obstruct. He is afraid lest it should infect him with sins.

"(VI) As to rich commoners, though they have no village to donate, they try their best to build temples and manage these by themselves. Whenever they obtain things, they offer them to the Three Precious Ones.

"(VII) As in the Five Indies no human being is sold, so there are no female slaves.

"(VIII) Villages and their inhabitants could be donated if wanted and necessary."

This account contains statements characterised by misunderstanding and half-truths as will be clear from the following analysis:

I. Of course the Indians were never miserly as regards expenditure for the purpose of securing religious merit and often built temples, monasteries, etc., individually when they could afford it. But the impression created is that the Indians always built religious establishments individually and were never inclined to share the merit accruing to a pious deed with anybody else. This is certainly wrong since collective performance of deeds for the sake of religious merit has been an important feature of Indian religious life throughout the ages. We have many instances of *caityas* and cave-dwellings for monks made by the inhabitants of an entire village, or all the members of a family, or a guild or a group of people.⁴ There are innumerable similar other cases of meritorious deeds jointly performed by a group of persons.⁵ It is well known

4. Cf. e.g., Luder's List of Inscriptions, Nos. 1037, 1045, 1048, 1107, 1121, 1127, 1140, 1153, 1169, 1180, 1183.

5. See *Ibid.*, Nos. 925-926, 931, 1006, 1020, 1024, 1041, 1121, 1127, 1181, 1210, 1239, 1248, 1250-52, 1254-55, 1262, 1271, 1272, 1280, 1281, 1284, 1287, 1291-92, 1294, 1303, 1329-30.

that grants of land were made by early Indian Kings often for the religious merit of their own as well as that of their parents or families,⁶ while Buddhist images were dedicated to temples for the merit of the donors and their parents, teachers, etc., as well as for the benefit of the whole world.⁷ A Nagarjunikonda inscription says how Queen Rudradhara-bhaṭṭārikā, besides donating a pillar, contributed a sum of 170 *dināri-māṣakas* towards the expenses incurred for building a *Stūpa* by her husband's paternal aunt.⁸

II. That a village and its folk were granted in favour of a monastery as soon as it was founded by the Kings, etc., is a half-truth since often rent-free plots of land were granted for the maintenance of religious establishments instead of rent-free villages⁹ and permanent endowments (*akṣaya-nīvī*) were created for their maintenance by depositing a sum of money in a guild.¹⁰

III. That the custom of granting land for the maintenance of religious establishments was emulated by some foreign rulers is corroborated by the Nalanda plate of Devapāla recording the grant of five villages of the Patna-Gaya region for the maintenance of the monastery built at Nalanda by the Śailendra King Bālaputradeva of Indonesia and Malaysia and that of one village by the Coḷa king Rājarāja I in favour of another monastery built at Nāgapaṭṭanam by another Śailendra King named Māravijayottuṅgavarman.¹¹ The gift villages in question were apparently purchased, at least theoretically, by the builders of the monasteries from the Pāla and Coḷa Kings respectively.¹² It seems however that such establishments founded by rich foreigners were often maintained by grants of money and rent-paying landed property purchased by them for the purpose.

6. See, e.g., *Select Inscriptions*, 2nd ed., pp. 395, 467, 487, 491, etc.

7. See, e.g., *JBSR*, Vol. XXXVII, Parts 3-4, 1951 (Some Inscriptions from Bihar, p. 10); Vol. XLI, Part 2, 1955 (Jayanagar Image Inscriptions of Year 35, p. 9); etc.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 19 and note.

9. Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, 2nd ed., pp. 197ff., 200-01.

10. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 164 ff.

11. See *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. IV, p. 52; Vol. V, p. 236 (cf. p. 239).

12. Cf. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 114 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 50 ff.

IV. This refers to the King's Khās Mahāl and the *jā'gīrs* or rent-free holdings in the possession of his dependants, officers and favourites. Creation of such holdings in favour of temples, monks, learned Brāhmaṇas, etc., are well known from the Śaka-Śātavāhana age down to recent times. There is evidence to show that the early Indian Kings paid for the services of their officers and servants in several ways. The *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*¹³ speaks of payment of *vetana* in cash and *bhakta* in foodgrains to the various grades of officers, while the *Manusmṛiti*¹⁴ prescribes payment of wages in foodgrains, cash and clothing in the case of menial workers and by *jagīr* in the case of high officers. Hiuen-tsang's *Si-yu-ki*¹⁵ also refers to payment by means of *jāgīrs* in the case of high officers and the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*¹⁶ speaks of payment of wages by money or *khārīs* of crops, although Stein believes that the Kashmirian officers, etc., were usually paid in crops. There is likewise reference in the epigraphic records to the King's Khās Mahāl¹⁷ and the *jāgīrs* in the possession of the King's officers and the members of the royal family.¹⁸

It has to be noticed that, in the rent-free holdings and *jāgīrs*, the obligation of the inhabitants towards the King were transferred to the landlord. The lower class of tenants (such as temporary tenants) in such holdings had to offer *viṣṭi* or unpaid labour to the master. This has been somewhat misunderstood in the Chinese account as the grant of villages together with their folk.

V. The impression created by the statement that all kinds of donations and the building of temples, etc., could be undertaken by anybody without the sanction of the Government is no doubt wrong. Donation of money from one's own pocket and of rent-paying land out of one's landed property apparently did not re-

13. Cf. Shamasastri's trans., pp. 276 ff.

14. See VII. 118-119, 126.

15. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 177.

16. Cf. Stein, *Kaṭhān's Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, pp. 327-28.

17. See *Select Inscriptions*, 2nd ed., p. 200, text line 4: *rājakaṁ kṣetram* = *asmat-svatvakam*.

18. See JAS, Letters, Vol. XX, p. 206, for the grant of land out of their respective *jāgīrs* by the King's mother, by his two sons and by one of his ministers.

quire the King's special consent, although the transfer of the ownership of landed property must have required the recognition of the State. But the creation of a rent-free holding out of one's *jāgīr* was not possible without the State's permission and that is why the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad plate of Viśvarūpasena ratifies the grants made out of the *jāgīrs* of the King's mother, of his two sons and one of his ministers.¹⁹

The specific mention of temple-building in the passage *deva-kula-puṣkarīṇy-ādikaṁ kārayitvā* in the above-mentioned Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad plate of Viśvarūpasena makes it clear that temples could be built by the privileged tenants without Government sanction but that the ordinary tenants were not entitled to do so.²⁰

VI. There is evidence to show that a rich commoner paid some money to the State for creating a rent-free holding in favour of a temple and that the Government approved of his proposal.²¹

VII. This of course reminds us of similar wrong statements of Megasthenes, to which reference has been made above.

VIII. That rent-paying villages could be granted without the King's special permission (probably on payment of fees required for the transfer of landlordship) and that rent-free holdings could be created by payments made to the Government is to be admitted. But the implication that the inhabitants of the gift village served as serfs to the donees is certainly wrong. A village was normally inhabited by people of different communities including Brāhmaṇas, Mahattaras, Karaṇas, merchants, artisans, etc., and its permanent tenants enjoyed privileges of various grades and it is only the obligations of the villagers to the King that could be transferred to the donees of the royal grants. Priests, carpenters, barbers, fishermen and others who enjoyed village-land in lieu of service had to offer their services to the new landlord while temporary tenants had to offer to the latter their *viṣṭi* or unpaid labour according to rules. It is however absurd to think that high

19. *Loc. cit.*

20. *Ibid.*, p. 207.

21. See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 338, 348-49, 357-58, 360-61.

class people including Brāhmaṇas, village-elders and big merchants served as serfs.

Let us take up a specific case. The Khoh copper plate grant of *Mahārāja Śarvanātha*, dated in the Gupta year 193 (512 A.D.) records a grant as follows: *Mahārāja Śarvanātha* informs the cultivators including the Brāhmaṇas as well as the artisans at the villages of Āśramaka on the northern banks of the Tamasā: 'Be it known to you that this village is allotted by me, in four shares, permanently, together with the taxes on permanent and temporary tenants and freedom from the entry of royal agents and policemen. Two of the four shares belong to Viṣṇunandin, and the third and fourth respectively to Skandanāga's son Śaktināga and to Kumāranāga and Skandanāga. The gift village is to be enjoyed by themselves and their descendants. It is moreover agreed by them and by myself that the village is given for the repairs, by the donees and their descendants, for the increase of their religious merit, of whatever may be broken or torn in the shrine of the Bhagavat (Viṣṇu) established by them and in that of Ādityabhaṭṭāraka as well as for the maintenance of *bali*, *caru*, *sattra*, perfumes, incense, garlands and lamps. You yourselves should render to the donees the offering of the customary dues including taxes in the shape of the grain-share and periodical offerings and tax payable in cash and shall be obedient to their commands.'²²

It is quite clear from the language of the record, which is not dissimilar to that of numerous other similar documents, that the King related to the donee landlords what he himself expected and realised from the villagers. It is indeed impossible to think that the tenants including the Brāhmaṇas, artisans and other inhabitants who are clearly stated to have paid taxes in kind and cash were mere serfs. It is a significant fact that even when land is specifically stated to have been granted along with *jana* and *dhana* (i.e., tenants and revenue income) the inhabitants were advised by the King to pay to the donee whatever dues they were previously paying to the State (*yat* = *kiñcid* = *rāja-pratyāy-ādikaṁ tad* = *asy* = *opānetavyam*). See Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXV, pp. 135, 139.

22. Cf. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 128-29; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 391-92.

We therefore find it difficult to agree with the view that the said Chinese account of 732 A.D. "establishes a significant link between the breakdown of slavery and emergence of serfdom" and that "obviously the inhabitants were bound to serve the donors as long as they lived under them and to serve the beneficiaries when they were transferred to the latter."²³ Since the pattern of the donation of villages in favour of temples does not exhibit any change in the Indian royal documents from Śaka-Śātavāhana age to recent times, there is no justification for postulating the breakdown of slavery and emergence of serfdom on the basis of the Chinese account of 732 A.D. When rent-free land and villages were granted by Indian rulers in favour of Buddhist monks dwelling in the excavated caves of Western India as early as the 2nd century A.D. and when even the pre-Gupta work called *Manu-smṛti* speaks of the *jā'gīrs* enjoyed by the different grades of the King's governors,²⁴ it is indeed absurd to speak of the emergence of serfdom about 732 A.D. on the basis of the Chinese account of the said date.

23. R. S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism: C. 300-1200*, p. 59.

24. Manu (VII. 188-19) says that the ruler of a village should enjoy whatever the villagers have to pay to the King in the shape of *anna*, *pāna*, *indhana*, etc., while the rulers of ten, twenty, hundred and thousand villages should enjoy respectively one *kula* (two *halas*, one *hala* being the area that can be cultivated by one plough in a year) of land, five *kulas* (10 *halas*) of land, one village and one township (*daśi kulan = tu bhuñjita vimśi pañca kulāni ca / grāmaṁ grāma-śat-ādhyakṣaḥ sahasrādhipatiḥ puram*).

The Purāṇic Account of the Śātavāhanas

BY

DR. SUDHAKAR CHATTOPADHYAYA, M.A., PH.D.

Shantiniketan

Besides furnishing us with a list of the Śātavāhana Kings with their regnal years, the *Purāṇas* make some broad statements that have caused serious differences of opinion among the scholars, especially in regard to the *starting point* of the dynasty:

1. Relying on the unanimous statement of the *Purāṇas* that Simuka (Śisuka, Sindhuka etc.), who heads the list of the Andhra-Śātavāhana Kings, came to power after overthrowing Suśarman, the last ruler of the Kāṇva dynasty, some scholars hold that the Śātavāhanas began their rule in the first century B.C.¹

2. Another group of scholars takes into account the Purāṇic statement that the dynasty ruled for more than four centuries and a half, and further considering the fact that the end of the dynasty cannot be placed later than the first quarter of the third century A.D., as proved by the epigraphs, it is held that the Śātavāhanas came to power under Simuka in the third decade of the third century B.C., evidently after Aśoka's death, when the Mauryan empire showed signs of disintegration. These scholars maintain that the last Kāṇva King Suśarman was overthrown not by Simuka but by one of his successors.²

In the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1952, pp. 40ff., Dr. A. S. Altekar discussed both the above theories, and

1. Following this tradition, Simuka is placed in the second half of the first century B.C. by H. C. Raychaudhuri, D. C. Sircar and others. R. G. Bhandarkar places the King about 75 B.C. for he propounded the theory that the Kāṇvas ruled contemporaneously with the later Śuṅgas and this Śuṅga-Kāṇva rule came to an end about 75 B.C. This theory, however, is not favoured by later scholars.

2. V. A. Smith, Jayaswal, K. Gopalachari, M. Rama Rao follow this view. G. Rao pushes Simuka as early as 271-248 B.C.

ultimately supported the second one with the following interesting arguments:

- (a) The Mauryan empire collapsed about 187 B.C.; if we assume that the Śātavāhanas came to power about 30 B.C., then there would be a big "vacuum (in the history of the Deccan) of more than a century which cannot be explained."
- (b) Simuka cannot have overthrown the last Kāṇva King; one of his successors must have done so, for he could not have become so powerful suddenly as to overthrow the Kāṇva imperial ruler at Pāṭaliputra.
- (c) Though from the coins and inscriptions, we get only a few names of the Śātavāhana Kings, archaeological evidences are likely to be discovered in future to show that there were nearly 30 Kings in the dynasty, as asserted by the *Purāṇas*; and thus the *Purāṇic* tradition that the Śātavāhanas ruled for more than 450 years would be confirmed.

Though the above arguments are no doubt very forceful, it is at the same time difficult to dismiss the unanimous statement of the *Purāṇas* that Simuka overthrew the last Kāṇva King (c. 33 B.C.) and it is the *only unanimous* broad statement regarding the dynasty. On the other hand, there is hardly any unanimity regarding the period of the Śātavāhana rule; it ranges from 272½ years to more than 450 years. This naturally leads us to the problems: Shall we accept the unanimous statement of the *Purāṇas* or shall we reject it and prefer one about which there is no such unanimity? Shall we write history on the evidences available or on the supposition that fresh evidences will come forth from the womb of the future? A. S. Altekar further pre-supposes that the Kāṇvas ruled as an imperial power at Pāṭaliputra and that Simuka captured the imperial city. Before him Jayaswal also worked on a similar hypothesis.³ It is assumed that the dynastic account of the *Purāṇas* has been written from the point of view of Magadha. Available evidences show, on the other hand, that after the fall of the Mauryas, Puṣyamitra lived at Pāṭaliputra and maintained

3. *JBORS*, xiii. pp. 221-46 cf. *EHI*, pp. 216-7.

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the imperial tradition, but his successors were reduced to the position of a petty local dynasty at Vidiśā.⁴ The *Purāṇas* give simply the account of the dynasty without any reference to the kingdom and capital, and so we can easily perceive that after Puṣyamitra the point of view of the Purāṇic writers naturally shifted from Magadha to the Vidiśā region in the Madhya Pradesh. The Kāṇvas also ruled in that region. The rest of North India became divided into a number of petty states as proved by the evidence of coins.⁵ When the Śātavāhana Simuka overthrew the last Kāṇva ruler, naturally his dynasty also came within the view point of the Purāṇic writers. Thus there is no reason to think that Simuka overthrew a very powerful dynasty at Pāṭaliputra.

Such problems as envisaged by Altekar and others are bound to arise as in writing the history of the Śātavāhana dynasty emphasis has been laid on the *Vāyu* and *Matsya* accounts only. In view of the fact, however, that the *Purāṇas* have hopelessly confused the account of the dynasty, we should make a comparative study of all the available Purāṇic evidences so that we may get the proper light, and should not be biased by one account against the other. Now, while all the Purāṇic accounts start with Simuka, as already stated, the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* makes the following interesting statement in concluding the account of the Kāṇvas:]

*Kāṇvāyanās tu catvāraś catvāriṃśacca pañca ca
Samā bhokṣyanti pṛthivīm punar Andhrān gamiṣyati.*⁶

"The four Kāṇvas will rule the earth for forty-five years; then (it) will again go to the Āndhras."

The verse quoted above shows that before the rise of Simuka, the Śātavāhanas had been in power, and a new rise of the dynasty (*punar*) happened after the fall of the Kāṇvas, when Suśarman, the last Kāṇva King, was overthrown by his servant Simuka. The independent Śātavāhanas might have been brought under subjec-

4. Chattopadhyaya. *Early History of North India*, pp. 23-4.

5. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 79-80; Allan, *Catalogue of Ancient Indian Coins in the British Museum*, Intro.

6. Pargiter, DKA., p. 35, fn. 42.

tion by the Kāṇvas who are described as *prajāta-sāmāntāḥ*, and this evidently eclipsed their glory for the time being.

In the background of the above note, let us now study the other accounts in the *Purāṇas*.

- (a) The *Matsya Purāṇa* makes the broad statement that there were nineteen Kings in the dynasty, while three manuscripts actually name thirty Kings. The *Vāyu*, on the other hand, speaks of thirty Kings, but the different manuscripts actually name seventeen, eighteen and nineteen Kings.
- (b) The duration of the dynasty is said to have been 460 years according to the *Matsya*, 456 years according to the *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata*, 411 years according to the *Vāyu*, (though only 300 years according to another manuscript of the same *Purāṇa*).
- (c) The actual reign-period assigned to the Kings according to the *Matsya* makes a total of $448\frac{1}{2}$ years; it is only $272\frac{1}{2}$ years according to the *Vāyu*.

An analysis of the above statements would clearly show that here were two different traditions about the dynasty:

- (1) that the number of the different Śātavāhana Kings had been 17/19 or 30; and
- (2) that the dynasty ruled for $272\frac{1}{2}/300$ years or $411/448\frac{1}{2}/460$ years.

As already indicated we have got three fixed points in the history of the dynasty:

- (a) it came to power sometime before Simuka;
- (b) Simuka re-asserted the independence of the dynasty in about 30 B.C.;
- (c) the dynasty came to an end about 220-5 A.D.

As all the Purāṇic lists begin with Simuka, we can accommodate 17/19 Kings only between C. 30 B.C. and C. 220/5 A.D., covering a period of 270/5 years. On the other hand, about 30

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Kings can be accommodated only on the supposition that the dynasty ruled for 411/448½/460 years. The starting point of this period cannot be C. 30 B.C. for, in that case, the dynasty would continue upto the fifth century A.D., which goes contrary to the archaeological evidences. This tradition evidently has, at its background, the fact that the Śātavāhanas started their rule sometime in the second half of the third century B.C., but as this list also puts Simuka at the beginning, we can clearly perceive how the compiler of the record has jumbled up two different phases of the dynasty, the Śātavāhanas ruling before and after the Kāṇvas, as proved by the evidence of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*.

This leads us to enquire what may possibly be the source of confusion. To understand it we have to bear in mind the fact as noted before, that after Puṣyamitra, the Purāṇic accounts have been compiled from the Vidiśā point of view :

(a) Thus when the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* name only 19 or 17 rulers of the dynasty, but observe simultaneously that there were nearly 30 Kings without mentioning the names of others, we have to understand clearly that they are dealing with the successors of Simuka, but indicating at the same time that there were a number of Kings before him as well. The predecessors of Simuka have not been mentioned, evidently because they do not come within their Vidiśā point of view.

(b) The *Matsya Purāṇa*, on the other hand, makes the broad statement that there were 19 Kings evidently from the same point of view (i.e. Simuka and his successors), but simultaneously names about 30 Kings of the dynasty to make the list complete. The writer was evidently in confusion; he has put Simuka at the top of the list (who heads the list of the second group of Kings) and has thus jumbled up earlier and later Kings together.

R. G. Bhandarkar who first dealt with the Purāṇic accounts critically observed that "the period of three hundred years (300 years is general statement, the total of the different kings is 272½ years) and the seventeen (18 or 19) names given in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* refer probably to the main branch. The *Matsya* seems to me to put together the princes of all the branches (the main line and the branches that ruled after the fall of the main line) and

thus makes them out to be thirty.... Thus then both the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya Purāṇa* each give a correct account, but of different things." This interpretation, though accepted by many scholars, seems now to be a little out of the mark, in view of the *Brahmāṇḍa* account quoted above. The *Vāyu* states that it was giving the *pradhānyataḥ* account of the dynasty,⁷ which has been interpreted as the *Purāṇa* giving the leading names of the family. But in that case one fails to understand why the *Purāṇa* has excluded the names of Pulumāyi and his immediate successors, for Pulumāyi was undoubtedly an important Śātavāhana ruler. Relying too much on the authenticity of the *Vāyu* list, R. G. Bhandarkar observed that Pulumāyi, Śiva Śrī and Śivaskanda who intervened between Gautamīputra and Yajña Śrī never sat on the throne and that they died as princes, though elsewhere the same scholar states that Pulumāyi 'reigned in his own right for four years'. This is evidently a defect in the *Vāyu* list, but this shows at any rate that it was not giving the leading names of the dynasty only. Epigraphic and literary evidences clearly prove that Simuka and his successors who ruled after the restoration of the Śātavāhana power played an important part in the political life of India, in contrast to the earlier members of the dynasty of whom we find no records showing that they played no important role. Had any of the earlier members played a striking part, that would have been mirrored, directly or indirectly, in the literature or epigraphs of the country. So by the expression '*pradhānyataḥ pravakṣyāmi*', the *Vāyu* refers not to the leading Kings, but to the leading branch of the dynasty. It may be mentioned here that the *Brahmāṇḍa* list is in close agreement with *Vāyu*, with minor differences here and there.

With the above defects in the *Vāyu* list and the jumbling up of names in the *Matsya*, it is apparent that we have to proceed very cautiously in using the Purāṇic material for writing a sober history of the dynasty. Epigraphic and numismatic evidences show that from Gautamīputra onwards, the *Matsya* list has been preserved in a rather satisfactory manner, and hence it is apparent that the confusion of the names of the earlier and the later members of the dynasty occurs in the earlier portion.

7. JBORS, xvi, p. 264 (*pradhānyataḥ*); Rao, EHD (ed. Yazdani), p. 86.

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In any case, we may arrive tentatively at the following conclusions :

- (a) the Śātavāhana dynasty came to power in the third century B.C.;
- (b) it subsequently lost its independent status but Simuka regained the independence of the dynasty;
- (c) there were in all about thirty Kings in the family;
- (d) Simuka and his successors numbered about nineteen.

Toynbee on Ancient India

BY

SIBESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA

University of Allahabad

I

Few works in recent years have attracted so much of attention as Toynbee's *A Study of History*. In the field of historical synthesis, his has been the most ambitious attempt of our time. Although it was received with enthusiasm by the literate public, professional historians, especially the British, have been highly critical of his work. The vehemence of their criticism was, however, largely due to their realisation that Toynbee's work constitutes a serious challenge to them. He questions the very fundamental tenets of current historical writings. Toynbee criticises in no uncertain terms the preoccupation of professional historians with the particulars alone in disregard of the totality, their failure to see the wood for the trees, which he calls 'antinomianism'. A serious student of history now can ill-afford to ignore Toynbee's *Study* because of the serious issues it raises.

It is interesting as well as instructive to consider Toynbee's view of Indian History, if one is allowed to coin such an expression. Toynbee has no special or separate view of Indian History as such. In his *Study* he treats it as part of the general process underlying all civilizations—genesis, growth, break-down and disintegration. But as the homeland of two of the twenty-one civilizations, which cover the entire World History, he devotes considerable attention to India. By piecing together the observations relating to India, scattered, as they are, over the volumes of his impressive *Study*, we might, however, frame an outline of Toynbee's concept of Indian History. But this has to be seen in relation to his general theory of History, or else it will be similar, as the old phrase goes, to the blind men's experience of the elephant.

Toynbee starts with the thesis that the intelligible fields of historical study are 'societies' or 'civilizations' which have greater extension in both space and time than national states or other political communities. He lists twenty-one such civilizations.¹ Other than these, five civilizations took birth but could not fully develop to the stature of real civilization and got 'arrested' in their growth. The genesis and growth of civilizations are not caused by racial and geographic factors as such but are the outcome of an interplay of a series of 'challenges and responses'. A society is constantly faced with challenges from its environment, physical and social. A growing society successfully responds to a given challenge and solves the need. A new challenge follows and a new response successfully ensues, and so the cycle goes on. Under these conditions a society is on continuous move and this movement brings the society from the level of sub-civilization to that of civilization. The growth of a civilization is not to be measured by its geographic expansion or technological progress or even in increasing control over its environment. The real growth consists in a process defined as 'etherialisation', a result of answering challenges that were internal rather than external. The victorious responses do not take the form of surmounting external obstacles or of overcoming an external adversary but manifest themselves in "an inward self-articulation or self-determination". The self-articulation of the inward spirit of a civilization is 'etherialisation'. Every society has a central characteristic which gives the society its distinctive personality and character. This dominant characteristic or the spirit of the civilization differs from one society to another, e.g., aesthetic in the Hellenic, religious in the Indic and the Hindu and so on. The growth is to be measured by a progressive and harmonious unfolding of the spirit of a civilization, the development of its personality.

It is not that the response to the challenges is made by the society as a whole. It is a small section of the society, the 'creative minority' which successfully meets and answers the challenge and is freely imitated by the majority. Toynbee calls the process

1. Egyptian, Andean, Sinic, Minoan, Sumerian, Mayan, Yucatic, Mexican, Hittite, Syriac, Babylonian, Iranian, Arabic, Far-Eastern (Main and Japanese), Indic, Hindu, Hellenic, Orthodox Christian (Main and Russian) and Western.

'mimesis' by which the majority voluntarily follows the lead of the creative minority and keeps the society moving along the path to progress. In the growth phase thus a society is a perfect unity with a harmonious body and a harmonious soul.

The failure of the 'creative minority' to give a successful response to a given challenge marks the beginning of a society's decline. It tries constantly in different ways to solve the need but fails to hit upon the right answer. In the growth phase civilization successfully responds to a series of ever new challenges. Thus the challenges as well as the responses vary all the time. In the decline phase the responses vary but the challenge remains the same, unsolved. The 'creative minority' losing its creative power is no longer freely imitated or followed by the majority. The minority now forfeits its natural claim to leadership and in order to keep its privileged position it depends more and more on force. The minority now transforms itself into 'dominant minority' and reduces the majority into the ranks of 'internal proletariat'. In Toynbee's words "the nature of break-down of civilization can be summed up in three points: a failure of creative power in the minority, an answering withdrawal of mimesis on the part of the majority and a consequent loss of social unity in the society as a whole".

Three stages complete the decline of society: (a) break-down, (b) disintegration and (c) dissolution. The breakdown and the dissolution may sometimes be separated by hundreds of years of 'petrified-life-in-death' existence as it happened in Egypt. If harmony is the key-note of growth, schism is that of the breakdown and disintegration—'schism in the body social' and 'schism in the soul'.

Breakdown is ushered in by a 'time of troubles' expressing itself through a series of internecine struggles and a consequent sense of social distress. The hitherto harmonious body of a growing society is now disrupted, giving birth to the 'internal proletariats' and the 'external proletariats'. Proletariats are those who feel themselves 'in but not of the society'. Devoid of creative power the dominant minorities lose the natural claim to leadership. They resort to force and create a 'universal state'. Intoxicated with victories, which they mistake for creative power, the minorities begin to 'rest on their oars', to idolize the relative values

as absolute and become slaves of intractable institutions and work out their own and the civilization's ruin. The internal proletariats now secede from the minority, whom they do not feel any urge to follow, and try to find out a path of escape from the unbearable present through their own effort. A growing civilization radiates its cultural influence among the barbarians living on the periphery of the society who, like the majority, willingly follow the lead of the creative minority and become a part of the society. A society in disintegration fails to attract the loyalty of these barbarians as it is stripped of the creative charm. They become hostile and finally pounce on the society the moment it shows signs of weakness as 'the scourge of civilization' and ravage it. The barbarian invaders of a disintegrating civilization are its external proletariats.

Schism in the body social — the three-fold splitting up of the society into the dominant minority, the internal proletariats and the external proletariats — is but a symptom of a deeper malaise. "Its significance lies in its being the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual rift. A schism in the souls of human beings will be found to underlie any schism that reveals itself on the surface of the society....." It is the loss of creative power that causes this schism in the soul which finds expression in various ways of behaviour, feeling and life of the members of the society. During the disintegrating phase, the behaviour, feeling and life of individuals take either of the two alternative courses of reactions, passive and active. For instance, there are two ways of personal behaviour which are alternative substitutes for the exercise of creative faculty (creativity being impossible during the disintegration). Both of them are attempts at self-expression — the passive 'abandon', the effort to live according to nature by giving free reins to one's own spontaneous appetites and aversions, and the active 'self-control', the striving to gain a complete control over the natural propensities. Both are the vain endeavours to recover the lost creative faculty. There are two corresponding ways of social behaviour, which are alternative substitutes for the 'mimesis', which characterise the growth phase: 'truancy and martyrdom'. Both these substitutes for mimesis are the attempts to step out of the ranks of a phalanx, whose social drill has failed to work. The passive attempt to break this social deadlock takes the form of truancy. The soldier now realises with dismay that

the regiment has lost the discipline which had hitherto fortified his morale and in this situation he allows himself to believe that he is absolved from his military duty. There is, however, an alternative way of facing the same ordeal which may be called 'martyrdom'. "In essence the martyr is a soldier who steps out of the ranks on his own initiative in a forward direction in order to go beyond the demands of duty while in normal circumstances duty demands that the soldier should risk his life to the minimum extent that may be necessary for the execution of his superior officer's orders, the martyr courts death for the vindication of an ideal". In the plane of feeling, the two ways of personal feeling are a 'sense of drift' and a 'sense of sin'. The sense of drift originates from the failure of individuals to control their environment. They come to believe that the universe is at the mercy of a power that is as irrational as invincible. The sense of drift in short is a belief in 'chance and necessity'. Alternatively the moral defeat which desolates the routed soul may be felt as a failure to master and control the soul's own self. In that case instead of a sense of drift we have a sense of sin. The growth phase of a society, through a progressive articulation of its dominant character is marked by a process of 'differentiation', i.e., it acquires more and more a distinctive individualistic personality. This process of differentiation or a 'sense of style' is replaced during the disintegration by a 'sense of promiscuity' by which the society loses its personality. It manifests itself in various ways—a vulgarisation of art, the growth of a debased *lingue Franche* and syncretism in religion etc.

Disintegrating society's last creative spark is expended on the production of schools of philosophy; after that it becomes barren. Various ways are sought out of an unattractive and unbearable present. Efforts are made at 'archaism' or to reconstruct an earlier and more desirable past phase of the life of the society, or 'futurism', i.e., framing an utopian plan and trying to take a leap into the darkness of an unknown future. Both archaism and futurism are attempts to escape the present, attempts to salvage the society from the evil days it has fallen to. Attempts are also made by some to save their own souls from the society, which they feel cannot be saved from inevitable ruin, through 'detachment' by means of religion and philosophy. Four types of 'saviours' appear: 'the saviour with the sword' who creates an empire, 'the

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saviour with the time machine', i.e., the archaists and the futurists, 'the philosopher masked by a king' like Aśoka or Marcus Aurelius and 'the God incarnate in a man', the perfect example of whom is Jesus of Nazareth.

While the dominant minority creates universal state, the internal proletariats endeavour for their own salvation and found in the process a 'universal church'. The establishment of universal church proves to be the final successful answer to the ills of the disintegrating society. It acts as the chrysalis for the growth of a new civilization. Through the medium of the universal church, out of the womb of the disintegrating civilization, rises a new civilization. This successor secondary civilization is 'affiliated' to the earlier society. The marks of affiliation are: the rise of a universal state, a 'time of trouble' which immediately precedes the universal state and an interregnum immediately following the universal state in which appear (a) a universal church and (b) *volkerwanderung* or the invasion of barbaric war-bands producing a number of ephemeral 'successor states'. The dissolution of a universal state does not always take place at a single stroke. Sometimes the universal state is reintegrated after a temporary break-up as the Mauryan Empire was reintegrated in the shape of the Gupta Empire.

What is the goal of History? Is there any deeper and broader meaning behind the rises and falls of civilization? Toynbee is inclined to answer in the affirmative. The rises and falls of individual civilization, in his opinion, are comparable with the revolutions of the wheels of a chariot and have significance for the universal history. The purpose behind is to carry forward the chariot of religion; eg., the steps in the progress of Christianity represented by the names of Abraham, Moses, the Hebrew prophets and Christ were the outcome of the break-down of the Sumeric, the Egyptian, the Babylonian and Hellenic societies. It took the rises and falls of four civilizations for the growth of a 'higher religion'. The four living higher religions of today, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism, are but four variations of a single theme. Toynbee ends by posing the interesting question: does History hold the prospect of one world-religion for mankind in future?

II

India, in Toynbee's opinion, gave birth to two civilizations, the Indic and the Hindu, the latter succeeding the former. The Hindu civilization, which today is in its last stage of disintegration, is 'affiliated' to the Indic, its genetic predecessor. In the present paper we will confine ourselves to the consideration of the rise and fall of the Indic civilization (*circa* 1700 B.C. to *circa* 500 A.D.). We must, however, remember that the main purpose of Toynbee's work is to trace the process of the rise and fall of civilizations and it is only to illustrate this process that he has referred to the histories of different nations. It is in this manner that Indian History has also been often alluded to but the references are only incidental in character and naturally we cannot expect to find a complete and connected account of the history of our country. Bearing this in mind along with his theory of the life cycle of civilization we may, however, frame a general idea of Toynbee's view of Ancient India or what he prefers to call Indic civilization.

With the Aryan invasion begins the history of Indic civilization. Behind this we can catch the glimpse of a pre-Aryan culture in the Indus Valley. The origin of this remarkable culture, best represented at Mohenjodāro and Harappā, Toynbee is inclined to trace from Sumeria.^{1a} The Indus culture was a colonial variation of the culture that flowered in the basin of the Tigris and the Euphrates, growing out of the same challenge, the need of irrigation and controlling a river system. It was really a part of Sumeric society, the Punjab and Sindh being a part of the Sumeric universal state — the Empire of Sumer and Akkad (*circa* 2079 B.C. — 2686 B.C.) — as an outlying province. Thus the Indus Valley culture should be treated as falling outside the history of India, a part of Sumeric history. Looked at from another point, however the Indus Valley culture will be found to have an important bearing on the history of Indic civilization because its connection with Sumeria brought the invading Aryans into India. It was in the wake of invading the effete Sumeric universal state, which was their original prey, that the Aryans reached India and laid the foundation of Indic civilization.

1a. Toynbee, A. J.: *A Study of History*, Vol. I, pp. 104-109.

Hammurabi's death in *circa* 1750 B.C. or 1686 B.C. marked the disintegration of the Sumeric universal state. Its break-up was a signal for a tremendous movement of population in Eurasia. It was the Aryan *volkerwanderung*. The Aryans were originally barbarians inhabiting the North-Eastern borders of Sumeric Empire. The weakening of the Empire was a signal for these fierce barbarians to pounce on the universal state. A group of the invaders, the Sanskrit speaking branch, in course of the march over the Sumeric Empire found their way to India across the Hindukush. As an out-lying province of Sumeric universal state, the Indus Valley caught the eyes of the invading barbarians as an attractive prey. The Aryan invasion of India, thus, was a sequel to the disintegration of Sumeric civilization, a by-product of the history of Mesopotamia. Confronted with the challenge of their new home the Aryans developed a civilization, unrelated to any earlier one, which Toynbee calls 'Indic Civilization'.

The original centre of Indic society was the Indus and the Upper Ganges Valleys, the earliest habitat of the Aryans in India. From this area it gradually spread over the whole sub-continent.² At its genesis the Indic civilization was exposed in the Ganges Valley to challenge from moist tropical forest.³ In the Indus Valley it had to face more or less the same challenge as that of its geographic predecessor, the Indus culture, the challenge of progressive desiccation producing a need for irrigation and controlling river.⁴ The *Vedas* and the *Epics*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* represent the early Indic society giving us an insight into its nature.⁵ Indic society was unrelated to any earlier society; it did not develop out of the womb of a disintegrating civilization. It grew among a barbarian camp, the victorious Aryans, who produced a characteristically barbarian religion and poetry, enshrined in the Vedic pantheon and the Sanskrit *Epics*. Vedic society was a 'heroic society' produced by transfrontier barbarians. War being the all-absorbing occupation of a heroic society, the religion it produces also bears a heroic character. The gods worshipped are

2. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 85-89.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 322.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-3, 269.

5. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 263-65.

fashioned by the barbarians according to their own images as war-lords fighting and ravaging.⁶ Thus the Vedic pantheon is full of fighter gods, Indra, Rudra, Maruts, Nāsatyas etc. Heroic society also gives birth to epic poetry and heroic legends which are the typical products of the psychology of a warring community. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are the gifts of the heroic phase of Indic civilization i.e. the Vedic period.

Growth phase of the Indic society runs from the age of the *Vedas* to that of the Buddha or slightly earlier whence started its decline. Religion was the dominant characteristic or the spirit of the civilization which found a progressive articulation through the manifold activities of the society during the growth phase. By *circa* 700 B.C. the society had used up its creative vitality and set on its downward course. Pessimistic attitudes towards life, displayed by Gautama and his contemporary Mahāvīra, prove that all was not well with the Indic society of the time. Hitherto a harmonious body, it lost its unity. Schism in the body social as well as in the soul became manifestly clear. The institution of caste degenerated into a social enormity. A series of destructive wars among parochial local states, the *mahājanapadas*, greatly added to the social distress. It was clearly a time of troubles.⁷ Before its exhaustion the last creative flicker of the society produced brilliant schools of philosophy — Buddhism and Jainism — and got spent up. The break-down had already started. Schism in the body social led to the characteristic three-fold division of the society: the dominant minority, the internal proletariats and the external proletariats. The dominant minority produced the universal state, the internal proletariat produced the universal church, and the external proletariats waited, eagerly watchful, for any sign of weakness on the part of the universal state, to swoop down on it.

With the establishment of the Mauryan Empire the Indic society found its universal state.⁸ It was founded by Chandragupta Maurya, a saviour with the sword.⁹ Founded in the last quarter

6. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 96.

7. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, Vol. IX, p. 758 (table V).

8. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 84-89, Vol. VII, p. 63.

9. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 190.

of the 4th century B.C. the Mauryan Empire lasted till *circa* 187 B.C. and gave the country unity, peace and order. But the political security provided by the Empire could not heal the real sore of the society. Its dissolution was accompanied by the normal feature, the rise of a number of 'successor states', the Śungas, the Kanvas, the Āndhra-Sātavāhanas etc. A more interesting feature of the period was the intrusion of Hellenic civilization into the history of Indic society.¹⁰ Hellenic civilization, which too had entered its period of breakdown by that time, reached India through the agencies of foreign hordes who poured into India from Central-Asia. Central-Asia was within the pale of Hellenic civilization at the time. The Bactrian-Greeks, the Śakas and the Kuṣāṇas were responsible for this Hellenic intrusion. States built by these people had two aspects about them; heirs to Hellenic civilization, they were also among the successors of the Mauryan universal state. This phase, the Indo-Greek-Kuṣāṇa period, was more of a part of Hellenic history than an integral part of the history of our country. India freed herself from the alien intrusion with the rise of the Gupta Empire (*circa* 300 A.D.) when an indigenous Magadhan dynasty re-asserted itself and re-integrated the Indic universal state.¹¹ The Gupta Empire was a resurrection of the Mauryan Empire and a continuation of Indic society which was temporarily disturbed by the Hellenic intrusion. The period of the Gupta rule was the last rally of the disintegrating Indic civilization before its final rout. Toynbee calls the period 'Indian summer', a temporary arrest of decay and the flowering of an apparently brilliant culture, the last attempt of the civilization to escape dissolution. Devoid of real creative power the inevitable dissolution could not be avoided for long. The Empire became weak which was a signal for the barbarians like Hūṇas — the external proletariats of Indic civilization — to fall on it and give the final *coup de grace*. Indic civilization dissolved, but out of its ruins sprang a new civilization through the 'chrysalis' of the Hindu universal church which the internal proletariats of Indic society had already developed before the demise of Indic civilization and which had found the patronage of the Gupta monarchs. This new civilization was the 'affiliated' Hindu society.

10. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 371-73.

11. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, Vol. VII, p. 74, Vol. I, pp. 84-89.

To trace the loss of creative power of Indic civilization we have to turn our eyes to other directions too, apart from the simple rise and fall of the Indic universal state. While the dominant minority produced a universal state the internal proletariats created the Hindu universal church, Hinduism. Hinduism was a reaction against Buddhism, and at the same time, in a qualified sense, a continuation of it. In its last creative impulse the Indic dominant minority produced Jainism and Hīnayāna Buddhism. Gradually, and chiefly on account of the patronage of Aśoka and some other Kings, Buddhism became the most prominent religion of India, till it was displaced from its predominant position by Hinduism from the time of the Gupta rule. Under the patronage of Aśoka Buddhism spread beyond the borders of India and came into contact with the Hellenic West. This contact was maintained during the period of the successor states of the Mauryan Empire—the Indo-Greek, Saka and Kuṣāṇa—and was to prove momentous for the religious history of India, because it brought a significant change in Buddhism by introducing a new element which may be described as '*bhakti*'. A new vigorous school of Buddhism, the Mahāyāna school, took its birth as consequence, and was eventually to make a triumphant journey through Central-Asia to China and give the Sinic internal proletariats their universal church. The element of *bhakti*, the conception of an intimate personal relationship between God and worshipper, was borrowed by India from Syriac source, "which had already kindled Zoroastrianism and Judaism and was soon to kindle Mithraism and Christianity as well".¹² This element of *bhakti* again is the feature which distinguishes Hinduism from the early Aryan paganism of Vedic people and must have been borrowed from Buddhism. Looked at from this angle Hinduism was a successor of Mahāyāna Buddhism. But in other respects Hinduism was a reaction against Buddhism and sharply contrasts with it; e.g., Hinduism accepted the social ascendancy of the Brahmins and efficacy of sacrifices or *yajñas*. The most fundamental difference between the two was that while Buddhism failed to capture the allegiance of the Indic internal proletariats it was finally won by Hinduism. Hinduism was the 'higher religion' in which the internal proletariats of the distintegrating Indic civilization were to find their salvation.

12. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 135-36.

Central Asiatic nomads like the Sakas, the Kuṣāṇas and finally the Hūṇas were to play the parts of the external proletariats in Indic history. In the second century B.C. North-Western India was united politically with North-Eastern Iran and the Oxus-Jaxartes basin under the Bactrian Greeks. This Indo-Greek Empire was destroyed by the eruption of Eurasian nomads, the Śakas and the Yue-chies, the Yue-chies following in the heels of the Śakas. Driven by the Yue-chies the Śakas were compelled to fall back on Mālwa and Gujarat from the Indus and the Gangetic Valleys and they established there a new kingdom. "The overthrow of the last of the Śaka satraps in Western India at some date between A.D. 388 and A.D. 401 was the decisive act in the restoration of the Indic universal state by the Guptas".¹³ For the time being an effective check was put on the external proletariats by the strength of the Guptas but the pressure continued. The white Hūṇas who were repulsed by Skanda Gupta made a renewed and virulent attack on the Gupta Empire after Skanda Gupta's death. Mihiragula, the Hūṇa warlord, after a short period of barbaric cruelty, indeed, was defeated by Bālāditya and Yaśōdharman but the Indic universal state could not be saved. It came to its end shortly afterwards leaving the field for the rise of the 'ephemeral successor states' built by the Rajputs and the growth of Hindu civilization.

Many of the features characterising a disintegrating society now made their appearance. While a society is creative it gives new responses to fresh challenges and is never the slave of old institutions. Such a society discards an institution which has lost its utility, which was the successful answer to a challenge that no longer exists. The continuation of an institution that has outgrown its utility is the sure sign of the loss of creative power of the society, its inability to find a real solution to a fresh challenge. Of course, harmonious adjustments of old institutions in accordance with new situations will not impede the process of growth. But if the adjustment is not in keeping with the nature and the pace of change the institution proves unsuitable and intractable. The intractability of institution produces either revolution or social enormity. In Indic history of this period we find the example of a

13. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, Vol. V, p. 276.

social enormity in the institution of caste. Caste system in India originated in an earlier period, but brought over to this period it began producing results entirely different from the ones for which it was originally designed. "This institution which consists in the social segregation of two or more geographically intermingled groups of human beings, is apt to establish wherever and whenever one community makes itself master of another community without being able or willing either to exterminate the subject community or to assimilate it into its own body social".¹⁴ In India the institution seems to have arisen out of the coming of the nomadic Aryan conquerors in the Indus Valley where there was already a developed culture to divide the conquerors and the conquered into distinct social groups. There was also religious difference. This religious difference must have been accentuated when Indic civilization developed its strong religious bent. The impact of religiosity proved particularly baneful to the institution because the social injustice it entailed now received religious sanction. Both Buddhism and Jainism protested against the system and had these movements succeeded in founding a universal church the caste system might have been got rid of. But the role of the universal church in the last part of Indic civilization was to be played by neither of these two movements but by Hinduism, which accepted the caste system.

From *circa* 700 B.C. Indic society began showing signs of schism in the end. In the planes of behaviour and feeling and life, of individual and society alike, we notice most of our symptoms of schism in the soul. Distinct archaistic trends became visible. As it disintegrated, Indic society, like Babylonian and Hittite, gradually veered back towards the ethos of primitive man. There was a yawning breadth between the sexualism of the religious practices and the exaggerated asceticism of the philosophy of Indic world. *Tantrik* practices were becoming popular day by day and were taking a growing hold of the society. A simultaneous growth of yogic practices, at the first sight, appears odd and highly incongruous. But this apparent incongruity disappears when we apply our token of abandon and self-control which characterises a society in decline.¹⁵ A sense of drift and a sense of sin are found in the

14. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 229.

15. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 402-403.

theory of *karma*, a doctrine that was accepted both by Buddhism and Hinduism. The doctrine of *karma* partakes of the features of both a sense of drift — the realisation of individual's helplessness in the immutable scheme of the omnipotent fate — and a sense of sin — the realisation that the cause of present misfortune is not external and thus not entirely beyond the control of the victim. The sense of sin acts as a stimulant for striving for the redemption while the sense of drift acts as an opiate.¹⁶

A rapid loss in the individuality of the society is marked by the grafting of exotic elements, a vulgarisation of culture. The Śakas and the Kuṣāṇas imported Greek ideas and institutions. Debased vernacular languages, the Pāli-Prākṛits grew and secured the patronage of Aśoka and became the language of Buddhist scriptures. Another local hybrid language was current as the medium of administration in the earlier centuries of Christian era in North-Western India. The script it used was Kharoṣṭī, itself a result of foreign influence. As a society develops, in the real sense of the term, it acquires more and more a distinct individual character. In the decline phase this individuality or uniqueness is lost by the society. A sure sign of this loss is the growth of syncretistic tendencies. In Indic society of this period religious syncretism is clear in the rise of different Hindu religious cults, e.g. in the rise of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. Vaiṣṇavism is the product of the fusion of distinct deities, Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa etc.¹⁷ Similar was the origin of Śaivism. Later a further fusion was made between the two cults. Viṣṇu came to be identified with Brahmā and Śiva.¹⁸ The same syncretic tendencies can be detected in Mahāyānism, in which the conception of the Bōddhisattvas owed a great deal to that of personal gods of Hinduism.¹⁹ Promiscuity, the anti-thesis of differentiation, is writ large in the varied aspects of the Indic society in disintegration. The sense of promiscuity, however, finally led to the growth of a sense of unity, 'which broadens and deepens as the vision expands from the unity of mankind, through the unity of cosmos to the unity of God'.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 427-33.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 536.

18. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 47.

19. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, Vol. V, p. 552.

This paved the way for the growth of the higher religion — the Hindu universal church.

The present being unattractive, attempts were made to escape from it by archaistic revivals. Horse sacrifice, long in abeyance, was begun once again by Puṣyamitra and then continued by others, notably Samudra Gupta. "It is easy to guess that Puṣyamitra and Samudra Gupta in turn were moved to make this archaistic demonstration of their legitimacy by an inward doubt of the validity of their respective claims to sovereignty on oecumenical scale...."²⁰ It was an endeavour on the part of these rulers to revive the atmosphere of an earlier and more attractive phase of the society and thereby to make their regime acceptable. Similar attempts at archaistic revivals were made in other directions too. Sanskrit, the language of the Vedic Aryans had been displaced from its position by the growing importance of Pāli. Having passed out of current usages Sanskrit became a classical language which continued to be studied only because of the enduring prestige of the literature that was enshrined in it, the literature that developed while the Indic civilisation was still growing. But a movement for an archaistic revival of Sanskrit was set on foot already in Aśoka's reign. "...an artificial revival of Sanskrit was started at a point within the frontiers of Aśoka's empire; at least immediately after and possibly even before the Emperor Aśoka's death; and this archaising linguistic movement steadily extended its range of the Neo-Sanskrit language over the Prakrit as complete on Indian main-lands leaving Pāli to survive in the solitary island fastness of Ceylon".²¹ Archaism, because it is an attempt to set back the clock, naturally enough failed to save the society from its downward course. But the revival of Sanskrit served a useful purpose. The Neo-Sanskrit literature became the vehicle of Hindu religious scriptures and thereby provided the linguistic medium for the birth of a new civilization as Hinduism acted as the chrysalis for the growth of the affiliated Hindu society.

Failure was also to be the lot of Aśoka, the Great who endeavoured vainly to arrest the social decay and remove the spiritual want the Indic society was now suffering from by

20. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 51.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

supplying it with the religion of Gautama. Apparently there was hardly any reason why Aśoka should have failed. Hinayāna was intellectually sound; Aśoka's outlook was singularly broad and liberal; he was innocent of the slightest and the most indirect pressure for the propagation of the religion of his choice; he depreciated any indulgence, even in verbal polemics, at the expense of any of the diverse religions that were professed in his dominions and he set a personal example of religious liberation by bestowing benefactions upon non-Buddhist sects. "Yet Aśoka did fail conspicuously. The inference would appear to be that the enterprise of attempting to inculcate a philosophy from above downwards into the souls of mankind in the mass is for some *apriori* reason so forlorn a hope that it is doomed to failure even when it is undertaken by an Emperor monk of Aśoka's spiritual treasure."²² The philosopher-masked-by-a-king of Indic society could not save it from disintegration.

Indic civilisation, thus from *circa* 700 B.C. through the regular stages of break-down and disintegration, proceeded towards dissolution. During its downward course it exhibited most of the characteristics of a society in disintegration: schism in the body politic, schism in the soul, the establishment of a universal state by the dominant minority—the Maurya-Gupta Empire—the pressure of the external proletariats—the Śakas, the Kuṣāṇas, the Hūṇas, etc.—the social maladjustments expressing themselves through 'abandon and selfcontrol', sense of drift and sense of sin, archaism, the vain attempt of the philosopher king to save the society. The dissolution took place finally with the fall of the Gupta Empire in the middle of the sixth century A.D., but the seeds of a secondary civilization had been already sown through the growth of Hindu universal church.

III

Toynbee's portrayal of Indic civilization reminds one of the common criticism levelled against history that it is a word-builder's box of letters with which anything can be written. The charge may be made against him that he tried to impose a preconceived pattern on Indian History. Many of his statements will

22. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, Vol. V, p. 683.

be rejected by specialists as sweeping generalisations and gross over-simplifications. Working historians will hesitate to accept a number of his important conclusions.

Some support is offered to Toynbee's thesis that the Indus Valley civilization was a part of Sumerian civilization by our recognised authorities on the subject. A general homogeneity of all the chalcolithic civilizations extending from Thessaly to Honan has been stressed by Marshall. The domestication of animals; the cultivation of wheat, barley and other grains; the irrigation of fields with the aid of artificial canals and embankments; the organisation of society in cities; the navigation of rivers and the use of wheeled-vehicles on land; the working of gold and silver and copper and tin; the recording of speech by means of picture signs etc., were common to all the chalcolithic civilizations of the area. "Seeing these and many other elements were basic to civilization throughout the entire Afrasian belt and just as distinctive of it in other regions as they are in the Indus Valley, we should clearly be in the danger of straying from the truth if we failed to recognize that the Indus civilization is an integral part of the whole".²³ Similarly Wheeler, who in recent years has contributed most largely towards a better understanding of the Indus civilization notes that Mesopotamian and the Indus civilizations were the parallel products of similar stimuli.²⁴ That there was a close contact between the Indus Valley and Mesopotamia has been amply proved by the discovery of a number of Indus seals or seals of Indus origin from different Mesopotamian sites.²⁵ It is also interesting that almost all of these seals have been found from Sargonid and Post-Sargonid periods.²⁶ This shows that Toynbee's theory involves no chronological difficulty as he postulates the extension of Sumeric civilization to Sidh and Punjab when Sargon had built the Empire of Sumer and Akkad.

But when all is said the fact still remains that the analogies between the Sumerian and the Indus Valley civilizations cannot be

23. Marshall, J., *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 95.

24. Wheeler, R. E. M., *The Indus Civilization* (1960), p. 101.

25. Gadd, C. J., *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XVIII, pp. 122, Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization* (1960), pp. 90-100.

26. Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan* (1960), p. 102.

pushed into details. Despite some general similarities with the Sumeric civilization, the Indus Valley civilization is distinctively individualistic. Harappan ceramic industry has not much in common with Mesopotamian.²⁷ If we are to find its ancestor we must search among Baluch potteries rather than in Mesopotamia or Iran.²⁸ The Indus armoury — the sharp thin knives and spears and flat axes of copper and bronze — is completely different from Mesopotamian types.²⁹ Similarly the Indus script is unlike any other in the ancient world. After a careful study C. J. Gadd and Sydney Smith concluded that there was no direct connection between the Indus and the Sumeric scripts.³⁰ Langdon revised his previous opinion after studying certain tablets from Jemdet Nasar and emphasised a more definite connection between the most archaic Sumerian script and the Indus Valley script than he was disposed to admit originally.³¹ But this has not gained general favour.

In Piggott's words the Harappan civilization was '....largely self-sufficient and essentially Indian in its origin and in the whole fabric and texture of its peculiar constitution...' ³² But in fairness to Toynbee it should be remembered that he does not believe in a wholesale colonisation of the Indus Valley by the Sumerian. He appreciates the possibilities that the two civilizations originally grew independently. Later on they came to be associated in a common

27. The Potteries Kilns from the latest phase of Mohenjodaro are however comparable with those from Susa and Mesopotamian sites of early dynastic dates. See Piggott, S., *Prehistoric India* (1950), p. 191.

28. Piggott, *op.cit.*, pp. 191-95.

29. According to Piggott, the flat axes of copper and bronze are analogous to those found in some Iranian sites like Sialk, Hisar, Gyan and also probably represented in certain models in pottery from Al'ubaid and Jemdet Nasr in Mesopotamia. Wheeler on the other hand writes "The thin, rather feeble knives and spears and the flat axes, of copper or bronze poor in tin, run counter to the types prevailing in Iran or Mesopotamia", *Early India and Pakistan*, p. 102.

30. Marshall, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 411.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 424, 427, 454.

32. Piggott, *op.cit.*, p. 210. For a fuller discussion on the contacts with Sumer see Piggott's paper in *Antiquity*, XVII, pp. 169-82, and Wheeler's paper in *Ancient India*, No. 3, pp. 77-78.

society and universal state. This was possible on account of a kinship between the two civilizations—a kinship born of the same stimuli. Toynbee's case therefore, though not supported by any positive proof, is not entirely hopeless.³³

Our knowledge of Vedic society answers well to Toynbee's description of it and excellently fits in his theory. Till the Aryan problem is settled, no signs of which are available as yet, a final opinion on the original home or the dispersion of the Aryans is not possible. But the majority of scholars would now support Toynbee on these points. The pro-Nordic theory of Kossina School that the original home of the Aryans was the North-European plains and the attempt of Tilak to trace the Aryans back to the North Pole³⁴ have long been discredited. Sober researchers have succeeded now in narrowing down the area for the possible original home to the region lying between the Danube and the Oxus. Prof. Giles³⁵ on linguistic grounds favours the Austro-Hungarian plains while others suggest Central Asia. Eduard Meyer, Peck, Schroder, Gordon Childe etc., place the original habitat of the Indo-Europeans in the Pamir region or the South-Russian steppe.³⁶ At present this school commands the greatest respect. The date of the dispersion of the Indo-Iranian tribes is again a disputable point. On the basis of such datable material as the appearance of the Aryan-speaking bands—the Hittites in Anatolia, the Kassites in Babylonia, the Dorian invaders in Greece—and the destruction of the Harappan cities and finally the Bogaz-Koi inscription of *circa* 1380 B.C., we may, however, come to a date which will accord very well with Toynbee's suggestion that the Indic civilization originated round about *circa* 1500 B.C.³⁷

33. A full exposition of Toynbee's view on Sumerian influence on the Indus Valley is given in an annex to the 1st Vol. *A Study of History*, p. 416 ff.

34. Childe, V. G., *The Aryans* (1926), pp. 166 ff. Tilak, B. G., *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*.

35. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 68.

36. Childe, V. G., *op.cit.*

37. The date of the Harappan civilization is given by Wheeler and Piggott as 2500—1500 B.C. Some scholars still adhere to the dates of Marshall and place the Aryan invasion of India not much later than 2000 B.C. cf., Pande, G. C., *Studies in the Origin of Buddhism*, p. 252.

Sapta-Sindhavah was the earliest theatre of the Aryan activities in India.³⁸ The Indus with its five tributaries constituted the six rivers of the system. The seventh was either the Sarasvati or the Kubhā (in the Kabul). *Sapta-sindhavah* was evidently the Indus Valley. The earliest Aryan habitat in India included also the Upper Ganges Valley. The Ganges³⁹ is mentioned only twice in *Rgveda*, the Yamuna⁴⁰ and the Sarayu⁴¹ are also mentioned, though not very frequently. During the *Brāhmaṇa* period there was an extension of the Aryan culture towards East and South. Such Eastern rivers as the Sadānira and the Revā, absent in the *Rgveda* figure prominently in the *Brāhmaṇas*.⁴² The most remarkable feature of the area of the early Aryan settlements was the rivers which dominated the landscape. These rivers made a great impression on the Aryan mind and imagination. *Rgveda* is full of references to them. They were looked upon with reverence. Hymns were composed and dedicated to them.⁴³ Surely enough the rivers were among the stimuli and conditioners of Vedic culture, a challenge to the Vedic Aryans.

Direct references to rainy season in the *Rgveda* are scarce.⁴⁴ But from the hymn dedicated to rain-god Parjanya, storm-god Marut and Indra we can deduce substantial rainfall in Vedic India. The abundance of kiln-burnt bricks at Harappa and Mohenjodāro shows the ready availability of timber in the Indus Valley for fuel in the third millennium B.C. The existence of forest in the area is also suggested by such animals as rhinoceros, tigers, elephants etc., frequently represented on the Indus seals. The bones of some of these animals have been found at Harappa and Mohenjodāro.⁴⁵ A short hymn is dedicated to Aranyāni in *Rgveda*. The

38. *Rgveda*, I.32.12; I.35.8; IV.28.1; VIII.24-27 etc.

39. *Ibid.*, X.75.5; VI.45.31. Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 217-18.

40. *Ibid.*, V. 52.17; VII.18.19; X.75.5.

41. *Ibid.*, IV.30.18; X.64.9; V.53.9.

42. *Śatapatha Brahmana*, I.1.1.14.

43. The famous *Nadi Stuti*, *Rgveda*, X.75.

44. Vedic Index, Vol. II, pp. 51, 272.

45. Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, p. 134.

forest is personified as a goddess.⁴⁶ The climatic picture that emerges from these evidences is quite near to tropical.

The Aryans had to encounter determined hostility at the hands of the non-Aryans. They had to fight hard and incessantly in course of their progress in the country. The ruthless and bloody struggles between the invading Aryans and the non-Aryans, *dasas* and *dasyus*,⁴⁷ form one of the main themes of the *R̥gveda*. Many of the Vedic gods are actually the Aryan warriors magnified to heroic proportions. Max Weber writes, "The gods of the Vedas are functional and hero gods externally similar to those of Homer. The Vedic hero is a castle-dwelling charioteering warrior king with a war band of Homeric type...."⁴⁸ This tendency to attribute heroic qualities is most clear in the case of Indra. He is a deified Vedic leader of war, the destroyer of the cities of the enemies (*Purandar*).⁴⁹ He is followed and assisted by the warrior bands of Maruts who fight with bows and arrows from their chariots. We at once recognise in Indra the victorious leader of the Aryans in their conquest of India. Then there are other warrior deities in the Vedic pantheon, the most notable of whom are Rudra, Marut, Nāsatyas etc. War was obviously one of the central characteristics of Vedic society.

So far our analysis of Vedic society agrees remarkably well with Toynbee's conception of the heroic age. But the Indian Epics, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*, do not support Toynbee's theory to the same extent. They were redacted much later—presumably between the 4th century B.C. and the 4th century A.D.⁵⁰ Traces of epic poetry are indeed found in the Vedic literature—in the dialogue hymns of *R̥gveda* as well as the *Akhyānas*, *Itihāsas*, *Purāṇas* etc.⁵¹ But there is not enough justifica-

46. Ragozin, Z. A., *Vedic India* (1961 India reprint), p. 272.

47. Dasas and dasyus are normally identified with the pre-Aryan population of India Cf. Renou, L., *Vedic India*, p. 127. For a different view see Chattopadhyaya, K. C., *Proceedings of the Nineteenth International Congress of Orientalists* held at Rome.

48. Weber, M., *The Religions of India*, p. 27.

49. Nearly 250 hymns in the *R̥gveda* are dedicated to Indra which mostly speak of his exploits see e.g. I.32.

50. Winternitz, M., *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 475, 516.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 101 ff, 208 ff.

tion for contending that the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* had developed in their epic forms already in the Vedic age.⁵² The mere occurrence of the names of Janaka and Sitā does not prove a Vedic origin of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Similarly the tribes, Bhāratas and Kurus, were known in the Vedas but there is no reference to the bloody battle at Kurukṣētra. The *Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta sūtra*⁵³ and *Āśvalāyana — Gṛhyasūtra*⁵⁴ are the earliest to make a clear allusion to the Bharata war. This much, therefore, is quite clear that the Indian Epics are not the products of the early Vedic age — the heroic period of Toynbee.

Leaving aside the heroic character, we find that many of the other attributes associated by Toynbee with a growing society are absent in the Vedic age. It is very difficult to fix the place of the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Upaniṣad* periods in Toynbee's scheme, he speaks very little about the growth phase of Indic society. But according to his theory of the evolution of 'society' it must have been during this age (the *Brāhmaṇa* — *Upaniṣad* period) that the Indic society grew to its maturity and acquired its character, for by the time of Gautama, the Buddha, it was already on its way to decline. Now the question is: was the Indic society, to accept Toynbee's term, from the early Vedic period to the age of the Buddha a harmonious body? This is open to serious doubts. Instead of a growing unity we find more and more evidences of social schism. Caste system was becoming more and more rigid. Already in the *Brāhmaṇa* period we find the priestly classes claiming for themselves exclusive privileges.⁵⁵ The position of the Vaiśyas registered a sharp social decline.⁵⁶ This became more pronounced in the *Sūtras*.⁵⁷ In the *Upaniṣads* some scholars have found an echo of Kṣatriya re-action against the pretensions of the Brāhmins. It is indeed interesting that the new knowledge of the *Atman* and

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 470 ff, 515 ff.

53. XV. 6.

54. III. 4.4.

55. 'Brāhmaṇa is all gods', *Tait. Br.* I.4.4. In a dispute between Brāhmaṇa and non-Brāhmaṇa the King is asked to support the Brāhmaṇa. *Tait. Sam.* II.5.12 and so on.

56. Dutt, N. K., *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, Vol. I, pp. 97-101.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-74.

Brahman enshrined in the *Upaniṣads* was learnt by the Brāhmaṇs from the Kṣatriya Kings like Janaka,⁵⁸ Pravāhana Jaibāli,⁵⁹ Aśvapati,⁶⁰ Ajātasatru,⁶¹ etc. In a passage the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad (I. 4) claims superiority of the Kṣatriyas over the Brāhmaṇs.⁶² These are surely not signs of social unity. Internecine struggles among rival states were known even in the early Vedic period. The war of the ten Kings (*daśarājña*) is the most prominent illustration of the inter-statal rivalry among the early Aryan settlers. Thus there is hardly any reason for thinking that the Vedic society was any more united than the society in the days of the Buddha.

Toynbee's theory runs into greater difficulties the more it approaches *circa* 700 B.C., the point he has fixed as the dividing line between the growth and the decline of Indic society. In fact such a division appears impossible and unnecessary. It will of course readily be conceded that religion is the axle round which the civilization of ancient India moved. Religion touched and conditioned the varied aspects of life in ancient India.⁶³ *Artha* and *Kāma*, the two of the mundane pursuits of life, were to be combined with *dharma* for attaining *mokṣa*, the final aim of life.⁶⁴ Toynbee shows real insight as some of his predecessors like Hegel, Tocqueville, Spengler etc., in pointing his finger at religion as the central element, the spirit, of Indian civilization. But what is the justification for thinking that there was a progressive articulation of this spirit only up to the seventh century B.C.? Religion continued to dominate ancient Indian life in the same manner and degree even after 700 B.C. People's attitude towards life and religion remained very much the same. In fact Toynbee himself accepts this and he recognises religion as the central element governing the life of the successor Hindu civilization too.⁶⁵ There is no evidence whatsoever that the importance of religion had

58. *S.P. Br.*, XI.6.2.

59. *Ch. Up.*, V.3.

60. *S.P. Br.*, X.6.1 and *Ch. Up.*, V. 11.

61. *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* IV.

62. Compare "A Brāhmaṇ is better than a Kṣatriya" *Āit. Br.* VII.7.

63. Eliot, H. M., *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. I, pp. LXXXVII—XCI.

64. Prabhu, P. N., *Hindu Social Organisation*, pp. 78-89.

65. *A Study of History*, Vol. III, pp. 384-85.

gone down during what Toynbee calls the decline phase of Indic society.

Coming to a closer examination of the period from B.C. 700 to A.D. 500 we find a number of his conclusions hasty and not founded on sufficient analysis of evidences. The age preceding the rise of Buddhism was one of startling social changes that uprooted many an old and established value.⁶⁶ The middle Vedic cult of *yajña* came under heavy fire already in the *Upaniṣads*⁶⁷ and open doubts were expressed about the efficacy of sacrifices. *Vidyā* (knowledge) and *upāsana* came to be given more importance than the performance of complicated rituals. In political field the old Vedic *janas* gave place to *Janapadas* which now started among themselves violent wars for obtaining imperial position. The introduction of coined money for the first time caused revolutionary changes in the economic life⁶⁸ bringing into existence a new and very wealthy merchant class.⁶⁹ The concentration of wealth in a few hands must have caused misery to the common people. All these produced a sense of social distress. The picture that emerges, of India before the birth of the Buddha, seems to correspond to a large extent to Toynbee's concept of the 'time of troubles'. But the question to be asked is whether this social distress was born in keeping with Toynbee's theory. The answer has to be in the negative. The main factor in the composition of the sense of distress of this age was the conflicting values of two streams of thought, the Aryan *Pravṛttivāda* and the non-Aryan *Nivṛttivāda*.⁷⁰ The traces of these naturally opposing

66. Pande, G. C., *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism* (Allahabad, 1957), p. 310 ff.

67. Deussen, P., *Philosophy of the Upanishads* (Eng. trans.), pp. 61-62, 396; Macdonell, *India's Past*, p. 46

68. Bandopadhyaya, N. C., *Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India*, I., pp. 240 ff, 254 ff, 285 ff. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 205 ff, 210 ff.

69. E.g. Anāthapindika of Kōśala and Ghōṣaka of Kauśāmbī. Ghōṣaka's gift to the Buddha, the Ghōṣitaram monastery has been uncovered by Prof. G. R. Sharma in course of excavation at Kauśāmbī, see *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1953-54, p. 9; 1954-55, p. 16; 1955-56, p. 20; 1956-57, p. 28.

70. Śaṅkarācārya in the commentary on *Bhagavad Gītā* pointed out the two-fold character of Brahmanical religion—the *Pravṛtti dharma* and the *Nivṛtti dharma*. The point has been masterly summed up by Pande, G. C., *op.cit.*, Chaps. VIII and IX.

ideologies can already be seen in the *Upaniṣads*. It was this conflict helped by other factors as explained above, which produced the ills of the sixth century B.C. It was not due to an internal schism, the splitting up of a hitherto unified society into dominant minority and internal proletariats. On the contrary it was due to a co-mingling of two thought-streams struggling for adjustment.⁷¹ Both Buddhism and Jainism — Jainism more than Buddhism — were influenced by the ascetic ideals of non-Aryans.⁷² In face of these facts how can Buddhism and Jainism be regarded as the products of the dominant minority?

From the seventh century B.C. Indic society, according to Toynbee's standard, showed symptoms of decay. In a nutshell these symptoms were (a) a rapid loss of individuality on account of the grafting of exotic elements through the agencies of Bactrian Greeks, Śakas and Kuṣānas; (b) the rise of debased vernacular languages like Pāli-Prākṛts; (c) archaism as evidenced by the revival of horse sacrifice by Puṣyamitra and Samudra Gupta and the artificial revival of Sanskrit as the medium of literature; (d) the belief in fatalism (a sense of drift and a sense of sin) as demonstrated by *Karmavāda*; (e) the syncretistic tendency in religion; (f) the growing rigidity of caste system, (g) the simultaneous growth of asceticism and the exaggerated sexualism of *Tantrik* practices etc. Let us examine them.

No civilization in historic period has been completely free from foreign influences. India also had her share. But what was remarkable about India was that whatever she borrowed from others was completely Indianised and made peculiarly her own. It is this elasticity which alone explains the striking continuity of India's

71. Pande, G. C., *op.cit.*, Chaps. VIII and IX.

72. "The similarity between some of those 'heretical' doctrines on the one side, and Jaina or Buddhist ideas on the other, is very suggestive, and favours the assumption that the Buddha as well as Mahāvīra owed some of his conceptions to these very heretics and formulated others under the influence of the controversies which were continually going on with them." *SBE*, Vol. XLIV, p. XXVII. cf. Winternitz, M., *Ascetic Literature in Ancient India*, pp. 1-18; also Pande *op.cit.*, pp. 258-261, 302-309, 321-337.

civilization.⁷³ If we review the period from 200 B.C. to 300 A.D., the period when India was most exposed to foreign influence, her North-Western and Western part being under the Bactrians, Śakas and Kuṣāṇas, we are surprised to find the remarkably small amount of real influence wielded by the foreign tribes on Indian life and civilization. The question has been investigated by several scholars and all unite in asserting that the influence of foreigners was very limited and did not affect the course of Indian civilization to any significant extent.⁷⁴ In spite of the close contact that India was brought into with the Hellenistic culture during this period (B.C. 200 — A.D. 200) she had surprisingly little effect of Hellenism on her. "Hellenism which affected profoundly the whole of Western Asia and even Egypt stopped short at Hindu-kush."⁷⁵ We have more evidences to show that the foreigners who came to India, instead of influencing Indian culture, soon adopted Indian religion and mode of living and rapidly got absorbed into the native population. The conversions of Menander and Heliodoros to Indian religions are too well known to need any repetition. Many other less known cases have been cited by Tarn.⁷⁶ After analysing the available material on the point Tarn writes: "The conclusion then must be that from about the beginning of the first century B.C., speaking very roughly, the Greeks or many Greeks in India were becoming Indianised".⁷⁷ The Śakas and Kuṣāṇas fared in the same way — adopting Indian religions and names. Tarn pithily summed up Greek influence on India thus: "...except for the Buddha-statue, the history of India would in all essentials have been precisely what it has been had Greeks never existed".⁷⁸ And even the Buddha-statues soon discarded their foreignness and became completely Indian when the Gupta artist succeeded in supplying the spirituality that was missing in

73. Aurobindo, *Foundations of Indian Culture*.

74. Rawlinson, H. G., has dealt with this whole question of foreign influence in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 217 ff.

75. Rawlinson, H. G., *Intercourse between India and Ancient World* (Cambridge, 1916), p. 161.

76. Tarn, W. W., *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (1951), pp. 388-390.

77. Tarn, *op.cit.*, p. 390.

78. Tarn, *op.cit.*, p. 376.

the Gāndhāra school. There is no trace of the loss of individuality in the society even during the period India was under the political domination of Hellenistic or Hellenistic-influenced tribes.

It is not clear what Toynbee exactly means by the development of debased vernacular languages like Pāli-Prākṛts. The rise of vernacular language can hardly be counted as a symptom of culture-decay. Buddhism and Jainism, in their bid to capture the mass, gave more importance to Pāli-Prākṛts than Sanskrit but Sanskrit had never been completely discarded. It continued to enjoy great prestige as the language of the learned. At about the middle of the second century A.D. it succeeded in regaining the unchallenged supremacy as the literary medium which was contested for some time past by Prākṛts. This has been twisted by Toynbee as an archaistic attempt at the revival of a dead language. There is an obvious logical inconsistency in Toynbee's contentions. He first objects to the rise of Pāli-Prākṛt and then takes objection to the reinstatement of Sanskrit replacing Prākṛt.

Moreover Sanskrit had never fallen into disuse; it continued to be cultivated as the linguistic medium of Brahmanical thought, both religious and secular. The great grammatical studies of Pāṇini,⁷⁹ Kātyāyana (circa 300 B.C.) and Patañjali (circa 200 B.C. — a contemporary of Puṣyamitra) show the importance and popularity of the language. Great literary activities in Sanskrit were going on even when Buddhism and Jainism had adopted Pāli-Prākṛt as their literary medium. It was during this period that the Epics were redacted,⁸⁰ some of the later *Sūtras*⁸¹ and *Manu Samhitā*⁸² were composed. The use of Sanskrit for the first time in Rudradāman's inscription need not be necessarily interpreted as a sign of the revival of Sanskrit. Aśoka started the practice of issuing inscriptions and under the Buddhist influence used the

79. The date of Pāṇinī is not definitely known and has been variously fixed between the seventh and fourth centuries B.C. See Bhandarkar, R. G.; *JBBRAS*, XVI, p. 340, Keith, A. B.; *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 425, Belvalkar, S. K.; *System of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 15, Agarwala, V. S., *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 455-75.

80. Winternitz, M., *A History of Indian Literature*, pp. 475, 516-17.

81. Banerjee, S. C., *Dharmasūtras, A Study in their Origin and Development*, pp. 17-35.

82. Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, pp. 135-36.

spoken. Prākṛt language, instead of Sanskrit. This practice was followed by the later Kings not because Prākṛt was the *lingua franca* but because adherence to the established usages was the common practice in the issue of inscriptions. The point is illustrated by the fact that Prākṛt, with a few exceptions, continued to be used in inscriptions down to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. while in the literary field even the Buddhist and the Jain writers showed their preference for Sanskrit, to the neglect of Prākṛt from second century A.D. onwards.

When we take up Toynbee's other example of archaism in Indic civilization, i.e., the revival of horse-sacrifice, we again find his judgment clouded by a lack of patient analysis. Apparently there is a great deal of truth in what Toynbee says. Puṣyamitra appears to have revived a practice which was in abeyance for quite some time. But we have to look deeper to follow fully the nature and the cause of the abeyance. It will be wrong to assume that the practice had died down. Horse sacrifice did not take place for some time past not because the practice was dead but because the Kings of the preceding dynasty were non-Hindus. Candragupta Maurya was a Jain⁸³ and his grandson was a Buddhist⁸⁴ and so were perhaps Aśoka's successors. This is how horse-sacrifice had fallen into abeyance. As soon as a Hindu King capable of performing the imperialistic sacrifice ascended the throne we find it being performed. Puṣyamitra⁸⁵ was only one among a number of Kings to perform it. The Śātavāhanas⁸⁶ of the South performed it and so did the Nāgas⁸⁷ of Central India and Pravarasena Vākāṭaka⁸⁸ and some others. The claim of the Gupta inscription that Samudra Gupta revived the practice is an idle one.⁸⁹

83. *Rājāvalīkathe*, Indian Antiquary 1892, p. 157. Smith, V., *Oxford History of India*, p. 76.

84. Scepticism of Wilson and Heras is unfounded. See Barua, B. M., 'Religion of Aśoka' (Mahabodhi Pamphlet, series No. 7).

85. *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 54 ff, Ray Choudhury, H. C., *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 371-5. Puṣyamitra also perhaps performed a Puruṣamedha sacrifice. Sharma, G. R., *Excavations at Kauśāmbī*, 1957-59, p. 15.

86. Majumdar, R. C., *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 199.

87. Jouvean Dubreil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*.

88. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 220, Fleet, C.I.I., Vol. III.

89. Fleet C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 257, Gaya plate where the claim has been made, however, has been alleged to be spurious by many.

Without going into the details of the highly debatable and elusive question whether *Karmavāda* smacks of fatalism we may concede, just for argument's sake, Toynbee's idea about it and accept that it represents what he calls 'a sense of drift' and 'a sense of sin'. But even this does not help us much because Toynbee's theory implies that *Karmavāda* was a belief affecting the thought of the declining Indic society, i.e., from B.C. 700 to A.D. 500, alone. As a matter of fact, however, the belief was as strong among the later-day philosophers as before and influenced even a monistic thinker like Śankarācārya,⁹⁰ and Śankarācārya lived and preached in the period which, in Toynbee's scheme, was the formative growth phase of the succeeding Hindu civilization and as such these characteristics of 'schism in the soul' should have been absent. Toynbee has to face the same objection in connection with the growing rigidity of caste system. Caste was becoming more and more rigorous from the *Sūtra* period onwards,⁹¹ and the *Sūtra* period will fit in quite well with Toynbee's contention that the breakdown of Indic civilization began at about 700 B.C. But the rigour of the system did not relax with the disintegration of Indic civilization. In the hands of Manu's commentators the system continued accumulating progressive rigidity.⁹² Similarly *Śaktism* and *Tantrik* practices assumed a monstrous proportion only in the post-Gupta period.⁹³

These are a few of Toynbee's conclusions, among many others, with which specialists in Indian History are likely to disagree. Despite these disagreements, however, his scheme is sure to be found attractive and in many points brilliantly suggestive, precisely because of the synthetic character of his work. The advantages of Toynbee's approach have been so masterly put by Williams H. McNeill that it merits quotation even though the passage is rather a long one. "I am, for, myself, profoundly convinced that there are insights attainable by taking large views of the past which cannot be had from close inspection of the separated segments of history. I once had an experience in New York city which for

90. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XI, pp. 188-89.

91. Dutt, N. K., *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, pp. 134 ff.

92. Ghurye, G. S., *Caste, Class and Occupation* (1961), pp. 83 ff.

93. The *Tantra* cult originated in about the sixth century A.D. (see Bhattacharya, H. D. in *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 316), but grew stronger much later, see Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, pp. 121-30.

me has come to stand as a symbol of the advantage which may accrue to a man taking such an intellectual position. Once on a hot summer's evening when I was walking on Morningside Heights looking down upon the Hudson, the traffic on the Parkway beneath caught my attention. It was heavy, and to my surprise I saw that the cars were grouped along that ribbon concrete in the alternating nodes and antinodes of a longitudinal wave, precisely like the diagram I remembered from my Physics text book illustrating the propagation of a sound wave. Moreover, the waves of traffic moved along the Parkway at a rate considerably faster than the progress of any car and were regular in length as well as in their speed. Here was a truth about stop-and-go driving on a crowded road which I had never known before, even though I had more than once been a particle in such a jam. Only the long perspective of Morningside Heights permitted me to apprehend this aspect of the phenomenon. Observers closer to the road side might see individual cars going by; might calculate their speed or tabulate their makes, study the varieties of hubcaps or measure the pollution of the air from the exhausts; but from the very proximity of their vantage points our imaginary observers could have understood the wave-character of the traffic only through exact and painstaking statistical analysis of a sort usually impossible in historical study from lack of sufficient data. Yet a Toynbee-like vision of history, I believe, opens the possibility of short-circuiting statistical methods, as my glance from Morningside Heights could do. New insights may arise with breadth of view; fallible and never completely provable perhaps, yet enormously stimulating to exact and careful study which may find new questions to ask of familiar data in the light of general ideas generated by men like Toynbee".⁹⁴ Toynbee's work will be found interesting even by those historians who prize accuracy more than anything else in history. We might do well to remember that Professor Richard Pares reviewing *A Study of History* in the *English Historical Review* (1956) found it a 'grandiose failure' but at the same time containing "many excellent ideas which other historians can use as clues in the construction of that intermediate kind of sense which is the most that they can safely try to make of history".

94. Gargan, T. Edward, *The Intent of Toynbee's History*, (Chicago, 1961), pp. 30-31.

Churchill's Administration of East Africa: A period of Indian Disillusionment, 1906-1922

BY

ROBERT G. GREGORY

During his two administrations in the Colonial Office — 1906-08 and 1921-22 — Winston Churchill tried unsuccessfully to solve the perplexing Indian problem in Africa. The problem, how to reconcile Indian interests with those of the Europeans and Africans, was important. During Churchill's first administration, it culminated in massive demonstrations and a passive resistance campaign in South Africa; and during his second, it was the cause of a bitter racial conflict in East Africa that very nearly erupted in violent revolution. It was an influential force behind the movement for independence in India, and it had far-reaching consequences in the evolution of the Empire and Commonwealth.

Among the proposals frequently offered for solution of this problem was the suggestion that a portion of East Africa be reserved exclusively for Indian settlement, that the area be regarded as the chief outlet for India's surplus population, and that it perhaps be administered through the Government of India or the Colonial Office as a dependency of India. Churchill was not the first to suggest this solution. Late in the nineteenth century proposals for extensive Indian settlement in East Africa were made by many individuals, including Jairam Sewji of Zanzibar, the Aga Khan, and George Mackenzie.¹ The prospect of Indian settlement was

1. For Sewji, see statement by Sir John Kirk, *Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates: Minutes of Evidence*, Cd. 5193 (London, June 1910), p. 238. For the Aga Khan, see correspondence between Baron von Waldthausen (Imperial German Consul, Calcutta) and T. W. Holderness (Secretary, Dept. of Revenue and Agriculture) and departmental notes in "Proceedings", Govt. of India, Dept. of R. and A., Emigration Branch, Part B, June 1900, Nos. 9/10 (Indian National Archives, New Delhi); see also the Aga Khan, *India in Transition*;

written into the preamble of the Charter of the Imperial British East Africa Company² and given as one of the chief reasons for construction of the Uganda Railway.³ After the establishment of the East African Protectorate, indentured Indians were permitted to retire in the country, and a policy of unrestricted immigration fostered a rapid influx of Indian artisans and traders. The Indian penal code and rupee coinage were introduced, and personnel from the Indian Civil Service were brought in to develop an administration on the Indian model. In 1903, through the efforts of D. D. Waller, a Treasury official, a small and rather unsuccessful colony of Indian agriculturists was established at Kibos near Lake Victoria.⁴

During these initial years of British activity in East Africa, Churchill had acquired a wide experience in India and Africa, established a reputation as journalist and historian, and entered Parliament. He had an early association with India through his father, Lord Randolph Churchill, who from 1885-86 was Secretary of State for India. After graduation from Sandhurst and a brief adventure in the Spanish Army in Cuba, Winston spent four years as a cavalryman in the Fourth Hussars in India. While home on leave he enlisted in the Twenty-First Lancers, and in 1898 he was among the twenty thousand in the Nile Expeditionary Force that destroyed the Mahdist Forces at Omdurman. Churchill then embarked for South Africa to report the Boer War for the *London Morning Post*. After capture by the Boers and a dramatic escape, he enlisted in the South African Light Horse and took part in the triumphant ride into Pretoria. In 1900 he entered Parliament in his father's tradition as a Conservative, but four years later, refu-

a *Study in Political Evolution* (London, 1918), pp. 119-22. For Mackenzie, see correspondence between the Foreign and India Office, "Proceedings", Govt. of India, Dept. of R. and A., Emigration, A, Sep. 1901, No. 12.

2. *Parl. Papers*, 1888 Ses., vol. 74, p. 301.

3. Charles F. Andrews, "The Kenya Memorandum," *Indians Abroad: Kenya* (pamphlet: Bul. No. 6, July 1923, Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, Bombay), pp. 17-8 (Library of the Servants of India Society, Poona).

4. *Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates*, Cd. 5192 (London, June 1910), p. 93; see also note by L. S., Oct. 17, 1919, "Proceedings", Govt. of India, Dept. of Commerce and Industry, Emigration, A, March 1921, Nos. 16-47.

sing to follow Chamberlain into protectionism, he moved to the Liberal side of the Commons and occupied the coveted seat next to John Morley. Meanwhile, he had written five volumes of history and a novel.⁵

In January 1906 when the Liberals under Campbell-Bannerman assumed the Government, Churchill became Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. His oratorical abilities and experience in the Empire made him a fitting complement in the Colonial Office to the Secretary of State, Lord Elgin. As Elgin's biographer has admitted, the Secretary was "somewhat overshadowed by his brilliant under-secretary, Mr. Winston Churchill, whose speeches on departmental matters were as aggressive and stimulating as his own were cautious and pedestrian."⁶ Churchill was thus the dominant personality and was perhaps chiefly responsible for the policy of the next two years. The main problem was the reconstruction of South Africa. Churchill and Elgin prohibited further importation of Chinese, granted responsible government to the Transvaal and Orange Free State, and intensified preparations for the eventual Union.⁷

It was soon apparent that the Government's liberal treatment of the Boers had greatly augmented the Indian problem. The Boers had taken advantage of their new independence to enact legislation aimed at suppression of the Indian residents. A deputation led by Gandhi had visited the Colonial Office in November 1906 but had found Elgin and Churchill committed to the extension of responsible government. Left to his own resources, Gandhi in May 1907 evoked his first passive resistance movement, and a

5. *The Story of the Malakand Field Force* (London, 1898); *Savrola, a Tale of the Revolution in Laurania* (New York, 1900); *The River War: Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan* (2 vols., London, 1899); *London to Ladysmith via Pretoria* (New York, 1900); *Ian Hamilton's March* (New York, 1900).

6. Frank Herbert Brown, "Bruce, Victor Alexander, 9th Earl of Elgin and 13th Earl of Kencardine," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1912-21 (London, 1927), p. 73.

7. Eric A. Walker, ed., *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*: vol. VIII, *South Africa, Rhodesia and the High Commission Territories* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 644-5.

grievous conflict began that in its first phase was to endure to the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914. The Colonial Office had been too hasty in its award to the Boers, and the Indians were embittered. A half century later an Indian historian described Elgin's administration in South Africa as "a period of desertion and abandonment of the Indian cause by the Imperial Government."⁸

In British East Africa a similar conflict was emerging. By 1906 the Asiatics of the East Africa Protectorate, most of whom were Indians, had increased to 10,763. The Europeans had begun to arrive in appreciable numbers only in 1904 and were far less numerous — 1,813 including 264 officials⁹ — but very influential. Because it was generally assumed by administrators in Britain and East Africa that the Europeans would eventually be the dominant community, the Foreign Office in 1905 had relinquished control of the Protectorate to the Colonial Office.¹⁰ To enhance their position, the Europeans had organized a Colonists' Association as early as 1902 and begun to agitate for representative government, liberal land laws, restrictions on Indian immigration, and exclusive right to the healthful and fertile highlands.¹¹ The Indians, fearful of these demands and the growing European privilege, became increasingly restive. In April 1906 A. M. Jeevanjee, one of East Africa's richest and most influential Indians, called a mass meeting at Mombasa to raise funds for a deputation to London.¹²

Churchill and Elgin tried to cope with the problem. In 1906 they accorded the Europeans representation under a new constitution, which provided for a Governor, an Executive Council, and a

8. Iqbal Narain, *The Politics of Racism: a Study of the Indian Minority in South Africa down to the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement* (Agra, 1962), p. 169.

9. Parl. Debates, Commons, 185 (Feb. 27, 1908), 42; *Annual Report on the East Africa Protectorate*, Colonial Reports No. 519, Cd. 3285 (March 1907), p. 37.

10. Elspeth Huxley, *White Man's Country: Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya* (2 vols. London, 1953), I, 193.

11. Marjorie Ruth Dilley, *British Policy in Kenya Colony* (New York, 1937), pp. 36 ff.

12. *Ibid.*, 142.

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Legislative Council in which the Europeans had three nominees.¹³ But Churchill and Elgin did nothing to restrict Indian immigration, and they made several conflicting statements about land policy that revealed a degree of uncertainty and confusion about the emphasis to be given to white settlement.¹⁴ To obtain a first-hand impression of the East African situation, Churchill in the summer and fall of 1907 landed at Mombasa, traversed the East African Protectorate by train, visited Uganda, and floated down the Nile, or bicycled beside it, all the way to Khartoum. He shot big game, chased butterflies, and conversed with Indians, European settlers, and officials. He also wrote a series of articles for *The Strand Magazine* which in 1908 appeared in book form under the title *My African Journey*.¹⁵

In presenting his impressions of East Africa, Churchill emphasized the possibility of an Indian colony. In *My African Journey* he was very critical of the European colonists and doubted that they could ever make a permanent home in tropical Africa, but he saw no reason why the highlands "should not, as a matter of practical administration, be in the main reserved" for them.¹⁶ The Indians could live elsewhere, presumably in the vast lowlands of the East Africa Protectorate; and Churchill staunchly defended their right to a share in the country's future.¹⁷ In January 1908, shortly after his return to England, he was more explicit in defining the Indian settlement during an address to the National Liberal Club. "There are enormous areas of fertile and beautiful country," he stated, "in which Asiatics can live and thrive and multiply, and which in a very short time can be opened, if they are not opened

13. *Ibid.*, 17.

14. See (1) Churchill's statement in *Parl. Debates, Commons*, 160 (July 5, 1906), 217-8; (2) Elgin's despatch to the Governor, July 17, 1906, quoted in *Correspondence Regarding the Position of Indians in East Africa*, Cmd. 1311 (London, 1921), p. 8; (3) Churchill's statement in *Parl. Debates, Commons*, 172 (April 11, 1907), 359; and (4) Churchill's statements while in Kenya, described in W. McGregor Ross, *Kenya from Within: a Short Political History* (London, 1927), pp. 171, 308.

15. "My African Journey", *The Strand Magazine* (London), monthly instalments with individual subtitles, March-Nov. 1908.

16. *My African Journey* (London, 1908), pp. 54-5.

17. *Ibid.*, 49-50; 54-5.

already, to the enterprise of colonists from India. If that policy is able to be carried out, and in proportion as it is given effect to, we shall witness in the circle of the British Empire the arrival not of a daughter State but of a granddaughter State, a State which is the outcome of a dependency."¹⁸

Churchill's proposed solution for the Indian problem was not adopted. In April 1908 when Campbell-Bannerman fell ill and Asquith formed a new Cabinet, Elgin was permitted to retire and Churchill was transferred to the Board of Trade. In March 1909 a Parliamentary committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Lord Sanderson to investigate the general question of emigration from India to the Crown colonies, and a year later it recommended the East African and Uganda Protectorates as the most suitable areas for Indian settlement. Among the witnesses who favoured an Indian colony in East Africa were Sir John Kirk, Sir Harry H. Johnston, and the Governors of the East Africa and Uganda Protectorates, Sir James Hayes Sadler and Sir H. Hesketh Bell.¹⁹ But the recommendations were not implemented. In 1909 while the committee was sitting, Sadler and Bell were recalled, and their successors, like Elgin's and Churchill's in the Colonial Office, were more sympathetic to European interests. In the East Africa Protectorate the Indians were increasingly relegated to an inferior status. In the fall of 1910 Jeevanjee publicized Indian grievances in Britain, and the London *Daily Chronicle* ran a series of sensational articles on them.²⁰ But the expose did not change the situa-

18. News item, *India* (London), Jan. 24, 1908, p. 43.

19. *Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates*, Cd. 5192 (London, June 1910), pp. 90-7; and *Minutes of Evidence*, Cd. 5193, pp. 133, 152, 238, 320.

20. *Daily Chronicle* (London), Sep. 1, 2, 3, 6, 1910. The substance is evident in the headlines: "Indians in East Africa"; "Amazing Action of the Colonial Office"; "Suicidal Policy"; "No Indian Need Apply"; "East Africa Policy of Exclusion"; "More Hindu Grievances"; "Debarred from Magistracy and Trial by Jury." The articles stimulated reports in the *Yorkshire Post* (Leeds), Sep. 2, 1910; *Dundee Courier*, Sep. 3, 1910; *The African World* (London), Sep. 3, 1910; *Wednesday Review* (London), Sep. 21, 1910; *Liverpool Post*, Sep. 21, 1910; *Manchester Guardian*, Sep. 24 and Oct. 18, 1910; *Glasgow Herald*, Oct. 11, 1910; *Daily Graphic* (London), Oct. 22, 1910. Jeevanjee's remarks were also reported in the *Bombay Gazette*, Sep. 3, 1910;

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tion in East Africa, and during the next few years the impending conflict with Germany drew the attention of all concerned away from the Indian problem.

The war itself revived interest in an Indian colony. It automatically posed the question of the future of German East Africa. The idea of transforming the German territory into an Indian reserve evolved as the war progressed. Its two principal proponents were the Aga Khan and Sir Theodore Morison, but it was supported by many other eminent persons, including G. K. Gokhale, Dr. T. B. Saprú, Lord Sinha, and Sir James Meston. It was advocated by several organizations, among which were the East Africa Indian National Congress, the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, the National Liberal Federation of India, the South Indian Non-Brahmin Confederation, and the London Moslem League.²¹ In April 1919 when assured of the mandate, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Milner, proposed a special settlement of Indian ex-service men and their families,²² and the suggestion was at first favourably received by the Secretary of State for India, Edwin S. Montagu, and the Government of India.²³ During the next two years, however, enthusiasm waned. Gandhi and his British co-workers, Charles F. Andrews and H. S. L. Polak, persuaded the East Africa Indian National Congress to withdraw its request on ground that acceptance of special privilege in Tanganyika, — the country's postwar name — would compromise the Indian demands for equal treatment elsewhere. There was also opposition in East Africa from the European colo-

Times of India (Bombay), Aug. 22, Sep. 19, Oct. 17, 1910; *The Indian Daily Telegraph* (Lucknow), Aug. 31, 1910; *The Englishman* (Calcutta), Sep. 6, 1910; *United Methodist* (Trichinopoly), Sep. 8, 1910; and *The Leader of British East Africa* (Nairobi and Mombasa), Oct. 1 and Nov. 5, 1910.

21. The author is writing a separate article on this subject.

22. G. Grindle (Colonial Office) to Under-Secretary of State, India Office, Despatch No. 13721, April 5, 1919, in "Proceedings", Govt. of India, Dept. of Commerce and Industry, Emigration Branch, Part A, Oct. 1919, Nos. 1-8.

23. Montagu to the Governor-General of India in Council, Public No. 101, Aug. 21, 1919, in "Proceedings," Govt. of India, Dept. of C. and I., Emigration, A, March 1921, Nos. 16-47; and Monro, Hill, Lowndes, Barnes, Vincent, Shafi, and Hailey (the Governor-General's Council in his absence) to Montagu, No. 35, Dec. 25, 1919, in *ibid.*

nists, the Bishop of Zanzibar, the Administrator of Tanganyika, and from twenty-six tribal elders of Tanga. The Government of India received unfavourable reports from Sir Benjamin Robertson, whom it sent to investigate conditions in the former German territory, and from provincial administrators in India, who were pessimistic about finding suitable settlers.²⁴ In February 1921, for all these reasons, the Indian Government sent a despatch to the India Office in which it rejected Milner's offer.²⁵ With the despatch, the movement for an Indian colony in Tanganyika came to an end.

By coincidence, Milner resigned from the Colonial Office on February 7, 1921, three days before the Government of India sent its rejection. Milner's successor, Winston Churchill thus did not have to cope with the problem of Indian settlement in Tanganyika. Apparently it had not interested him. Since 1908 his only two significant expressions of concern with imperial affairs had been a memorandum urging retention of Egypt²⁶ and a speech condemning General Dyer's actions at Amritsar.²⁷ He had been successively President of the Board of Trade, Home Secretary, First Lord of the Admiralty, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, a major and colonel in the British Army, and simultaneously Air Minister and Secretary of State for War.

During the next two years, Churchill as Secretary of State for the Colonies faced three major problems: the insurrection in Ireland, the state of war with Turkey, and the Indian question in East Africa. With the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, which inaugurated the Free State, he made a substantial contribution toward solution of the Irish problem; and though he irritated the dominions and the French, infuriated the Liberals and Socialists, and disrupted his own Government, Churchill with the bellicose Chanak communique called Kemal's bluff and laid the foundation for the

24. Robertson's report and other correspondence mentioned above are included in *ibid.*

25. Governor-General and Councillors to Secretary of State for India, No. 9, Feb. 10, 1921, in *ibid.*

26. Philip Guedalla, *Mr. Churchill* (New York, 1942), p. 132.

27. *Parl. Debates*, Commons, 131 (July 8, 1920), 1712-22.

subsequent peace with Turkey.²⁸ The Indian problem proved the most difficult.

Since the war the Indian problem had entered a new phase. With the realization that Indians were to have no unique function as administrators or colonizers in Tanganyika, those who were interested in an Indian colony turned their attention again to the East Africa Protectorate. The future of the territory was still in doubt. The European community hoped that white settlement would continue to be emphasized and that the territory would evolve toward Crown colony status and ultimately achieve dominionhood. The Indians hoped for a change in the direction of political, economic, and social equality. They were far superior in numbers. The census of 1921 indicated that there were 22,822 Indians, 10,102 Arabs, and only 9,651 Europeans.²⁹ The immigration statistics were also in the Indians' favour. During 1918, 1919, and 1920 a total of 16,856 Indians entered the territory, but only 8,274 Europeans.³⁰ In these circumstances it was understood by both communities that if the Indians ever received full civic equality, the country would be in all but name an Indian colony.³¹

Early in the postwar period the Indians suffered four serious reverses. The discriminatory Reciprocity Resolution of the Imperial War Conference of 1918;³² the appointment in 1918 of Governor Sir Edward Northey, a British General with decided pro-European sentiments;³³ the biased report of the local Economic

28. For a terse account of the Chanak episode, see Lewis Broad, *Winston Churchill, 1874-1951* (New York, 1952), pp. 194-6.

29. *Parl. Debates, Commons*, 164 (May 31, 1923), 1484.

30. Principal Immigration Officer, Mombasa, to Charles F. Andrews, No. I. 4-51-21, Oct. 26, 1921, in "Proceedings", Govt. of India, Dept. of R. and A., Emigration, B. Dec. 1922, Nos. 43-50.

31. For an apt description of the Europeans' fears, see Huxley, II, 117.

32. *Extracts from Minutes of Proceedings and Papers laid before the Imperial War Conference, 1918*, Cmd. 9177 (London, 1918), pp. 195-201.

33. Northey informed the Indian community in writing that European interests should be paramount. See statement by V. V. Phadke, *Joint Select Committee on Closer Union in East Africa: Evidence*, H. C. 156 (London, Dec. 9, 1921), p. 763; Chief Secretary, East Africa Prot., to Vice-President, Nairobi Indian Assoc., No. 19285-10, March 18, 1919, in "Proceedings," Govt. of India, Dept. of C. and I., Emigration, A, Nov. 1920, Nos. 1-116; and Ross, 327-8.

Commission in 1919;³⁴ and, above all, the pro-settler policy of Lord Milner—all furthered European privilege in the East Africa Protectorate. Milner's first step was to grant the Europeans elective representation. The Legislative Council Ordinance, which received royal assent in July 1919, retained the official majority but accorded the European community eleven elected representatives and the Indians only two nominated members.³⁵ In May 1920 Milner sent Northey a secret despatch containing his decisions on the Indian problem. He repudiated the language of the Economic Commission, stated that he could not countenance any restrictions on immigration, and directed that the two Indian seats become elective. He also expressed an intention to "set apart" an area for Indian agricultural settlement and made some minor concessions to Indians. But he upheld the highlands policy and condoned segregation in the townships.³⁶ Two months later, July 1920, at Milner's instigation, the British Government annexed the East Africa Protectorate and named it Kenya Colony and Protectorate.³⁷ Milner's actions as a whole, and especially his statement of policy which Northey announced in August 1920, produced a storm of protest. The Kenya Indians began a non-cooperation movement, and bitter criticism was voiced by many organizations and individuals, including Gandhi, Andrews, Polak, Montagu, and the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford.³⁸

Churchill was influenced early in his administration not only by this legacy from Milner, but also by a Round Table Conference in Kenya, a report from the Parliamentary Standing Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, and his own participation in an Imperial Conference. The Round Table Conference, initiated by Northey in early May 1921 to obtain agreement to Milner's policy, achieved

34. *Economic Commission of the East Africa Protectorate: Part I, Final Report* (Nairobi, 1919), p. 21.

35. The Ordinance is included in "Proceedings", Govt. of India, Dept. of C. and I., Emigration, A, Nov. 1920, Nos. 1-116.

36. Milner to Officer Administering the East Africa Protectorate, no number, secret, May 21, 1920, in *ibid.*

37. Dilley, 17.

38. "Proceedings", Govt. of India, Dept. of C. and I., Emigration, A, Nov. 1920, Nos. 1-116. See also *India* (London), July 9, 1920, pp. 12-3, and Sep. 3, 1920, p. 81; *The Indian Review* (Madras), Jan. 1921, pp. 38-41; and Ross, 329-30.

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no compromise but afforded much publicity to the Indian position.³⁹ The Parliamentary report, presented in July and known as the "Third Report," upheld Indian claims in Kenya and caused much controversy in the British press.⁴⁰ The Imperial Conference, which met during June, July, and August, took up the Indian problem in Africa and, despite vigorous opposition from Smuts approved a resolution recommended by a subcommittee of which Churchill was chairman. The resolution acknowledged "an incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the British Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire," and it recommended that the rights of these Indians to citizenship be recognized.⁴¹ Although there was later a rumour that Churchill wished to support Smuts's claim that the conditions in Kenya and the Union were exceptional but that he was overruled,⁴² his speech in reply to Sastri, the Indian delegate, indicated a full concurrence. "I think that there is only one ideal that the British Empire can set before itself in this regard," he remarked, "and that is that there should be no barrier of race, colour, or creed which should prevent any man by merit from reaching any station if he is fitted for it." He was unable, he said, "to adopt any lesser statement of principle in regard to the Colonies."⁴³

During his first year as Secretary of State, Churchill pursued a policy in Kenya that was generally pro-Indian and conformed to the ideas he had expounded in 1908. He did not confirm Milner's statement. His first act was to disallow the Kenya Public Health Ordinance, which contained clauses providing for racial segregation

39. Northey to Secretary of State for Colonies, No. 107, May 14, 1921, in "Proceedings", Govt. of India, Dept. of R. and A., Emigration, A, Oct. 1922, Nos. 1-55. See also *East African Standard* (Nairobi), May 2, 1921.

40. *Third Report by the Standing Joint Committee on Indian Affairs* (Session 1921), H. C. 177 (London, 1921), pp. 1-4.

41. *Conference of Prime Ministers and Representatives of the United Kingdom, the Dominions, and India Held in June, July, August, 1921: Summary of Proceedings and Documents*, Cmd. 1474 (London, 1921), p. 8.

42. Andrews to R. B. Ewbank (Deputy Secretary, Dept. of Educ., Health and Lands, Govt. of India), March 24, 1923, in "Proceedings", Govt. of India, Dept. of E., H. and L., Overseas Branch, Part A, June 1923, Nos. 26-73.

43. *Conference of Prime Ministers*, p. 39.

in the townships.⁴⁴ He next arranged for a joint review of the Kenya situation by his Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Lord Lytton. On August 15, after reviewing the report⁴⁵ and conferring with the Governors of Kenya and Uganda and a Kenya Indian deputation,⁴⁶ Churchill sent Northey a memorandum, "Indian Policy in Kenya." The memorandum included what became known as the "Montagu-Churchill proposals." The Indians were offered enfranchisement of approximately ten per cent of their population, a common electoral roll, and a guarantee of three or four seats in the Legislative Council. There could be no restrictions on Indian immigration, nor any segregation in the townships; and the Indians would have a definite area for settlement between Nairobi and the coast. The Europeans would retain exclusive use of the highlands. The basis for the policy as a whole would be "equal rights for civilised men." All these points were to be incorporated in a new constitution that would be introduced at the end of 1922 or beginning of 1923. During the interim, the Governor would nominate four Indians to the Legislative Council, in place of the two elected representatives, and appoint an Indian to sit with the two European nominees already on the Executive Council.⁴⁷

Churchill's hesitancy to proclaim a definite policy has been ascribed to Northey's persuasion "that any attempt to force through an arbitrary settlement from home, without local consent, would lead to serious trouble."⁴⁸ This is substantiated by a remark made by Montagu to the Viceroy in mid-July. "Churchill says that he has pressed the Europeans far enough," Montagu reported. "If they have notion that a pledge has been broken off there may be

44. Ross, 329-31.

45. Secretary of State for India to Viceroy, telegram No. 2492, May 14, 1921, in "Proceedings," Govt. of India, Dept. of R. and A., Emigration A, Oct. 1922, Nos. 1-55.

46. A. M. Jeevanjee and B. S. Varma to Colonial Office, Aug. 11, 1921; and East Africa Indian National Congress to Secretary to Govt. of India, Dept. of C. and I., telegram, June 30, 1921, in *ibid.*

47. The memo. was enclosed in G. Grindle (Colonial Office) to Northey, No. 41079-1921, Aug. 26, 1921, in *ibid.*

48. Huxley, II, 126.

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a revolution or a mutiny."⁴⁹ The threat of a revolution in Kenya was real. Rumours of Churchill's impending settlement, his disallowance of the Public Health Ordinance, his actions at the Imperial Conference, and the recommendations of the Standing Joint Committee had alarmed the Europeans. They feared, as a leading settler remarked, that Kenya was about to become "a dependency of India with its supreme control transferred from London to Delhi";⁵⁰ and they envisioned an Indian domination of the civil service and even the appointment of an Indian Governor.⁵¹ Between May and August they had established a Central Vigilance Committee, formed detailed plans for rebellion, and recruited the nucleus of a secret army from Kenya's large population of ex-service men.⁵² In late 1921 and early 1922, as Churchill learned of the European resentment against the Montagu-Churchill proposals, he withdrew from his advanced pro-Indian position. He permitted Northey to announce that there would be "no radical changes" before 1923.⁵³ He took no steps to implement the interim measures until prodded by Montagu,⁵⁴ and he rejected a request to increase Indian representation.⁵⁵ When European and Indian deputations arrived in London, he received only the Europeans.⁵⁶

49. Secretary of State for India to Viceroy, telegram No. 3443, July 12, 1921, in "Proceedings", Govt. of India, Dept. of R. and A., Emigration, A, Oct. 1922, Nos. 1-55.

50. Quoted to anon. pamphlet, *The Indian Problem in Kenya: Being a Selection from Speeches, Articles and Correspondence Appearing in the East African Press, April-October 1921* (East African Standard, Nairobi, 1922), pp. 56-7 (Library of the Servants of India Society, Poona).

51. Ross, 338.

52. *Ibid.*, 344; Huxley, II, 135-6.

53. Governor of Kenya to Secretary of State for Colonies, telegram paraphrase, Oct. 10, 1921; and reply from Churchill in "Proceedings", Govt. of India, Dept. of R. and A., Emigration, A, Oct. 1922, Nos. 1-55.

54. Q. J. Tozer (Industries and Overseas Dept., India Office), to Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office, No. I and O.—2763-21, Jan. 9, 1922; and J. C. Walton (India Office) to Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office, No. I and O.—130-22, n. d., in *ibid.*

55. Secretary of State for Colonies to Governor of Kenya, telegram No. 266-22, Jan. 6, 1922, in *ibid.*

56. Jeevanjee, Polak, and G. B. Tadwalker (Kenya Indian Deputation) to Secretary of State for Colonies, Feb. 9, 1922, in *ibid.* See also Huxley, II, 130; and *Indian Annual Register* (Calcutta), II (1922), 282.

On January 27, 1922, Churchill delivered a surprising speech at the East Africa Dinner in London. He pledged his Government "to reserve the highlands of East Africa exclusively for European settlers" and referred to the subject as "a matter which is definitely settled." He reiterated the principle of "equal rights for all civilised men" and implied that only those Indians and Africans who reached and conformed "to well-marked European standards" would be accorded full "civic and political rights." He declared that in "the interests of British settlers and the native population" all future immigration of Indians would be strictly regulated. He also commented on Kenya's future. "We do not contemplate any settlement or system," he said, "which will prevent British East Africa or Kenya becoming a characteristically and distinctively British Colony, looking forward in full fruition of time to complete responsible Self-Government."⁵⁷ The possibility that these remarks were uttered in haste and did not represent Churchill's true opinion was refuted by him in the Commons two weeks later. "I was very careful," he explained, "in choosing the words which I used, to frame the statement in such a way as to embody what I believe to be the real position at the present time. I carefully wrote them down and followed exactly what my departmental advisers recommended to me — and what my own judgment confirmed — as to the actual situation."⁵⁸

The East African Dinner speech was as displeasing to the Indians as it was gratifying to the European community. In Kenya the Indian leaders decided to renew the non-cooperation movement.⁵⁹ In India the new Viceroy, Lord Reading, sent a "clear the line" telegram to the India Office stating that "the political effect of the announcement in this country is likely to be so serious that we beg you to consider, even at this late stage, whether you cannot do anything further to help us."⁶⁰ Resolutions of protest

57. Quoted in *Times* (London), Jan. 28, p. 12. The Govt. of India received a summary from Reuter's: telegram No. 134, Jan. 30, 1922, in "Proceedings," Govt. of India, Dept. of R. and A., Emigration, A, Oct. 1922, Nos. 1-55.

58. *Parl. Debates*, Commons, 150 (Feb. 14, 1922), 798.

59. *The Indian Annual Register*, II (1922), 284.

60. Viceroy to Secretary of State for India, telegram No. 59-R. A., Feb. 1, 1922, in "Proceedings," Govt. of India, Dept. of R. and A., Emigration, A, Oct. 1922, Nos. 1-55.

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were carried unanimously in the Legislative Assembly and Council of State.⁶¹ Officials under the Viceroy considered retaliation by stopping emigration to Ceylon, Malaya, or Mauritius.⁶² Expressions of dismay and disappointment were conveyed to the Government from the Madras Liberal League, the Indian Merchants' Chamber, and the British Indian Colonial Merchants' Association.⁶³ The *Servant of India* devoted an editorial to the contrast between Churchill's speech and his book of 1908.⁶⁴ After conferring with the Aga Khan, Andrews declared that "either the Viceroy or Montagu, or both, should resign. The whole question of the British Commonwealth stands or falls by this one issue."⁶⁵ In England Sastri predicted that "the good faith of Britain would be irredeemably shaken and the pro-English party in India would be wiped out."⁶⁶ Polak wired Sapru, "Churchill betrayed Kenya Indians."⁶⁷ Jeevanjee wrote Churchill that the speech had been read by the Indian deputation "with the utmost surprise and alarm."⁶⁸ Josiah Wedgwood, Labour spokesman on Indian affairs, raised questions in Parliament.⁶⁹ Montagu at first tried to convey the impression that the speech should not be taken as a serious expression of policy,⁷⁰ but Churchill's repudiation of this interpreta-

61. *Legislative Assembly Debates* (Simla), II (Feb. 9, 1922), 2308-42; *Council of State Debates* (Simla), II (Feb. 23, 1922), 870-90.

62. Notes by Ewbank, Feb. 1, June 10, 14, 1922, in "Proceedings," Govt. of India, Dept. of R. and A., Emigration, A, Oct. 1922, Nos. 1-55.

63. Purshotamdas Thakurdas to Secretary of State for India, telegram, Feb. 16, 1922, in *ibid.*; *The Indian Review* (Madras), Feb. 1922, p. 140.

64. *The Indian Review*, April 1922, p. 276.

65. Andrews to Ewbank, Feb. 5, 1922, in "Proceedings," Govt. of India, Dept. of R. and A., Emigration, A, Oct. 1922, Nos. 1-55.

66. *Times* (London), Feb. 16, 1922, p. 11.

67. Polak to Sapru, telegram, Jan. 30, 1922, in "Proceedings," Govt. of India, Dept. of R. and A., Emigration, A, Oct. 1922, Nos. 1-55.

68. Jeevanjee, Polak, and Tadwalker to Secretary of State for Colonies, Feb. 9, 1922, in *ibid.*

69. *Parl. Debates*, Commons, 150 (Feb. 14, 1922), 796-8; 151 (March 16, 1922), 2363.

70. Secretary of State for India to Viceroy, "clear the line" telegram, Feb. 3, 1922, in "Proceedings," Govt. of India, Dept. of R. and A., Emigration, A, Oct. 1922, Nos. 1-55. See also Montagu's speech to the 1920 Club: *Times* (London), Feb. 10, 1922, p. 9.

tion led to an estrangement that became one of the major reasons for Montagu's "resignation" a few weeks later.⁷¹

The Indian reaction to the East Africa Dinner Speech and to Montagu's dismissal, and perhaps also an African uprising against European privilege in Kenya — the Thuku disturbance⁷² — prompted Churchill to modify his recent decisions. In February 1922 he persuaded the Indian deputation to participate in an interview at the Colonial Office.⁷³ Because of his private assurances, the Kenya Indians dropped their plans for non-cooperation and renewed their acceptance of the interim measures.⁷⁴ On June 29 Churchill took the extraordinary step of recalling Northey before the expiration of the normal term of office. The reason given in the letter of recall was that "the circumstances which required the services of a military Governor no longer obtain,"⁷⁵ but it was commonly assumed in East Africa and India that Churchill wanted a Governor who did not hold such pronounced anti-Indian views.⁷⁶ Later in the summer Churchill arranged for consultations on the Indian problem between the Under-Secretaries of the Colonial and India

71. According to J. Austen Chamberlain, Govt. spokesman, Montagu was dismissed for authorizing publication of the Govt. of India's objections to the proposed Treaty of Sevres: *Parl. Debates*, Commons, 151 (March 9, 1922), 1489-94. "This reason for my resignation was a pretext," said Montagu: *ibid.*, 151 (March 15, 1922), 2304. See also Montagu's controversial Cambridge speech: *Times* (London), March 13, 1922, p. 71.

72. For the official version, see *Papers relating to Native Disturbances in Kenya*, March, 1922, Cmd. 1691 (London, May 1922), pp. 8-18. For the unofficial, see Parmenas Githendu Mockerie, *An African Speaks for His People* (London, 1934), pp. 45-7; and Ross, 224 ff.

73. H. J. Read (Colonial Office) to Jeevanjee, No. 6454/1922, Feb. 17, 1922; Jeevanjee to Colonial Office, Feb. 20, 1922; Read to Jeevanjee, No. 8194/22, Feb. 24, 1922, in "Proceedings," Govt. of India, Dept. of R. and A., Emigration, A, Oct. 1922, Nos. 1-55.

74. By May all five Indian seats in the legislature had been filled: Read to Under-Secretary of State for India, No. 22309-1922, May 17, 1922; and Governor of Kenya to Secretary of State for Colonies, telegram No. 178, May 23, 1922, in *ibid.*

75. The letter was published in the *East African Standard* (Nairobi), Aug. 15, 1922, p. 1.

76. Mervyn F. Hill, *The Dual Policy in Kenya* (Nairobi, 1944), p. 161; and Huxley, II, 131.

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Offices, Wood and the Earl of Winterton, together with their chief permanent officials.⁷⁷

On September 5 Churchill wired the Governor that he was offering the Wood-Winterton report as a tentative solution to the Kenya Indian problem. It was, he said, "a nicely balanced agreement between the Secretaries of the State for India and the Colonies" and was "intended to meet difficulties in India without departing from the spirit of my previous announcements." The report reiterated the points of the Montagu-Churchill proposals. In fact, the report represented a move even further toward equality in that it recommended an Indian municipal franchise, assured Indians of four representatives in the Legislative Council, and included no reference to Rhodes' dictum on equal rights or an offer of lowlands reserve.⁷⁸

Late in October 1922, before any other steps were taken to advance the Wood-Winterton proposals, the Lloyd George coalition collapsed, and the Conservatives, led by Bonar Law, formed a new Ministry. At the crucial time Churchill suffered an attack of appendicitis; and while he recuperated in a London nursing home, his wife fought for his seat in Dundee. Never popular since the war, Churchill faced the hostile electors two days before the General Election in a wheel chair. He lost the election, his ministry of the Colonial Office, and for the first time since 1900 his seat in Parliament. During the early months of 1923 when his successor in the Colonial Office was confronted with the severe reaction against his East African policy, Churchill was vacationing in southern France and, incidentally, writing another book, *The World Crisis*. He was not to return to Parliament until he had fought three more elections and switched to the Conservative Party.⁷⁹

Churchill had conspicuously failed to solve the Kenya Indian problem. He left the situation in Kenya far more turbulent than

77. *Parl. Debates, Commons*, 156 (July 11, 1922), 1151.

78. Churchill's despatch and the Wood-Winterton proposals are printed in full in *Indians in Kenya*, cmd. 1922 (London, July 1923). Montagu sent the proposals to the Govt. of India in telegrams Nos. 3399 and 3400, Aug. 31, 1922, in "Proceedings," Govt. of India, Dept. of R. and A., Emigration, A. Oct. 1922, Nos. 1-55.

79. Guedalla, 222 ff.

he had found it. He had recalled a Governor, contributed to the dismissal of a Secretary of State, substantially increased anti-British feeling in India, and harassed the Europeans of Kenya to the point of rebellion.

Under Churchill's successor, however, the Indian problem ceased to be the foremost concern in the Administration of East Africa. The Duke of Devonshire tried unsuccessfully in late 1922 and early 1923 to secure European agreement to the Wood-Winter-ton proposals, but he faced an obdurate and resentful community backed by a Governor who proved as partisan as Northey.⁸⁰ Kenya moved closer to revolution than ever before. The result was the White Paper of 1923, *Indians in Kenya*, in which Devonshire declared a radical doctrine of native paramountcy and thus subordinated both European and Indian interests to those of the African community.⁸¹ The conception of an emphasis on African interests was not new. During the preceding two years, it had been mentioned repeatedly by Europeans and Indians and urged by British humanitarians; it had even been proposed by Churchill.⁸² But Devonshire was the first to stress and proclaim it an official policy. Henceforth, the Europeans of Kenya turned their attention to a challenge from the African community, and the Indian problem was subordinated to the native problem.⁸³

The movement for an Indian colony disintegrated earlier, perhaps in 1922 with Churchill's East Africa Dinner speech. Some Indian and British humanitarians had opposed it from the beginning. Gandhi had consistently condemned any form of Indian privilege in Africa, and he had been supported by Andrews and Polak, who were motivated by a genuine sympathy for Africans as well as Indians. Early in the postwar period those who favour-

80. Devonshire's correspondence with Governor Sir Robert Coryndon is included in "Proceedings," Govt. of India, Dept. of E. H. and L., Overseas, A., June 1923, Nos. 26-73. The European threat of rebellion is well described in Ross, Chap. XXI.

81. Cmd. 1922.

82. Jeevanjee and B. S. Varma to Colonial Office, Aug. 11, 1921, in "Proceedings," Govt. of India, Dept. of R. and A., Emigration, A. Oct. 1922, Nos. 1-55.

83. The author has described events after 1923 in *Sidney Webb and East Africa: Labour's Experiment with the Doctrine of Native Paramountcy* (vol. 72, Univ. of Calif. Publications in History, Berkeley, 1962).

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ed an Indian colony found the moral force of their claim seriously weakened by the growing emphasis on African interests. Churchill's statement that Kenya should develop as "a characteristically and distinctively British Colony" was an affirmation of the policy then in practice. It was directly repudiated; in 1929 Secretary of State for the Colonies L. S. Amery asserted, "Mr. Churchill's declaration of 1922 still holds good";⁸⁴ and despite the Wood-Winterton proposals, the White Paper of 1923, and the humanitarian pronouncements of the second Labour Government, it prevailed at least in practice until 1960. Since Churchill's statement was a repudiation of African as well as Indian paramountcy, it drove the Indians after 1922 to couple their grievances with those of the African community. The possibility of a special Indian reserve somewhere in the lowlands of Kenya or Tanganyika continued to attract the attention of Imperial and Indian administrators in the 'twenties—even Devonshire offered a lowlands area—but it was always vigorously opposed in India.

Although the East Africa Dinner speech appeared to be a considerable departure from his other statements of policy, Churchill was essentially consistent. He was an imperialist, motivated primarily by a desire to preserve the integrity of the empire and to develop it along the lines of British civilization. He was anxious for Britain to retain both India and Kenya. India was to Churchill as to his father "that most truly bright and precious jewel in the crown of the King, which more than all our other Dominions and Dependencies constitutes the glory and strength of the British Empire."⁸⁵ Generally he supported Indian interests in East Africa to further amicable relations between Britain and India. Early in 1922 when the Kenya Europeans were on the verge of rebellion, he temporarily sacrificed Indian interests to keep the Empire intact. Later, as the threat of European rebellion diminished, Churchill sought a compromise in which the Europeans would retain the highlands, the Indians acquire a lowlands reserve, and both enjoy equal treatment together with Africans in much

84. Quoted by Biharilal N. Anantani, "Responsible Govt. for East Africa and Its Implications," *The Indian Review*, June 1929, pp. 409-10.

85. Speech to the Indian Empire Society, London, Dec. 12, 1930, quoted in Churchill, *India: Speeches and an Introduction* (London, 1931), p. 47.

of the remaining territory under a doctrine of "equal rights for civilised men."

Though effective at the time in averting revolution in Kenya and preventing an extreme dissatisfaction in India, Churchill's policy was doomed to failure. A policy aimed at a permanent imperial connection and predicated on the superiority of British civilization could not endure in an age of nationalism; and Indians could not remain content with a compromise which in practice furthered the Europeans' dominant position. In the long run Churchill sacrificed India for East Africa. His record in the Colonial Office well illustrates why India after 1922 accelerated its pace toward independence. It also shows that the causes of Indian dissatisfaction with the British *raj* were not confined to events in India but were tied to the Indians' situation in the Empire as a whole.

The Loyalty of Educated Indians to the British Rule (1858-1885)

BY

SUDHIR CHANDRA, *New Delhi*

Increasing discontent with the British Indian Government characterised the attitude of the politically conscious educated Indians during 1858-'85. Whether it was the problem of Native employment, racial discrimination, oppressive taxation or the destruction of indigenous industries, no opportunity was missed of attacking the Government in the strongest terms. Yet, absolute loyalty to the British rule was professed. The '*Hindu Patriot*', representing the most cultured and advanced contemporary Indian opinion, reveals Indian thinking on this question. Writing immediately after the Mutiny had broken out, it joined issue with those 'many' British politicians who found in the sword the chief support of England's dominion over India. The *Patriot* admitted that the pinch of foreign rule was experienced by everyone. This was in a sense inevitable, since certain grievances were "inseparable from subjection to a foreign rule". Every educated Indian could not but "feel his prospects circumscribed and his ambition restricted by the supremacy of that power". Still, the mass of the Indian population continued to cherish a feeling of loyalty which had been engendered by "the substantial benefits of the British rule".¹ While Lt.-Governor of Bengal, Sir Richard Temple was asked by Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State for India, whether the educated Natives of Bengal were loyal and could be trusted in case of a reversal of the British fortunes. Sir Richard answered that though captious, always complaining of the British rule and very ambitious of rising to high places, then monopolised by Europeans, these people were "*loyal to the backbone*".²

1. *The Hindu Patriot*, 21 May, 1857. *Hurrish Mookerjee's Writings*, ed. N. C. Sen-Gupta. Calcutta, 1910, p. 15.

2. Temple to Salisbury, 5 May, 1875. Salisbury Papers, National Archives of India Microfilms. 818. 56. II.

This loyalty was the product of no slavish desire to remain ever dependent on the British. It was marked by a desire to ameliorate the condition of Indians and to raise the status of the country. The *Indu Prakash*, the leading Anglo-Vernacular journal of Western India, wrote that the continuation of her connection with Britain was desired by India "for her own improvement and progress in the general march of civilization".³ The *Bharat Mihir* asserted that its loyalty proceeded from 'an ardent attachment to our country'. The British Government was loved and its continuance desired 'because our country cannot do without it'.⁴ Ranade, as we shall see, thought likewise.

The progress and advancement of the country came to be associated with the existence of the British rule as a result of a realistic appraisal of the contemporary Indian situation. The educated Indians felt, to use Temple's description, "unable to walk by themselves."⁵ There being no alternative to foreign rule at that time, British rule seemed to be best.⁶ This was a time when the masses were politically non-existent. The intelligentsia was only beginning to develop a common nationalist outlook. There was not much collaboration among leaders of different parts of the country, though efforts had begun to be made in this direction. Educated Indians were aware of "the real difficulties which must attend, which do now impede the progress of good government and of advanced civilization in India".⁷ They were "earnestly anxious" to aid in removing those inherent or adventitious national defects which centuries of despotic tyranny had entailed upon the people. They also knew that India at that time was a congeries of nations. Things being such, practical commonsense dictated that they should co-operate with "the more favoured peoples of Europe, with the many beneficent and large-minded statesmen"

3. The *Indu Prakash*, 27 Dec. 1875. Report on the Native Press (Bombay). Jan.-June, 1876, p. 3. Hereafter referred to as RNP.

4. The *Bharat Mihir*, 24 June, 1878. RNP (Bengal) for the week ending 2 Feb. 1878, p. 5.

5. Temple to Salisbury, 5 May, 1875, above cited.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Memorial of the British Indian Association to the Secretary of State for India, dated 26 Aug. 1861. Home Pub. B. 24 Sept. 1861, Nos. 137-8, para 31, p. 9, N.A.I.

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who had inaugurated "a better era for the nations of India under British rule, in eradicating indigenous evils, vices and ignorance really existing".⁸

Dissatisfaction with the existing backward state of affairs induced educated Indians to work for the advancement, essential for India to stand on her own feet. For this, external assistance seemed indispensable, and the British the best agents. An interesting evidence of the depth of this conviction is offered by a passage in a Memorandum on Military Expenditure prepared by Kristo Das Pal for a Committee of the British Indian Association. Pal wanted to show that India was being charged for depots which England could not dispense with even if India were not under her subjection. It is remarkable that Pal could not envisage, in such a hypothetical case, an independent India. Instead, he conceived of India in "occupation by some other European power".⁹ And no educated Indian was prepared to exchange the relatively liberal British with any other foreign rule.¹⁰

M. G. Ranade and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee rationalised this position into neat and manifestly plausible theories of history. These were largely subscribed to by educated Indians, particularly the Hindus. In a lecture delivered in August, 1878, Ranade highlighted the backward and ignorant state of India as compared to the West. Contact with the West through English education had provided Indians with a God-sent opportunity of acquiring real knowledge which consisted of an understanding of the purpose of life and the duties as well as the rights of men. Indians did not possess this knowledge even in their most flourishing days. It was for the first time discovered by Europeans. Even the Japanese and the Chinese were seeking it at great cost and with much difficulty. India, fortunately, was in a favourable position as the British were ruling over her. The British occupation thus became a fortunate occurrence for Ranade who always traced a

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Speeches and Minutes*, ed. Palit, R. C., Calcutta, 1882, p. 364.

10. Cf. Temple, Sir R., *The Story of My Life*, Vol. II, London, 1896, pp. 70-71.

divine purpose in the march of history. The cloud that had enveloped India for thousands of years would be removed by the torch of modern European knowledge. Obviously, Ranade was loyal not because he wanted the British rule to continue till eternity, but because he discovered in it the means of the future salvation of his country.¹¹

Bankim also evolved a more or less similar theory in his *Anandamath*. Its main burden was that the British rule had been ordained by God. The Hindus were in a superstitious and backward state. Their regeneration, based on the revival of their eternal Faith was necessary before they could become fit for self-dependence. The English were destined to play a significant role in making the Hindu "wise, virtuous and strong". Its essence being spiritual knowledge, Hinduism was utterly deficient in physical knowledge. But physical knowledge was essential for the restoration of true religion. The English alone could provide this. Until that happened, the English power would remain unbroken in India.¹²

Thus an awareness of the utterly helpless state of Indians combined with faith in the regenerating role of the British rulers to create and sustain the loyalty of educated Indians. This was natural in the existing circumstances. For, lack of faith in one's own capacity engenders, even necessitates, a tendency to depend on others. The least sign of generosity and goodness in the other party appears as a valid ground for reliance on it. W. S. Blunt observed this and was often on the point of "protesting against the too naive confidence of men known as demagogues in the good faith of English political action, against their implicit trust in the virtue of reason and a just cause." Inclined to feel that the loyalty of the Indian leaders was sincere, Blunt thought that they "seemed intentionally to ignore the selfishness and indifference of party statesmanship in England with regard to India,

11. The Marathi lecture is given in Phatak, *Nyayamurthi Ranade*, pp. 302-5. An English extract from this lecture is given in Kellock, James, *Mahadev Govind Ranade*, Calcutta, 1926, pp. 12-3.

12. Chatterjee, Bankim Chandra, *Anandamath*, Eng. tr. by Clark, T. W. cf. Part IV, ch. 8.

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and to be only too willing, in spite of political deceptions, still to be deceived".¹³

Moreover, the structure of the British Indian Government ensured that this faith would not be subverted all of a sudden and among all sections of the people. Apart from the set-up of the internal administration, the existence of two centres of power — Calcutta (or Simla) and London — was peculiarly suited to prolong this faith. A certain pattern is visible in the erosion of this faith. It was lost rather early so far as non-official Europeans in India and local authorities were concerned.¹⁴ It began to be argued that the fault lay with the officials who implemented policies; all that Indians needed was to impress their grievances on the Supreme Government. As education advanced Indian ambitions aimed higher and higher. This brought about a clash of interests between educated Indians and the European civilians. Towards the end of this period the conflict between the two became very prominent and bitter. But the Viceroy continued to be regarded as being above all reproach till Lord Lytton brought about the end of this implicit trust.¹⁵ Henceforth a Viceroy could not enjoy the faith of Indians simply by virtue of his high office; rather, he had to earn it by his own efforts. However, faith in the British Parliament and those freedom-loving people who elected it survived despite occasional tremors, especially during the Ilbert Bill controversy. Sir Richard Temple observed that while faith in the authorities in India wore thin, there was a tendency to trust the authorities and men in England. Temple welcomed this development because it tended to strengthen the hold of the British on the minds and hearts of educated Indians. This, he added, produced "a moral effect conducive to the permanency and stability of our Rule — and to their attachment to the British Crown".¹⁶

13. *India Under Ripon*, London, 1909, p. 256.

14. Faith in resident Europeans had begun to be undermined even before 1858. During the Mutiny, however, the cry of indiscriminate vengeance almost completed the process. cf. *The Hindu Patriot*, 8 July and 19 August, 1858.

15. *Speeches and Writings of the Honourable Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta*, K.C.I.E. ed., C. Y. Chintamani, Allahabad, 1905, p. 152.

16. Temple to Salisbury, 4 June, 1876. Salisbury Papers, 819,57, III. N.A.I.

The large number of petitions and memorials sent from India to the authorities in England offer a measure of this faith. In fact an interesting theory came to be propounded regarding a dichotomy, supposed or real, in English character. It came to be argued that Englishmen were changed after their arrival in India. Lal Mohan Ghose talked of their mental aberration on account of the excessive Indian heat.¹⁷ The Englishmen living in England offered a contrast to their compatriots in India. The former were disinterested, whereas the latter were prejudiced and swayed by avarice.¹⁸ The denunciation in Parliament of the abnoxious Vernacular Press Act by Sir George Campbell, who had earlier earned much public odium as the Lt.-Governor of Bengal began to be cited as classic example of this character-transformation.

In fact, England came to be looked upon as the home of justice and goodwill during the troubled days of 1857-8. This was a time when the deafening cries of indiscriminate retribution against the Indians as a whole threatened to submerge the sane murmurs of moderation and coolness. Educated Indians led by Harish Chandra Mukherji in Bengal and Naoroji Fardunji in Bombay, contradicted the allegations of the frenzied European community and lent to Lord Canning their support for all it was worth. Just when revenge against Indians seemed to drown the country in a flood of blood, the people in India, found to their profound relief the policy of sympathy and moderation progressively gaining ground in England. As early as Feb. 18, 1858, the *Hindu Patriot* could praise "the Tories and their leaders" for their efforts to "stem the tide of popular clamour and calm of the exasperated multitude". The writer felt that "for that at least our nation is grateful to them".¹⁹ Within no time members of Parliament, irrespective of their party affiliations, were vying with one another to plead for justice and moderation in India.²⁰ This left an abiding impact on the minds of educated Indians. The advocacy of Indian interests even afterwards by an unbroken series

17. Cf. *The Indian Nation Builders*, Pt. II. Madras (undated), p. 121.

18. *The Arunodaya*, 26 Dec. 1876. RNP (Bombay), Jan-June, 1876, p. 5.

19. H. C. Mookerjee's *Writings*, quoted above, p. 89.

20. *The Hindu Patriot*, 1 July, 1858, *ibid.*, p. 57.

of British statesmen sustained this impression of English character. For instance, when the Vernacular Press Act seemed to alter the very character of the British rule, its opposition by Gladstone and others induced Indians to hope that this measure would not, perhaps, last long or be implemented tyrannically.²¹ It is difficult to convey an idea of the reverence in which men like Macaulay, Canning, Bright, Fawcett and Gladstone were held by educated Indians. At a time when England and India were perhaps closer than they are today, notwithstanding the annihilation of space; when every word uttered or written in England in connection with India was avidly commented upon and perused; these statesmen soon came to be looked upon as the best friends of India. Their assertions and arguments were frequently employed by Indians. Thus was engendered a belief, albeit short-lived, in an underlying affinity between Indians and Britons.

The faith of educated Indians in Englishmen in England was sustained by the personal experiences of those among them who had studied and stayed in England. There they lived like free men with no galling realisation of belonging to a subject race. They could, and some of them did, present the grievances of their own country without fear of persecution or official displeasure. The very fact of their being listened to with tolerance and, in some quarters, with sympathy by Britons encouraged the belief that their grievances could be redressed, in course of time, by being cogently explained in England. This favourable impression of Englishmen as a noble, just and freedom-loving people formed as a result of first-hand contact could not be easily erased. If, despite repeated disillusionment, Indian leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Pheroze Shah Mehta and W. C. Bonnerjee preserved their faith in English character and exhorted their countrymen to do the same, their English experiences were largely responsible for

21. The *Bharat Sanskarak* 23 Aug. 1878. RNP (Bengal) 31 Aug. 1878, p. 4. The *Sadharani*, 24 March 1878. RNP (Bengal) 6 Apr. 1878, p. 5. The latter wrote: "... It is because we had reposed our confidence in the liberal policy of the rulers that this imminent thunderbolt has disappointed and surprised, and silenced and pained us; and we hope that this rigorous measure will be shortly repealed. ... it is almost certain that this state of things cannot last long."

it.²² Even during the Ilbert Bill controversy, when he was virtually emitting fire against the resident Europeans, Lal Mohan Ghose could publicly declare his faith in the bulk of Englishmen in England. He said:

"Those who, like myself, have had the good fortune of visiting England, of having lived there for years, and who have had ample opportunities of recognizing the noble and generous instincts of that great nation, have not been dismayed or taken by the furious hostility of a handful of men who are unable to rise to an appreciation of their duties, and who only look upon this country as a sort of plunderground created for their special benefit (cheers)".²³

Responsible Englishmen realised the usefulness of these visits and provided sufficient amenities. They thought it "especially desirable that Natives should be encouraged to finish their education in England. Some English Universities afforded the best opportunities for this purpose. Thanks to Prof. Monier Williams, the Indian Institute was established at Oxford with this end in view. There also existed private societies like the National Indian Association which showed the Natives of India that they were cared for and thought of by benevolent ladies and gentlemen in England. Indians formed enduring friendships in English circles and communicated these happy impressions to their brethren in India.²⁴ Even earlier some Englishmen had considered the benefits of such a course. Rev. James Long took pains to arrange social receptions and parties for Indian students in England by some of the most important persons in the country.²⁵

A similar task was performed on a wider plane, though with slightly less enduring impact, by English education in India.

In some cases, however, expression of loyalty was not genuine but dictated *purely* by a realisation of the futility of adopting a

22. Cf. D. E. Wacha's Introduction to Mehta's *Speeches and Writings*, above cited, pp. 12-3; Banerjee, S. N., *A Nation in Making*, London, 1925, p. 21; W. C. Bonnerjee to his uncle Sambhu Chandra, 18 Aug. 1865. Quoted in *Life of W. C. Bonnerjee* by Bonnerjee, Sadhona, Calcutta 1944, pp. 14-15.

23. *The Indian Nation Builders*, Pt. II, p. 127.

24. Cf. Temple, Sir R., *India in 1880*, London, 1880, pp. 135-6.

25. Long to Sir John Lawrence, 15 Jan. 1866. Sir John Lawrence Collection. Microfilms. 6.15.7. N.A.I.

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different course. A communicated article in the *Suryodaya* pointed out that it was 'utter folly to irritate the English rulers by ribald attacks on their policy'. Apart from being foolish, such a course also harmed the interests of those who adopted it.²⁶ Such candid statements about such a delicate matter cannot possibly be found in abundance. These do express, however, what must have been consciously or unconsciously influencing the thinking, professions and actions of all thoughtful Indians at that time. In fact, this was in keeping with the fundamental bases of British rule in India. These rulers tried to win the goodwill of their Indian subjects as far and as long as they could. But they were under no illusion about their Indian Empire resting ultimately on their superior might; they even exhibited this, though not in a blatant manner. This was too palpable a reality to be overlooked by Indians, especially the educated ones. There could, therefore, be no point in antagonising the rulers. On the contrary, Indians were thankful to their rulers for having given them means and opportunities for expressing their grievances in a peaceful manner. The Press was the most important of these means. But this could not be, in reality, claimed by Indians as a matter of right. They had this, and other means, by the grace of their rulers, a grace that could, and probably would, be withdrawn if they went too far and abused it. Grievances were there no doubt. But there was also the realisation that the British rule could not be dispensed with. The lesson of the Mutiny was only too obvious. Sir Richard Temple, who was Commissioner of Lahore in 1859, noticed that the spell of British victory in war and success in peace was evident on the rising men of all classes, "whether priestly or territorial, or commercial or official".²⁷ The only sensible alternative was to present their grievances in terms that also exhibited Indians' sense of gratitude and loyalty to Her Most Gracious Imperial Majesty the Queen (and, later on, Empress). This, in fact, came to be developed into a technique by Indians of this period. It is the perfect skill and naturalness with which they employed it that makes it difficult for us today to distinguish where expressions of loyalty were genuine and where they were dictated *purely* by

26. *The Suryodaya*, 14 May 1877, RNP (Bombay) for the week ending 19 May, 1877, p. 9.

27. *The Story of My Life*, Vol. I, p. 114.

expediency. The *Arunodaya* of 9th January, 1876 may be cited as an illustration. It complained that 'the Englishmen in India treat the Natives like slaves and plunder their country of its wealth and make its people indigent. In a word there are no people on the face of the earth as sorrowful as the Natives of India are, and yet they have with great magnanimity concealed their great sorrow and given a magnificent and right royal welcome to the Prince of Wales. This great goodness on the part of the Natives will, the *Arunodaya* hopes, induce the English rulers in India to pay more consideration to and act more kindly towards them'.²⁸ Perhaps, the above flowed not from a genuine loyalty, but was an attempt to rationalise the impotence of Indians as their 'magnanimity'.

Basically, therefore, the loyalty of educated Indians sprang from their realisation of the compulsion of contemporary Indian situation. Faith in the British, too, accounted for it. But this could be so only because this faith seemed to facilitate the fulfilment of Indian aspirations. Apart from long-term national interests, the narrow and immediate interests of educated Indians were also responsible for this loyal attitude. In Bengal, for instance, the zamindars formed an educated and refined class. Till the emergence of the Indian Association (1876) they were the leaders of educated public opinion and the masters of the British Indian Association. Sir Richard Temple thought that they were probably the most loyal people in India. But, he added, they were also the people whose position rested the most on the stability of the British rule.²⁹ These permanently settled zamindars did not hesitate to employ their loyalty for the furtherance of their own interests. They urged upon the House of Commons the political advantage of the Permanent Settlement as revealed by the Mutiny. They emphasised its tendency "to create a powerful class who feel their interest as one with that of the ruling power, and who are satisfied with their position".³⁰

28. RNP (Bombay), Jan.-June, 1876, p. 41.

29. *India in 1880*, p. 115.

30. Petition of the British Indian Association to the House of Commons, 1859. Quoted in *The Evolution of India and Pakistan 1858-1947*, ed. C. H. Philips, London, 1962, pp. 101-102.

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The emergent political force in India, however, comprised the educated middle classes. Lawyers formed its most important section. J. F. Stephen found them "the most active and intelligent members of the Native population".³¹ He was convinced of their absolute loyalty. His argument was that a man "distinguished from his neighbours by the fact that he has, by considerable efforts, mastered a system which gives him power and profit, and by the help of which he may expect to rise to wealth is likely to uphold and support it, rather too much than too little".³² While dealing with the subject of Indian loyalty, Sir Richard Temple employed as his touchstone the extent to which the interests of a particular group of Indians were promoted or impeded by the continuance of the British rule.³³ Thanks to the atmosphere of settled peace following English triumph in 1858, and the introduction of the principles of individual liberty, equality and contract, educated Indians quickly realised that they never had it so good. Their English education had carved them out as the greatest beneficiaries of the British rule. Resistance to it was not only foredoomed but calculated to benefit other sections in case it did succeed. They did have certain handicaps; British performance did at times fall lamentably short of its professions; but the advantages of the British rule seemed to outweigh its disadvantages. By its very nature, however, this loyalty could not be permanent. The underlying contradiction between Indian and British interests was bound eventually to come up. But this is to anticipate events. During 1858-1885, at any rate, the theory of mutuality of interests remained predominant, while beneath the surface ground was being prepared for the eventual conflict.

The *Indu Prakash* explained how in the beginning the liberal promises of the British rulers won the loyalty of Indians; but the subsequent conduct of these rulers increasingly brought home to Indians the realisation that these promises were not meant to be

31. Minute on the Administration of Justice in British India. Argyll Papers. Microfilms. 320, 18, Stephen to Argyll, Oct. 12, 1871 (encl.) pp. 135-6, N.A.I.

32. *Ibid.*

33. Cf. *Men and Events of My Time in India*, London, 1882, pp. 504-509. J. 12

really fulfilled. Consequently, discontent began to smoulder.³⁴ It seems that in the first instance loyalty to British rule was mainly genuine and sprang from a real faith in the justice and magnanimity of the British. This loyalty could not have appeared unnatural to Indians as they had no sense of an Indian nationalism in the sense in which it prohibits loyalty to an alien rule. But as they began to come closer to their rulers with the passage of time, they discovered the dichotomy between British professions and performances. The exigencies of contemporary Indian scene, however, ruled out any other course. It was at this stage that Indian loyalty began to become more a matter of expediency than of real faith in the British. This disillusionment, however, did not come all at once and to all Indians simultaneously. Hence the fact that even till quite late while most of the Indians were aware of the real facts, many still continued to cherish the old faith in the British. Moreover, certain groups still hoped to serve their special interests through the continued existence of the British rule.

34. The *Indu Prakash*, 4 June 1877. RNP (Bombay) for week ending 9th June, 1877, pp. 3-4.

Forms of Śiva in Kālidāsa

BY

R. D. TRIVEDI, M.A., *New Delhi*

It is beyond controversy that Kālidāsa was a devotee of Śiva and the divinity has been referred to in His various aspects by the poet. In the opinion of the poet Śiva is the Supreme God; the names and attributes that are assigned to Him, such as Maheśvara,¹ Parameśvara,² Īśvara,³ Mahākāla,⁴ Bhūteśvara or Bhūtanātha⁵ etc., suggest His almighty personality. The poet stresses that there are a few epithets like Maheśvara and Īśvara which can rightly be applied to Śiva alone and to no other god.

- (i) *Maheśvarastryambaka eva nāparaḥ*⁶ / (Raghu. III, 49).
- (ii) *yasminnīśvara ityananya viṣayaḥ śabda yathārthākṣaraḥ*⁷ /
(Vikram. I, 1).
- (iii) *aṇimādiguṇopetaṁ asprṣṭapuruṣāntaram /*
*śabdamiśvara ityuchchaiḥ sārḍhachandram bibharti yaḥ*⁸ /
(Kumār. VI, 75).

The highest regard of Kālidāsa for Lord Śiva can best be understood in many of the invocatory verses of his works. No less than four of his works, *Vikramorvaśīya*, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Abhijñānaśākuntala* and *Raghuvamśa*, start with an invocation to Śiva.

1. Raghu, III, 49.
2. Raghu, I, 1; and II, 39.
3. Vikram, I, 1; IV, 67; Kumār, VI, 75.
4. Megh, I, 38.
5. Raghu, II, 46; II, 58.
6. Three-eyed god Śiva alone is *Maheśvara* and no one else.
7. To whom the title 'Īśvara', inapplicable to others, is of true significance.
8. He, who is endowed with the *Aṇimās* etc. (supernatural powers), holds, along with the crescent, the well known title 'Īśvara' unattained by anyone else.

Arddhānārīśvara:

Being a devotee of Śiva, it was quite natural for the poet to mention in his works almost all the iconographic forms of his chosen divinity.⁹ Kālidāsa's most outstanding creation, the *Raghuvamśa*, begins with an invocation to Lord Śiva in His *Arddhanārīśvara* (half-man and half-woman) form, which signifies a fusion of the two opposite energies, *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* or Śiva and Śakti (plate I). The poet himself explains the underlying idea by saying that "as words and their meaning are in constant association with each other" (*vāgarthāviva saṁprktau*) so Śiva and Pārvatī are inseparable. The invocatory verse of the drama *Mālavikāgnimitra* refers to the *Arddhānārīśvara* form of Śiva in a very interesting manner. It describes Him as the topmost among the ascetics whose mind is unassailed by sensuous pleasures, though His body is united with that of His beloved—

*kāntāssammiśradeho pyaviṣayamanasāṁ yaḥ parastādyatīnām/
(Mālavikā. I, 10).*

This description reflects the very nature of Śiva who is Yogīśvara and averse to all physical attachments. In the *Kumārasambhava* this form has very often been portrayed in various contexts. In the Canto I, Nārada predicts about the future life of Pārvatī and tells her father that she would be the only wife of Śiva and would share half of His body on account of her love for the Lord.¹⁰ On the occasion of her marriage Pārvatī is being blessed by the elderly women in terms that she should obtain the undivided love of her husband (*akhaṇḍitam prema labhasva patyuh*) but she surpassed even the blessings of her elders by occupying half of the body of her husband.

*tayā tu tasyārdhaśarīrabhājā paśchātīkṛtāḥ snigdhañjānūśiṣopi/
(Kumār. VII, 28).*

9. Some iconographic forms of Śiva, such as *Kalyāṇasundara*, *Tripurāntaka*, *Gaṅgādhara*, *Arddhānārīśvara* and *Rāvaṇānugraha*, have been pointed out by Shri C. Sivaramamurti in his learned book "Sculptures inspired by Kālidāsa", 1942, p. 41.

10. *tāṁ Nāradaḥ kāmācaraḥ kadācit kanyāṁ kila prekṣya pituḥ samīpe/samādideśaikavadhūm-bhavitṛm premṇā śarīrārdhaharāṁ harasya//* (Kumār, I, 50).

These references obviously show the unfailing love of Kālidāsa for the *Arddhanārīśvara* aspect of Śiva. Whenever the poet imagines the love of the divine couple, Śiva and Pārvatī, he emphasises the fact that they are one and the same in spirit and body. The *Arddhanārīśvara* form is also noteworthy from the view-point of creating harmonious relations between the followers of Śiva and those of Śakti.

Trimūrti:

Like the *Arddhanārīśvara* form, the concept of Trimūrti also carries the import of uniting the worshippers of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. In the *Kumārasambhava* Kālidāsa strikes at the very root of the idea of ranking the Hindu Trinity by stating emphatically that there is only one divinity, without any gradation, which assumes three different forms — Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva — according to the need of the time—

ekaiva mūrtirbibhīde tridhā sā sāmānyameṣāṁ prathamā'varat-
vam/

(Kumar. VII, 44).

On one occasion Brahmā becomes the foremost, on another, Viṣṇu while yet at another time Śiva:—

Viṣṇorharastasya Hariḥ kadāchid vedhāstayostāvapi dhāturā-
dyau// (Kumār. VII, 44).

This is the reason why the poet calls Śiva and Brahmā both with the epithet of *Trimūrti*. In the *Raghuvaṁśa*, he acknowledges Śiva as the cause of creation, existence and destruction of the animate and the inanimate:—

mānyaḥ sa me sthāvarajaṅgamānām sargasthitipratyavahāra-
hetuḥ / (Raghu. II, 44).

In the *Kumārasambhava* he praises Brahmā as having one form before the creation of the universe and later on multiplying himself into three according to the three Guṇas, *Satva*, *Raja* and *Tama*:—

namastrimūrtaye tubhyaṁ prākṣṛṣṭeḥ kevalātmane /
guṇatrayavibhāgāya paścādbhedamupeyuse// (Kumār. II, 4).

Even Saptarṣis could not understand the real nature of Śiva as to whether He was the creator, maintainer or destroyer of the universe combined in one.¹¹

Kalyāṇasundaramūrti:

The marriage scene of Śiva and Pārvatī, usually known as *Kalyāṇasundara* or *Vaivāhikamūrti*, has been effectively visualised in the *Kumārasaṁbhava* (Plate II). In the early medieval times this form was very popular among the sculptors of India. The great contrast in the outward features of Śiva and Umā has been brought out in detail by Śiva himself in disguise.¹² The poet puts a question as to whether it would be befitting at all to unite the bride, clad in nuptial silken dress, with a bridegroom wearing the fresh skin of an elephant dripping with blood.¹³ Further, would it not be extremely ridiculous, for Umā, deserving the ride on the best of elephants, to go to her husband's house riding on the back of an old bull, in the presence of royal assemblage?¹⁴ But these persuasions were not capable of diverting Umā from her resolve to marry Śiva and ultimately the hour of marriage came when the gods and the goddesses witnessed the scene of this unique marriage—Śiva wearing the snake as bracelet (*Kareṇa śaṁbhorvala-yī-kṛtā'hinā*) and holding by his hand the tender hand of Pārvatī marked with the auspicious marriage decorations (*karoyamāmukta vivāhakaṭukaḥ*).¹⁵

The Canto VII of the *Kumārasaṁbhava* gives an elaborate and charming description of the preparations concerned with the marriage of Śiva and Umā. All the inauspicious objects attached to Śiva became auspicious on account of His association; ashes served the purpose of toilets, skull proved to be the source of

11. *kim yena sṛjasi vyaktamuta yena bibharṣi tat/ ath viśvasya saṁhartā bhāgaḥ katama yeṣa te//* (Kumār. VI, 23).

12. Kumār, V, 66 to 73.

13. *tvameva tāvat paricintaya svayaṁ kadācidete yadi yogamarhataḥ/ vadhūdukūlaṁ kalahaṁsa lakṣaṇaṁ gaḇājinaṁ, śoṇitabinduvarṣi ca//* (Kumār, V, 67).

14. *iyaṁ ca tenyā purato viḍambanā yadūḍhayā vāraṇarājahāryayā vilokya vṛddhokṣamadhiṣṭhitāṁ tvayā mahājanaḥ smeramukho bhaviṣyati//* (Kumār, V, 70).

15. Kumār, V, 66.

splendour to His forehead and the elephant's skin attained the effect of a silken garment marked with *gorocana*:—

*babhūva bhasmaiva sitāṅgarāgaḥ kapālamēvā'mala
śekharaśrīḥ/ upāntabhāgeṣu ca rocanāṅko gaḍājīnasyaiva
dukūlabhāvah //* (Kumār. VII, 32).

With perspiring fingers (*svinnā'ṅgulīḥ*) Śiva held the hand of Umā who felt the erection of hair on her body. Thus the god of love (Kāma) exercised equal influence on both of them.¹⁶

Kāmadahanamūrti:

The *Kumārasaṁbhava* describes *Kāmadahana* or *Kāmāntaka-mūrti* in detail. The god of love (Kāma) attacked Śiva when He was meditating, for making Him willing to accept Pārvatī as His wife and beget a son who could destroy the demon Tāraka. This event has been dealt with beautifully, with poetic imagery and grace. Being angry on account of the disturbance caused in the penance (*tapah parāmarṣavivṛddhamanyuḥ*) Śiva at once emitted the flaming fire from His third eye on the forehead:

*sphurannudarchiḥ sahasā tṛtīyādakṣṇaḥ kṛśānuḥ kilaniṣpa-
pāta//* (Kumār. III, 71). The gods who were witnessing the scene from the sky tried to pacify Śiva by requesting Him to control His fury, but their voice was still in the sky when the fire emitted out of Śiva's third eye reduced Kāma to ashes.¹⁷

Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti:

One of the common images of Śaiva iconography is the *Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti*, representing Rāvaṇa lifting the mountain Kailāsa on which Śiva and Pārvatī are shown seated. The story goes that in vanity Rāvaṇa, the king of Laṅkā, tried to pluck the mountain Kailāsa from its very root. He was successful in his effort, hence all those who were on it trembled and Umā clung to her Lord. Knowing the cause of the disturbance, Śiva pressed the mountain with the toe of his foot, which fixed it firmly and along with it

16. Kumār, VII, 77.

17. *Krodhaṁ prabho saṁharasaṁhareti yāvadgiraḥ khe marutām ca-
ranti/ tāvatsa vahnirbhavanetrajanmā bhasmāvaśeṣaṁ madanaṁ cakāra//*
(Kumār, III, 72). For the sculptural representation of this form see 'The
Development of Hindu Iconography, by Banerjea, J. N., 1956, p. 488.

Rāvaṇa also was pressed below. In this situation Rāvaṇa had to sing hymns in praise of Śiva for one thousand years for his deliverance and only then he could come out of that crushing load. This agitation of Kailāsa caused by Rāvaṇa has been depicted in a sculpture from Mathurā belonging to the Gupta period.¹⁸ The medieval poets and sculptors had a great fancy for this form, as is apparent from the opening verse of the *Priyadarśikā* of Śrīharṣa, and a number of sculptures from Ellora. In the *Meghadūta* the yakṣa, while describing the route from Rāmāgiri to Alakāpurī, informs the cloud messenger that it would come across the mountain Kailāsa "whose ridges suffered a shaking of their joints when it was tilted by the ten-headed king Rāvaṇa"

*gatvā chordhvaṁ daśamukhabhujochchkhvāsita-prastha sandheḥ/
Kailāsasya tridaśavanitādarpaṇasyātithiḥ syāh //*

(Megh. I. 62).

The *Raghuvamśa* mentions the pile of great glory of Raghu that excited the shame of the mountain (Kailāsa) which had been once moved by Rāvaṇa:—

*tatrākṣobhyaṁ yaśorāśiṁ niveśyāvaruroha saḥ /
Paulastyatulitasyādreḥ ādadhāna iva hriyaṁ //*

(Raghu. IV, 80).

When Rāma faced Rāvaṇa on the battle-field, he associated his enemy with the many great deeds to his credit, one of them being the lifting up of the mountain Kailāsa.¹⁹ A very forceful representation of *Rāvaṇanugrahamūrti* from Kailāsa temple, Ellora, reminds us of the verse of the *Kumārasambhava* for its strikingly similar depiction (Plate III). It portrays Pārvatī frightened by the roaring voice of Rāvaṇa and clinging to Śiva's body with her hands round His neck as the scene is described by Kālidāsa:—

*Rāvaṇadhvanitabhūtayā tayā kaṇṭhasaktadr̥ḍhabāhu-
bandhanaḥ /*

ekapiṅgalagirau jagadgururnirviveśa viśadāḥ śaśiprabhāḥ //
(Kumār. VIII, 24).

18. JISOA, Vol. V, 1937, pp. 127-28 by V. S. Agrawala.

19. *Jetāraṁ lokapālānāṁ svamukhairarciteśvaram/ Rāmastulitakailāsa-marātiṁ abahvamanyata//* (Raghu. XII, 89).

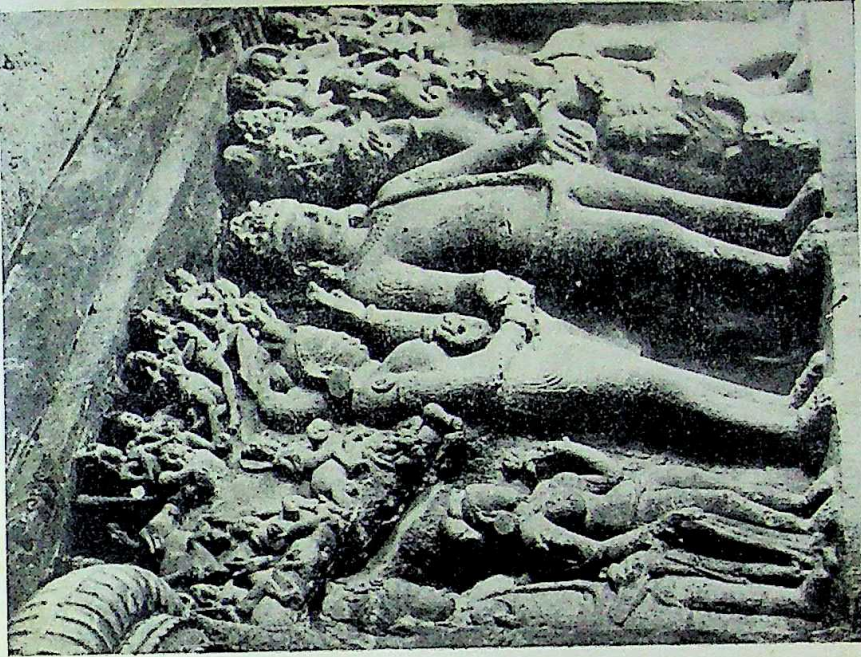


PLATE II.—Ellora-29 Kalyānasundara Mūrti
(8th Century A.D.)

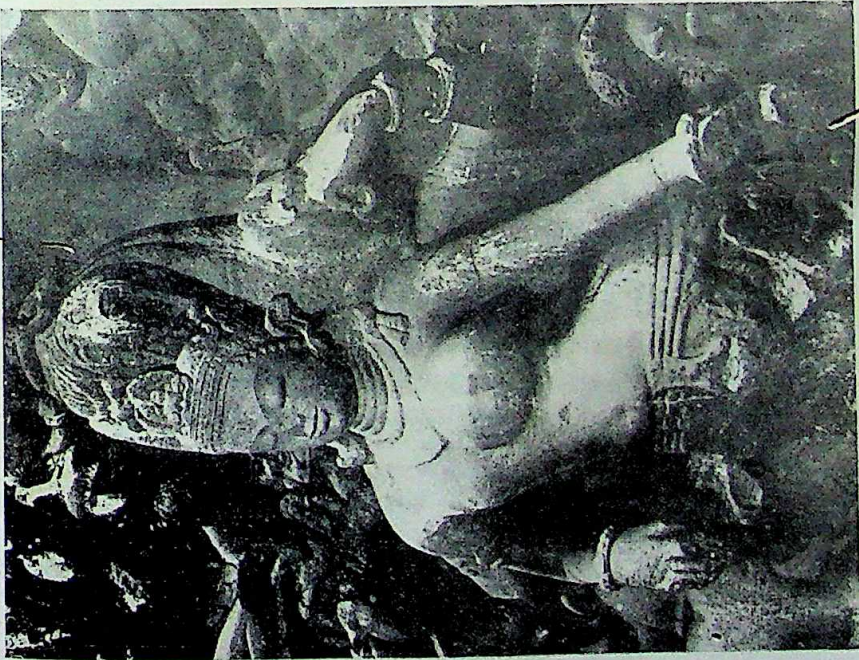


PLATE I.—Elephanta-Ardhanārīśvara (7th Century A.D.)

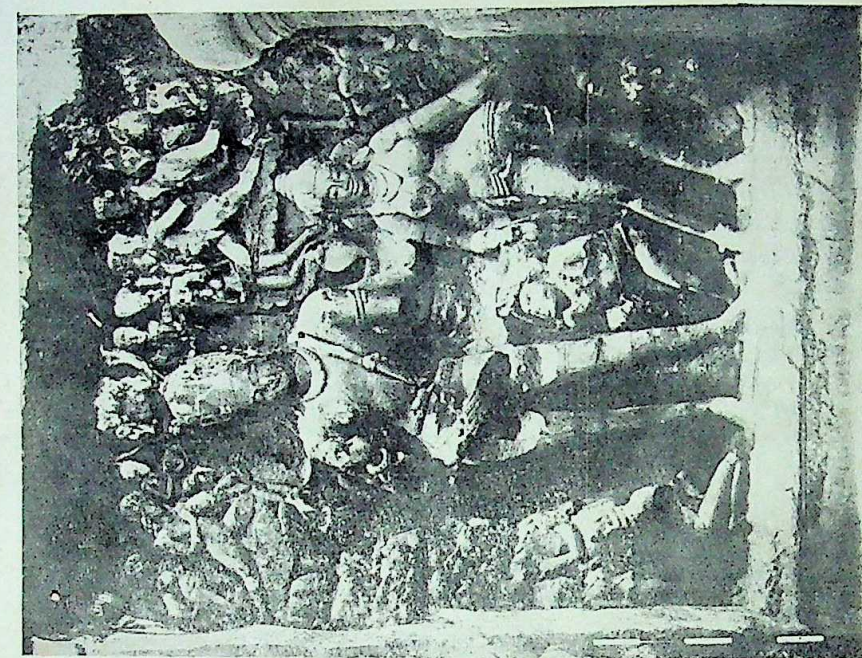


PLATE IV.—Elephanta-Gangādhara Mūrti (7th Century A.D.)

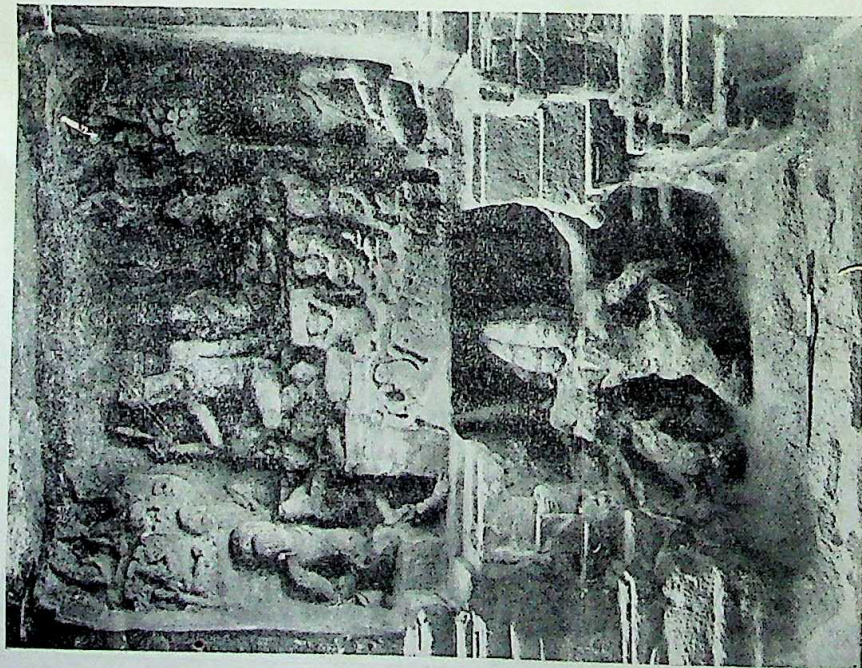


PLATE III.—Ellora-16 Central Shrine Ravanaanagrāha Mūrti
(8th Century A.D.)

Dancing Śiva:—

Śiva's dancing form cannot be neglected when His nature and forms are under discussion. The dancing aspect is vividly pointed out in the *Meghadūta*.²⁰ It is very curious to note the pose and appearance visualised by the poet when the God is busy in active dance. The cluster of His hands has been compared with a group of trees lifted up (*uchchaiḥ bhujataruvana*). His garment is nothing but the fresh skin of an elephant (*ārḍranāgājina*). It is stated in the *Kumārasambhava* that Śiva's dance, though furious in character, sanctifies even inauspicious objects. The gods keep on waiting to get the ashes of the funeral pyre falling from Śiva's body at the time of His dance so that they could apply them on their foreheads.²¹

Bhūtanātha and Vṛṣavāhana:—

Śiva's *Bhūtanātha* and *Vṛṣavāhana* forms have been referred to by Kālidāsa at several places. *Bhasma* (ashes) is smeared over His body; He wears a human skull over His forehead (*kapāla-mevāmalaśeṣaraśrīḥ*);²² He is to be seen in the cremation grounds covered with the hair of the dead bodies (*vikīrṇakeśāsu paretabhūmiṣu*);²³ He rides on His bull mount (*vṛṣeṇa gachchhtaḥ*)²⁴ on the back of which there is a cover made of the skin of a lion (*śārdūlacarmāntaritoruprṣtam*).²⁵ Even at the time of His marriage Śiva possessed all these characteristics peculiar to Him. The poet has given a picturesque view of Śiva's proceeding to marry Umā riding on the back of His bull, Nandī. The bull carried Him through the dense clouds in the sky, with small golden bells tied to its neck ringing sweetly—

khe khelagāmī tamuvāha vāhaḥ saśabdacāmīkarakiṇīkaḥ /
(Kumār. VII, 49).

It is in *Vṛṣavāhana* form that Śiva had often appeared in person before His devotees.

20. Megh, I, 40.

21. Kumār, V, 79.

22. Kumār, VII, 32.

23. Kumār, V, 68.

24. Kumār, V, 80.

25. Kumār, VII, 37.

Gajāntaka:—

The story of the destruction of the elephant-demon by Śiva (*Gajāntaka*) and of His wearing the skin of that animal as a garment is found in the *Purāṇas* and the *Āgamas* and corresponding sculptural representations are also available in large numbers. This exploit of the God gave Him the titles of *Gajāntaka* and *Kṛttivāsa* which find mention in a few verses of Kālidāsa. Śiva is fond of wearing the fresh skin of an elephant (*ārdranāgājinechchhām*);²⁶ with His association the skin of an elephant attains the effect of a silken dress (*gajājinasyaiva dukūlabhāvah*);²⁷ commanding supreme prosperity for the good of His devotees He himself wears the hide of an elephant—

*ekaiśvārye sthito'pi prapatabahuphale yaḥ svayaṁ
kṛttivāsāḥ* / (*Mālavikā*. I, 1).

and such other statements evidently refer to Śiva in His *Gajāntaka-mūrti* form.

Tripurāntaka:—

The story of Śiva's triumph over the three demons dwelling in their three castles (*tripuras*) is referred to in the *Meghadūta* where the *Kinnarīs*, residing over the Himalayan slopes, have been depicted as singing the songs in praise of Śiva's victory over *Tripura*, with the accompaniment of sweet noise produced by the resounding bamboos—

*śabdāyante madhuramanilaiḥ kīcakāḥ pūryamānāḥ/
saṁsaktābhistripuravijayo gīyate kinnarībhiḥ* /

(*Megh*. I, 60).

In this form Śiva adopted *Alīḍha* pose, as He had to shoot the arrow upwards for destroying the three castles in a single shoot. In the sculptural representations we find the God shown in the same forceful and steady pose just ready to discharge the arrow.²⁸

26. *Megh*, I, 40.

27. *Kumār*, VII, 32.

28. "Elements of Hindu Iconography" by Gopīnātha Rao, Vol. II, Part I, 1916, p. 170-71.

The strength and vigour of the form was considered as a standard of similitude by Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa* when Raghu assumed a similar posture to shoot his arrow towards Indra.²⁹

Gaṅgādharamūrti:—

This form is referred to in the *Meghadūta* (I, 54) where the descending current of Gaṅgā over the *jaṭās* of Śiva, ridiculing, as it were, the anger of Pārvatī, has been realistically treated. Pārvatī, witnessing Gaṅga holding Śiva with His hair, became jealous of and angry with her.

*Gaurīvakraṭhrakutīracanām yā vihasyeva phenaiḥ /
śambhoḥ keśagrahaṇamakaroḍindulagnormihastā //*

(Megh. I. 54).

An image from Elephanta (8th cent. A.D.) representing *Gaṅgādhara* or *Gaṅgāvatarāṇamūrti* form of Śiva seems to be just the sculptural translation of the above verse. In this sculpture the figure of Pārvatī is conspicuous for its sorrowful face, as Śiva tries to pacify her with a smiling attitude (Plate IV). Kālidāsa was reminded of *Gaṅgādharamūrti* form of Śiva when king Atithi of Raghu dynasty was being bathed with a great torrent of water at the time of his coronation ceremony. The noisy current of water falling on the head of the prince was imitating the beauty of river Gaṅgā descending on the head of Śiva—

*tayaughamahatī mūrdhni nipatantī vyarocata /
saśabdamabhiṣekaśrīrgaṅgeva tripuradviṣaḥ //*

(Raghu. XVII, 14).

The great army of Raghu, marching towards the eastern sea, attained the glory of the swift current of Gaṅgā after being released from the hair of Śiva.³⁰

Almost all the above-mentioned forms of Śiva were assumed by Him to accomplish some specific purposes, so they do not seem

29. *sa evamuktva Maghavantamunmukhaḥ kariṣyamāṇaḥ saśaram śarṣanam atīṣṭhadālīḍhaviṣeṣaśobhinā vapuḥ prakarṣeṇa viḍambiteśaraḥ //* (Raghu, III, 52).

30. *sa senām mahatīm karṣanpūrvasāgaragāmīnim / babhau Harajaṭābhraṣṭām gaṅgāmiva bhagīrathaḥ //* (Raghu IV, 32).

to reflect His essential nature. After doing the job impressed upon Him by circumstances, He absorbs himself in eternal meditation. This yogic aspect of Śiva, which represents His essential character, has been elaborately described by Kālidāsa in Canto III of the *Kāmārasaṁbhava*. Reaching the hermitage of Śiva, the god of love (Kāma) found him absorbed in meditation. He was seated in *Padmāsana*, retaining straight the upper part of His body; both of His shoulders were drooping slightly and His palms were kept in the lap like a full blossomed lotus.

*paryāṅkabandhasthīrpūrvakāyamṛjvāyataṁ sannamitobhayān-
sam/ uttānapāṇidvayasanniveśāt praphullarājivamivāṅka-
madhye* (Kumār. II, 45).

He was wearing a lump of hair tied with a cobra (*bhujāṅgamonad-
dha jātakalāpam*), doubly encircling into the right ear with the
rosary of *rudrākṣa* beads (*karṇāvasaktadviguṇakṣasūtram*). He was
clad in a knotted deer skin and which appeared black on account of
its contact with His black throat—*kaṇṭhaprabhāsaṅgaviśeṣanīlām
kṛṣṇatvacham granthimatīm dadhānam/* (Kumār. III, 46). He
was concentrating his eyes on the tip of His nose (*lakṣikṛtaghrā-
ṇamadhomayūkhaiḥ*).³¹ Here the poet compares Śiva with a rain-
less cloud, a waveless sea or a motionless lamp set in a windless
place.³² Thus controlling all His senses and concentrating His
mind in His heart Śiva was releasing the eternal light within His
own Self.³³

In this context a terracotta plaque from Ahichchhatrā, now in
the collection of the National Museum, New Delhi, is particularly
noteworthy (Plate V). The terracotta plaque belongs to the Gupta
period and was first noticed³⁴ by Dr. V. S. Agrawala. Dr. J. N.
Banerji refers to this plaque as an example of *Jñāna—Dakṣiṇā-
mūrti* as there are traces of the lower right hand held in *Jñāna-*

31. Kumār, III, 47.

32. *avṛṣṭisaṁraṁbhamiva'mbuvāhamapāmivādadhāramanuttaraṅgam/ antaś-
carāṇāṁ marutāṁ nirodhānnivātaniskampamiva pradīpam//* (Kumār. III, 48).
In the *Bhagavadgītā* also the mental steadiness of a Yogi has been compared
to the flame of a lamp kept in a windless place (*Yathādīpo nivātastho neṅgate
sopamā smṛtā/ yogino yatacittasya yuñjato yogamātmanah//* (VI, 19).

33. Kumār, III, 50.

34. Ancient India, No. IV, 1947-48, pp. 169-70, Fig. 3.

mudra.³⁵ The four-armed figure seated in *Arddhaparyāṅka* pose holds a rosary in the back right hand and a vase with foliage in the



PLATE V. Terracotta panel from Ahichchatra 5th cen. A.D.)

back left, the lower left hand resting on the thigh. There are two figures on the left of the God, one male and the other female, with hands folded. The female figure may be identified with that of Pārvati who attended on Śiva before her marriage with Him and the male figure may stand for that of Nandī. According to the story described in the *Kumārasambhava* Nandī informed Śiva of the arrival of Pārvātī and getting the Lord's permission led her to Him—

*tasmai śaśaṁsa praṇipatya Nandī śuśrūṣayā śailasutāmupetām/
praveśayāmāsa ca bharturenām bhrukṣepamātrā'numatapra-
veśam//* (Kumār. III, 60).

35. Banerjea, J. N., 'The Development of Hindu Iconography', 1956, p. 471.

In the terracotta plaque under discussion Śiva is represented in the *Arddhaparyāṅka* pose and curiously enough, the *Kumārasāmbhava* also describes Him in the relaxed position when Pārvātī reached to worship Him.³⁶ It is most likely the scene illustrated on the plaque is based on the story of Kālidāsa's *Kumārasāmbhava*.

The great faith of Kālidāsa in Śiva can best be understood from the idea in which he identifies Him with *Aṣṭamūrti* (the Eight-formed Deity). What are these eight forms? According to the invocatory verse of the *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, these consist of the five elements (*Pañchatattvas*) i.e., the earth, the water, the fire, the air and the sky combined with the sun, the moon and the *yajamāna*. When we take into account all the eight constituents of Śiva, there remains nothing in the universe which does not come within His personality. Kālidāsa was conscious of the peculiar personality of Śiva possessing so many contradictory traits. Though appearing very poor, He is the cause of all prosperity; living in the cremation ground, He is the Lord of the three worlds; possessing a fierce form, He is called Śiva (auspicious)—

*akiñcanaḥ samprabhavaḥ sa sūpadām trilokanāthaḥ pītṛsad-
magocaraḥ/sa bhīmarūpaḥ Śiva ityudīryate na santi yāthār-
thyavidaḥ pinākinaḥ//* (Kumār. V, 77).

No one can ascertain His real form, whether He is decorated with snakes or ornaments, whether He is clad in elephant's hide or silken attire, whether He wears a human skull or a beautiful crescent over His forehead—

*vibhūṣaṇodbhāsi pinaddhabhogi vā gajā'jīnāmbi dukūladhāri
vā/ kapāli vā syādathavenduśekharaṁ na viśvamūrteravadhār-
yate vapuḥ//* (Kumār. V, 78).

ABBREVIATIONS USED

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| 1. JISOA: | Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art. |
| 2. Kumār: | Kumārasāmbhava. |
| 3. Mālavikā: | Mālavikāgnimitra. |
| 4. Megh: | Meghadūta. |
| 5. Raghu: | Raghuvamśa. |
| 6. Vikram: | Vikramorvaśiya. |

36. Kumār, III, 59.

The Serpent as a Symbol of Life and Immortality

BY

PROFESSOR J. P. DE SOUZA, *Bombay*

Ancient myth and legend bear testimony to the association in the mind of primitive man of the serpent with the generative powers of Nature. In the language of symbolism, "the serpent is life-force in the sphere of life matter."¹ It is a figure of life in all its manifestations. The English word 'viper' is derived from the Latin word *vipera*, which is made up from two other Latin words: *vivus*, living, and *parere*, to bring forth.² The old Cornish term for serpent was *bref*, that is *bereff*, Father Life.³ In Arabic *Hiya* means both life and serpent.⁴ The Yahwist writer gives the name of the first woman in *Genesis* as *Hawwah*, and explains it by saying that she was so called because she was the mother of all living (*hay*).⁵ *Hawwah* is connected with the same Hebrew root, *hay*, but probably means 'life' rather than 'living' or 'life-giving'.⁶ Hence, Clement of Alexandria equates Eve with Life.⁷ An ancient interpretation⁸ adopted by Wellhausen and some other modern scholars gives *Hawwah* the meaning 'serpent', and finds in *Genesis* a trace of the primitive belief that earthly life originated in a serpent, as, in some forms of the Babylonian cosmology,

1. Zimmer, H., *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* (Bollingen Series VI, Pantheon Books, 1946), p. 75.

2. *Chambers's Twentieth Century Dictionary, New Mid-century Version*, London 1954, p. 1234.

3. Bayley, H., *The Lost Language of Symbolism*, Vol. II, London 1951, p. 220.

4. Rawlinson, G., *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, Vol. I, London 1879, p. 121.

5. *Genesis*, 3. 20.

6. *ERE*, Vol. V, p. 607.

7. Clement of Alexandria *Stromateis* III, 80. 2.

8. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks*, 2. 2. "At any rate, according to the correct Hebrew speech, the word 'hevia' with an aspirate means the female snake."

all things spring from Tīāmat, the primeval dragon.⁹ According to Wake, the idea most intimately associated with the serpent was that of life, "not present merely but continued and probably everlasting."¹⁰ "In all mythological language," says Moor, "the snake is an emblem of immortality."¹¹ As a symbol of life, the serpent is also a symbol of fertility and of healing. It has to this day remained a symbol of good health.^{11a}

In India, the evidence, both literary and artistic, for the serpent as a symbol of life from very early times is impressive, if not overwhelming. Although it is not possible to trace this symbolism in Vedic literature, the association of the serpent with life belongs to a primitive sphere of thought. The *Mahābhārata* is a rich mine of information in this respect. In the very first book of the Great Epic the serpents figure prominently in the story of the churning of the primeval ocean to produce *amṛta*, the drink of immortality.¹² It is with the assistance of two leading Nāgarājās that the *devas* succeeded in producing this miraculous beverage. When the *devas* were unable to move Mount Mandara, which was to be used as a churning stick, it was the serpent-king Ananta that lifted up the mountain for them at the request of Viṣṇu and Brahmā, while the serpent-king Vāsuki was twisted round the mountain as a churning-rope.

Although the serpents helped to produce *amṛta*, they did not apparently partake of it when it was brought forth in a white cup by Dhanyantarī¹³ (or Dhanvantarī),¹⁴ who emerged from the milky ocean in the course of the churning operations. But the serpents were desirous of becoming immortal and they got a golden opportunity to fulfil their desire when Garuḍa asked them as to what he should do to obtain his and his mother Vinatā's release from

9. ERE, Vol. V, p. 607.

10. Wake, C. S., *Serpent-Worship*, London 1888, p. 27.

11. Moor, E., *The Hindu Pantheon*, London 1810, p. 342.

11a. See the stamp depicting the snake-encircled rod of Aesculapius, the Greek God of Medicine, issued by the United Nations to commemorate World Health Day on April 7, 1956.

12. *Mahābhārata*, *Ādi-parva*, Ch. 18.

13. *Ibid.*, 18. 39.

14. Wilson, H. H. (Tr.), *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, London 1840, p. 76.

bondage to Kadrū, the serpent mother, and to her serpent brood.¹⁵ Incidentally, Vinatā had become the slave of Kadrū before Garuḍa was born by losing a wager with Kadrū, which the latter won through an ingenious piece of deception.¹⁶ The serpents promised Garuḍa that they would free him and his mother from servitude if he could procure for them from heaven the drink of immortality.¹⁷ Garuḍa attempted the seemingly impossible feat, and, fortified by a sumptuous repast, which included the devouring of an elephant and a tortoise, both of fabulous proportions, he flew to heaven and battled with the celestials, routing them all. Still Garuḍa could not snatch away the pot of *amṛta* as it was guarded by two ferocious serpents of fearful size.¹⁸ But they were no match for the giant eagle who, having "mangled them into pieces,"¹⁹ seized the pot containing the celestial nectar, and flew away with it. After further adventures on his way back, Garuḍa hastened to the abode of the Nāgas, placed the precious pot before them, and secured his and his mother's release from bondage to the serpents. But the serpents were denied the fruits of their seeming victory by a piece of counter deception. While the serpents were engaged in performing their ablutions before drinking the sacred *amṛta*, Indra, by a prior arrangement with Garuḍa, swooped down and snatched away the pot of ambrosia. When the Nāgas, having performed the prescribed religious rites, came all eagerness to drink *amṛta*, they found that the precious pot had vanished. Thereupon, they greedily licked up the *kuśa* grass, upon which Garuḍa had placed the pot, and, as a result, their tongues were split.²⁰

Thus, on a literal interpretation of this mythical episode, narrated in the *Mahābhārata*, it would appear that the serpents only succeeded in acquiring forked tongues but failed to gain immortality. But if we accept Moor's rendering of the myth the serpents did succeed in acquiring immortality. Says he, "A few drops of this immortal beverage falling on a species of grass called

15. *Mahābhārata* Ādi-parva, 27. 15.

16. *Ibid.*, Ch. 20.

17. *Ibid.*, 27. 16.

18. *Ibid.*, 33. 5-7.

19. *Ibid.*, 33. 9.

20. *Ibid.*, 34. 23-24.

kūśa, it became eternally consecrated; and the serpents greedily licking it up so lacerated their tongues with the sharp grass that they have ever since remained forked; but the boon of eternity was ensured to them by their thus partaking of the immortal fluid."²¹ Moor's rendering, however, seems to extract more from the text of the *Garuḍopākhyānam* than is justified by a strict rendering of the original *ślokas*, unless, of course, he is giving — as he appears to do from the accounts of the myth given by Martin²² and Thomās,²³ who, however, do not indicate their source — a version of the myth different from the one to be found in the first book of the *Mahābhārata*. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamish*, the origin of which can be traced back to the Sumerian times, it is the serpent that stole away the plant of immortality, which Gilgamish had obtained after many adventures, while the hero was bathing in a pool:

"Gilgamish spied out a pool of cool water (and) therein descending

Bathed in the water. (But here was) a serpent who snuff'd the plant's fragrance

Darted he up from the water(?) and snatch'd the plant, uttering malison.

As he drew back. The Gilgamish sate him (and) burst into weeping."²⁴

Echoes of this ancient Babylonian epic are to be found in the Hebrew story of the Fall of Man related in the third chapter of *Genesis*. It was because the first woman gave credence to the deceitful serpent's assurance that the progenitors of the human race lost for themselves and for their progeny the original God-given attribute of immortality.

All such primitive stories—Babylonian, Hebrew, Indian and others wherever they may occur—seem to be derived from an archetypal myth wherein it is probably the serpent that acquires

21. Moor, E., *op. cit.*, p. 341.

22. Martin, E. O., *The Gods of India*, London 1914, p. 229.

23. Thomas, P., *Epics, Myths and Legends of India*, Bombay, 2nd Edition, p. 86.

24. Campbell Thompson, R., *The Epic of Gilgamish*, London 1928, p. 56.

the secret of immortality, while man fails to do so. In any case, all such legends testify to the belief of the primitive man that the serpent is immortal.

Two significant points emerge from the story of the bringing of ambrosia from heaven by Garuḍa at the instance of the Nāgas. The very fact that the serpents are represented as being desirous of immortality is evidence of the close association in the primitive Indian mind of the serpent with immortality. Even the mere desire to become immortal could be equated with reality by adapting a remark made by Demosthenes: "For what man believes the serpent desires, that he also imagines to be true."²⁵ Secondly, the fact that *amṛta* is represented as being guarded by two serpents testifies not only to the mythical character of the serpent as the guardian of all precious things in general, but in particular of the most precious commodity of all, namely, *amṛta*. And to guard the drink of immortality is, in the language of mythology, to possess the secret of immortality. In Hindu mythology the ambrosial tree of immortality is placed on Mount Meru and is guarded by a serpent.²⁶ The tree of immortality must itself be immortal like the serpent that guards it.

According to a famous Hindu cosmogonic myth, which, in different forms is related in the *Mahābhārata*²⁷ and in the *Purāṇas*,²⁸ Viṣṇu, conceived as the supreme deity, is supposed to sleep the sleep of creation in the primeval ocean couched on the coils of the world-serpent Ananta, 'the Endless One' 'the imperishable' also named Śeṣa, 'the remainder or residue'. That is, the world-serpent, according to the latter designation, "is a figure representing the residue that remained after the earth, the upper and infernal regions, and all their beings had been shaped out of the cosmic waters of the abyss."²⁹ With the emergence of Brahmā, the Creator, from a lotus stemming from the navel of Viṣṇu, the supreme deity awakes from his sleep to renewed action. His first

25. Cf. Demosthenes, *Olynthiacs*, 3. 19.

26. De Gubernatis, A., *Zoological Mythology*, Vol. II, London 1872, p. 410.

27. *Vana-parva*, 102. 10-35, Cf. *Bhīṣma-parva*, Ch. 67, and *Śānti-parva*, Ch. 347.

28. Cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (Wilson's translation), p. 634.

29. Zimmer, H., *op. cit.*, p. 62.

great deed as the preserver is the destruction of the two demons, Madhu and Kaitabha, who threaten the new-born Brahmā.

This mythical scene has been a favourite theme of Hindu plastic art. Viṣṇu is shown reclining on the couch formed by the coils of Śeṣa, whose multiheaded hood forms a sort of canopy over the deity's head. Usually, Viṣṇu's consort, the goddess Śrī, also called Padmā and Lakṣmī, is seen kneeling at the feet of the god. Zimmer looks upon the serpent Ananta, in this myth and in its representations in Hindu art, as an animal counterpart of the anthropomorphic sleeper, the supreme progenitor himself³⁰ and justifiably so, for Ananta is also one of the many appellations, nay, forms, of Viṣṇu. In the *Mahābhārata* the serpent Ananta is described as "a manifested form of Nārāyaṇa,"³¹ another name of Viṣṇu; while in the same epic Vṛtra says, "I beheld in the battle the illustrious Hari, the powerful Nārāyaṇa, he who is called Vaikuṇṭha, Puruṣa, Ananta, Śukla, Viṣṇu....."³² Śeṣa is also described as "a part of the part of Viṣṇu."³³ According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, "Below the seven Pātālas is the form of Viṣṇu, proceeding from the quality of darkness, which is called Śeṣa,....."³⁴

In Hindu art, the well-known representations of Viṣṇu lying recumbent on Śeṣa belong to the seventh century A.D. The most famous of these is a beautiful relief carved on a panel on the south side of the Gupta Daśavatāra Temple of Deogarh in Bundelkhand.³⁵ Another example of this type is to be found in one of the cave temples of Mahamallapuram of the Pallava period.³⁶ In

30. *Op. cit.*, p. 62

31. *Ādi-parva*, 18. 15.

32. *Śānti-parva*, 279. 28-29.

33. Mackenzie, D. A., *Indian Myth and Legend*, London 1913, p. 124.

34. Wilson's translation, p. 205.

35. Vats, M. S., *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, MASI No. 70, Delhi 1952, pl. X, 6; Burgess, J., *The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India*, Part II, London, n.d., pl. 250; Cunningham, A., *ASIR*, Vol. X, pl. 107; Smith, V. A., *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford 1911, pl. XXXV; Kramrich, St., *Indian Sculpture*, Calcutta 1933, pl. XXII, 65; Zimmer, H., *op. cit.*, fig. 3; Gopinatha Rao, T. A., *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part, I, Madras 1914, pl. XXXII.

36. *ASIR*, 1910-11, pl. XXIX, 6; Vogel, J. Ph., *Indian Serpent-Lore*, London 1926, pl. XIX.

a few rare representations Viṣṇu is shown sitting in *lalitāsana* pose on the seat formed by the up-coiled Śeṣa, with the multi-headed serpent hood forming a canopy over the god's head. A remarkable specimen of this type is the colossal rock-cut image of Viṣṇu seated on Śeṣa in Cave III at Bādāmi.³⁷ Outside India the only known example of this kind is to be found in the first of the series of sculptured panels illustrating episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the walls of the Śiva temple at Prambanan in Java.³⁸ In the technical works on Hindu iconography the different types of the images of Viṣṇu Anantaśāyin or Śeṣaśāyin are variously designated as Bhōgaśayanamūrti,³⁹ Yōgaśayanamūrti,⁴⁰ Ādimūrti,⁴¹ Vaikuṇṭha Nārāyaṇa,⁴² and so on.

It is not surprising that the serpent, being so widely adopted as a symbol of life, should be popular as a symbol of fertility. An illustration of this aspect of the serpent symbol in India is provided by the stone slabs called *nāgakals*, whereon are carved various serpent forms. They are votive gifts from women who desire offspring and they are set up in temple courtyards, at the entrance of villages and towns, near ponds, in which the Nāgas are believed to dwell, and under trees. Zimmer reproduces several *nāgakals*, erected in the seventeenth century A.D., from the State of Mysore.⁴³ Different serpent forms are carved on these slabs. Some of them exhibit a snake queen of the usual type with serpent tail and human body and with a canopy formed by the multi-headed snake hood; her arms folded across her breast support two serpent children who rise above her shoulders. Some slabs exhibit one snake with a multi-headed hood, while others show the remarkable motif of the amorous serpent pair entwined in a loving embrace, with the heads facing each other. Perhaps the earliest known example of this historic design is to be found on the famous libation

37. Burgess, J., *ASIR*, Western India, London 1874, pl. on p. 22; Vogel, J. Ph., *op.cit.*, pl. XX, Gopinatha Rao, T. A., Vol. I, part I, pl. XXV.

38. Groneman, I., *Tjandi Prambanan*, pp. 9 f., pl. XI; Stutterheim, W., *Rama-legenden*, pp. 138 ff., pl. 3. Cited by Vogel, J. Ph., *op.cit.*, p. 194.

39. Gopinatha Rao, T. A., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, part I, Madras 1914, pp. 92-94.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 262, pl. LXXVIII.

42. Sastri, K., *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, Madras 1916,

p. 52. Cf. figs. 33 and 38.

43. Zimmer, H., *op.cit.*, fig. 8.

vase of King Gudea of Lagash of the Sumerian period, c. 2600 B.C.⁴⁴ This ancient Mesopotamian device appears to have been diffused over a wide cultural area and to have spread to India "at an extremely remote era before the arrival of the Aryans."⁴⁵

In Hindu mythology the serpent possesses the elixir of life and the life-restoring jewel. In an incident related in the *Mahābhārata* Duryōdhana once poisoned his cousin Bhīma and threw him into the Ganges. Bhīma's seemingly lifeless body sank to the bottom of the river and entered the realm of the Nāgas, who gave him their priceless elixir of life to drink. After drinking the rejuvenating beverage Bhīma not only revived but rose immensely stronger than he was before.⁴⁶ Thus, thanks to the serpents, Bhīma had new life and had it abundantly. According to another myth narrated in the *Mahābhārata*, when the Rājā of Manipura killed his father Arjuna, Ulūpī, the Nāga wife of Arjuna, who was the daughter of the serpent-king Vāsuki, remembered that her father possessed a magic jewel which had the power to restore a dead man to life. She sent the Rājā to the underworld to obtain the life-restoring jewel from Vāsuki. He succeeded in his enterprise after a fight with Vāsuki and, on his return to his kingdom with the jewel, he touched the corpse of Arjuna with it, and Arjuna came back to life, all his wounds having been miraculously healed.⁴⁷

Indian folklore credits the serpent with the possession of the knowledge of life-giving plants.⁴⁸ Among some of the primitive tribes inhabiting the Indian sub-continent the Nāgas are still invoked to cure diseases of all kinds, particularly loathsome sores.⁴⁹ Parts of the body of a snake are valued as remedies.⁵⁰ Among the Taungthas "there is but one medicine current, the dried gall-bladder and the dung of the boa-constrictor, which is supposed to

44. Contenau, G., *Manuel D'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. I, Paris 1927, fig. 109; Zimmer, H., *op.cit.*, fig. 11.

45. Zimmer, H., *op.cit.*, p. 73.

46. De Gubernatis, A., *op.cit.*, p. 398; Martin, E. O., *op.cit.*, p. 271; Vogel, J. Ph., *op.cit.*, p. 22.

47. Mackenzie, D. A., *op.cit.*, pp. 314-15; Vogel, J. Ph., *op.cit.*, p. 22.

48. *ERE*, Vol. XI, p. 419.

49-50. *Ibid.*, p. 416.

be, and is used as, a remedy for everything."⁵¹ In the Garo hills it is believed that the skin of a certain snake, when applied to the part affected, cures pain.⁵²

II

The association of the serpent with life is not, as we have seen at the very outset of this paper, confined to India but is common to the myths and legends of many nations. Therefore, in attempting to explain how the serpent came to be adopted in India as a symbol of life and the related vital phenomena, it would be a fruitful approach to the subject to pass in review the various explanations offered by scholars all over the world for the origin of the symbolism in question before we come to our own conclusion.

The commonest explanation is based on the primitive belief that the snake rejuvenates itself by the periodic renewal of its skin. Thus "the serpent was believed to have no fear of old age"⁵³ or to be immortal because it annually sloughs off its skin, apparently renewing its life.⁵⁴ The connection of the rattlesnake with life and healing in the New World is accounted for by Brinton by reference to the phenomenon of the rattlesnake casting off its skin every spring.⁵⁵ This explanation is satisfactory so far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. The fact of the snake's renewal of its skin periodically makes the serpent an apt symbol of rejuvenation, even of immortality, but not of the generation of life itself.

Another explanation is derived from the ease with which the pliable serpent can be symbolically made to form a circle by inserting its tail into its mouth.⁵⁶ In fact, the circle formed by the

51. Lewin, T. H., *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong*, Calcutta 1869, pp. 78, 98.

52. *ERE*, Vol. XI, p. 416.

53. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* § 74.

54. Moor E., *op.cit.*, p. 342; Zimmer, *op.cit.*, p. 75; Thomas, P., *op.cit.*, p. 86; *ERE*, Vol. XI, p. 408.

55. Brinton, D. G., *The Myths of the New World*, New York and London, 1868, p. 111.

56. Moor, E., *op.cit.*, p. 342; Rawlinson, G., *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 122; Thomas, P., *op.cit.*, p. 86.

serpent swallowing its own tail is a universally recognised symbol of eternity—and understandably so because the circle has no beginning nor end. However, though this manner of representing the serpent makes it an excellent symbol of eternity and of life eternal, it does not suggest the emergence of life itself. This deficiency the following explanation seeks to supply.

Symbolically the serpent is universally identified with the life-giving and life-sustaining aquatic element. "The serpent", says Zimmer, "represents the life-bestowing fertilizing element of the terrestrial waters."⁵⁷ Like the lotus stemming from the navel of Viṣṇu, sleeping the sleep of creation couched on the coils of the world-serpent Anantā in the primeval ocean, the serpent is both a symbol of water and of life, rather of the living waters. And in this famous creation myth Viṣṇu himself, the supreme procreator, is "the personification of the life-giving power of the waters."⁵⁸ Although Viṣṇu is the sun, he also "resides in water,"⁵⁹ nay "he is water or the humid principle generally."⁶⁰ From this point of view Viṣṇu is Nārāyaṇa. In a verse, quoted in several of the *Purāṇas*, Manu explains the origin of the word 'Nārāyaṇa'.⁶¹ This verse is rendered into English by Sir William Jones thus: "The waters are called Nārā, because they were the production of Nara, or 'the spirit' of God; and since they were his first Ayana, or place of motion, he thence is named Nārāyaṇa or 'moving on the waters.'" Sir William in rendering Nārāyaṇa as 'moving on the waters' was perhaps unduly influenced by the words of *Genesis*, "the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters".⁶² Āsraya, however, explains 'ayana' as 'place of abiding' instead of 'place of motion.' Nārāyaṇa would therefore mean 'he whose place of abiding is the deep.'⁶³

As the second person of the Hindu divine triad Viṣṇu is the preserver. But his most outstanding characteristic is that of "a

57. Zimmer, H., *op. cit.*, p. 73.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

59. Dutt, M. N., (Tr.), *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, Calcutta, 1908, p. 44.

60. Moor, E., *op. cit.*, p. 16.

61. *The Institutes of Manu*, 1. 8.

62. *Genesis*, 1. 2.

63. Wilson, H. H. (Tr.), *op. cit.*, p. 28 n.

Divine Pervader, infusing his essence for special purposes into created things.⁶⁴ The word 'Viṣṇu' is derived from the Sanskrit word *viś* meaning to pervade,⁶⁵ and Viṣṇu in Sanskrit means *Vyāpanaśīla*, that is, permeating and covering the universe.⁶⁶ This character of Viṣṇu is well brought out in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*: "Nature (Pradhāna) and soul (Pumān) are both of the character of dependants, and are encompassed by the energy of Viṣṇu, which is one with the soul of the world, and which is the cause of the separation of those two (soul and nature) at the period of dissolution; of their aggregation in the continuance of things; and of their combination at the season of creation."⁶⁷ The root *viś* is used fairly often in the *Ṛg-veda* and primarily means 'to be active.'⁶⁸ To quote the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* again, "In the same manner as the wind ruffles the surface of the water in a hundred bubbles, which of themselves are inert, so the energy of Viṣṇu influences the world, consisting of inert nature and soul."⁶⁹ Interpreting the myth of Viṣṇu Anantaśāyin and its representations in Indian art, Zimmer considers the sleeping Viṣṇu, Ananta on whose coils Viṣṇu is couched in his sleep, and the primeval ocean on which the world-serpent floats, as "triune manifestations of the single divine imperishable, cosmic substance, the energy underlying and inhabiting all the forms of life."⁷⁰

The explanation of the serpent as a symbol of life based on the association of the serpent with water has much to recommend it for our acceptance but, symbolically speaking, it does not go to the root of the matter. Water is contained by the earth, and it is not the contained but the container that is fundamental. Homer describes the earth as life-giving.⁷¹ Earth is indeed the primordial mother of life, and the serpent is an embodiment not only of "the water of life issuing from the deep body of Mother Earth"⁷² but of Mother Earth herself. Frankfort's observation on the ancient

64-65. Martin, E. O., *op. cit.*, p. 96.

66. Majumdar, J., *The Eagle and the Captive Sun*, Calcutta 1909, p. 10.

67. Wilson's Translation, p. 215.

68. Macdonnell, A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1877, p. 39.

69. Wilson's Translation, p. 215.

70. Zimmer, H., *op. cit.*, p. 61.

71. *Iliad*, III, 243

72. Zimmer, H., *op. cit.*, p. 75.

Mesopotamian symbol of the entwined serpent pair is also true of the serpent symbol in India. Says Frankfort, "The copulating vipers are known as manifestations of the chthonic aspect of the god of natural vitality, who is manifest in all life breaking forth from the earth."⁷³ Rivett-Carnac suggests that the snake is a symbol of the phallus,⁷⁴ and the phallic suggestiveness of the symbol of the copulating serpents wherever it occurs, be it in ancient Mesopotamia where this particular symbol originated, or in ancient Greece where it forms an indispensable part of the caduceus of Hermes, or in India where it figures on the *nāgakals*, makes it a most expressive symbol of procreation.

In India, the primeval world serpent, Ādiśeṣa, is especially known as the bearer of the earth, and hence is a symbol of the earth. In the beautiful words of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* "Seṣa bears the entire world, like a diadem, upon his head, and he is the foundation on which the seven Pātālas rest."⁷⁵ The *Mahābhārata* explains how Ananta came to live underneath the earth, alone supporting the world at the command of Brahmā.⁷⁶

It is as a symbol of the earth that Ananta figures in the sculpture illustrating the *Varāha Avatāra* of Viṣṇu. His usual appearance in such scenes is that of a snake combined with the upper half of a human figure, with a multiheaded snake hood rising like a canopy over his head. In most representations his two hands are raised in the attitude of *namaskāra*. It is significant that, while no mention of Śeṣa is made in any of the versions of the myth to be found in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, in technical works of Hindu iconography it is stated that in plastic representations of the third *avatāra* it is the serpent Śeṣa that supports one of the feet of the boar while rising from the waters.⁷⁷ The conclusion is inescapable that the earth which is brought up by the divine boar from the abyss of the primeval waters is symbolized in plastic representations by Śeṣa.

73. Frankfort, H., *The Arts and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, London 1954, p. 17.

74. Rivett-Carnac, J. H., "Snake Symbol in India," *JASB*, 1879, p. 13.

75. Wilson's Translation, p. 206.

76. *Ādi-parva*, 36, 18-24.

77. Vogel, J. Ph., *op cit.*, p. 195.

Among the earliest known renderings of the *Varāha Avatāra* in Indian plastic art is the large rock-cut sculpture of Udayagiri belonging to the Gupta period (c. A.D. 400).⁷⁸ Two other ancient examples of this scene occur among the rock-cut carvings of Bādāmī⁷⁹ (Sixth Century A.D.), and at Mahamallapuram⁸⁰ (Seventh Century A.D.). In all these representations the left foot of the boar-headed god rests on the coils of the world-serpent Śeṣa, who is depicted according to the iconographic description given above. In the Bādāmī sculpture, however, Śeṣa is accompanied by a Nāgī, presumably his consort. This is also the case with the sculptures of the *Varāha Avatāra* from Baragaon⁸¹ and Khajuraho.⁸²

To conclude, the myths pertaining to the world-serpent Śeṣa and their representations in Indian art, when interpreted in the context of the serpent as a symbol of life, not only throw a flood of light on the symbolism under discussion but seem to afford the best explanation of its origin. For Śeṣa is not only a symbol of the life-bestowing and life-sustaining terrestrial waters but of the earth itself, the mother of life.

- 78. Cunningham, A., *ASIR*, Vol. X, pl. XVIII; Burgess, J., *op.cit.*, p. 216-17
- 79. Vogel, J. Ph., *op.cit.*, p. 195.
- 80. *ASIR* for 1910-11, pl. XXIX, c.
- 81. Burgess, J., *op.cit.*, pl. 234, Vogel, J. Ph., *op.cit.*, pl. XXI.
- 82. Thomas, P., *op.cit.*, pl. VI, 15.

Śarabhapuriya Kings and the Location of Śarabhapura

BY

S. R. NEMA, M.A., Nagpur

One family of Kings who succeeded the Śūra dynasty in South Kōsala is known as Śarabhapuriyas about whom we know much from a number of copper-plates, seals and coins. The family belonged to the Amarārya-Kula¹ and flourished in the 6th century A.D. Lōkaprakāśa who was the Queen of the Pāṇḍu-Vaṁśī King, Bharatabala of Mēkalā, also claims to have been born in the same Kula.² The Kings of this family have been named after its progenitor Śarabha who was also the founder of Śarabhapura. This city has not yet been identified satisfactorily though scholars have

1. Śarabhapuriya rulers do not mention the name of the family to which they belonged in any of their charters. Their family title 'Amarārya-Kula,' however, occurs for the first time in the Mallār plates of Vyāghrarāja (EI, XXXIV, pp. 45 F). Dr. D. C. Sircar says that the expression Amar-ārya looks like a Brahmanical personal name and names of the same type are often met with in South Indian records; that Vyāghra's mother was probably the daughter of a person named Amar-ārya or was born in a family of which a person of that name was believed to have been the progenitor. (*Ibid.*, p. 48).

2. The Bamhanī plates of Pāṇḍava King Bharatabala describe his Queen Lōkaprakāśā thus:

'Bharatabala-nṛipasy = ōttama (mā) rājā-patnī jātā yā Kausalāyāmī (Kōsalāyām) = amaraja-kulajām (K)itimachchai dadhātā (nā) Śaś-vad dharmm = āē(rtha)kāra(ma) prativihi-tatam = ātīva lōkaprakāśā yātā..... (*Ibid.*, XXVII, p. 141-42, text lines, 28-31).

According to Dr. Sircar, the Amaraja-Kula to which Lōkaprakāśā belonged, probably means a family which sprang from a person named Amara. It is possible that this Amara is the same as Amar-ārya of the Mallār plates of Vyāghra. In that case, Lōkaprakāśā was very probably born in the family of the Śarabhapuriya rulers of South Kōsala and Amaraja-Kula or Amarārya-Kula was the name of the dynasty to which Śarabhapuriyas belonged (*Ibid.*, XXXIV), p. 48).

Dr. Sircar's contention that Lōkaprakāśā, Queen of the Pāṇḍu Vaṁśī King Bharatabala, belonged to the Śarabhapuriya family is disputable. I propose to deal with this elsewhere separately.

suggested different places to locate it including Sambalpur, Sārangarh, Sarpagarh, Śrīpura or Sirpur among others. We shall discuss this question of the location of Śarabhapura later after studying the political history of the dynasty. The Śarabhapuriya Kings have mentioned themselves as '*Paramabhāgavatas*' in their charters and their emblem was the *Gaṇa-Lakṣmī* which is found on the seals attached to their charters.

Śarabha, the founder of the Śarabhapuriya dynasty is referred to in the Pipardūlā grant,³ issued from Śarabhapura, as the father of Mahārāja Narēndra. Dr. Mirashi⁴ has identified him with Śarabharāja who has been mentioned in the Eran Pillar inscription,⁵ dated G.E. 191 (510 A.D.). This inscription records that a Prince named Gōparāja, the son of Mādhavarāja and the daughter's son of Śarabharāja, gave friendly help to the great ruler Bhānugupta in a fierce battle at Eran where he died and that his devoted wife accompanied him, cremating herself in the funeral pyre. In the light of the dated inscription of Eran, we may fix the rule of the King Śarabha and his son Narēndra in the later part of the 5th century and the early part of the 6th century A.D. respectively when the Gupta rule was in the process of decline. Kōsala by this time seems to have been attacked by the Vākātaka King Harisēna (C. 475-510 A.D.) who, in his Ajanta inscription claims to have conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Lāṭa, Kōsala and Āndhra.⁶ Śarabha is not given any royal title in the legend of the seal of the Pipardūlā grant. As Śarabha's daughter's son Gōparāja was a feudatory of the Guptas, it seems quite likely that Śarabha himself also owed allegiance to the same imperial house.⁷

He was succeeded by his son, Narēndra, who is known to us from his two records, viz. the Pipardūlā copper-plate inscription,⁸ dated in his third regnal year and the Kurud plates⁹ dated in his 24th regnal year. The Pipardūlā plate was issued from Śarabhapura and

3. *IHQ*, XIX, p. 139 ff.

4. *EL*, XXII, p. 17.

5. *CII*, III, p. 91.

6. See above.

7. *EL*, XXXI, p. 267.

8. *IHQ*, XIX, pp. 140-145.

9. *EL*, XXXI, pp. 263 ff.

it is interesting that the charter does not record any grant of the King himself, but is only the confirmation of a grant made by a person named Rāhudeva who was probably an officer of Mahārāja Narēndra. The legend on its seal states that, 'the King Narēndra conquered the earth with his own sword.' This shows that he must have extended his territory and assumed the title of Mahārāja. In his Kurud plates, Mahārāja Narēndra regranted the village of Kēśavaka which was situated in the Chullāḍasīma *bhōga* from his victorious camp at Tilakēśvara in favour of the original donee's son, Saṅkhasvāmin, for the merit of the *Paramabhāṭṭārakapāda*. Dr. M. G. Dikshit identifies the *Paramabhāṭṭārakapāda* who originally made the grant with Mahārāja Narēndra's father, Śarabha. This, however, according to Dr. D. C. Sircar, is not supported by the language of the inscription, the word 'father', being conspicuous by its absence from the context. The imperial title *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, along with *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, is known to have been popularised by the imperial Guptas since the fourth century A.D.,¹⁰ and it is impossible to believe that Mahārāja Narēndra's father, Śarabha, enjoyed the title *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* (and presumably also, *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*) side by side with the imperial Guptas about the end of the fifth century. As the Gupta power was fast declining since the closing years of the fifth century, it is intelligible how Śarabha's son Mahārāja Narēndra, ruling considerably away from the centre of the Gupta empire, issued his charters as an independent monarch without referring to his allegiance to the Gupta Emperor. But his respectful mention of the *Paramabhāṭṭārakapāda* to whom Narēndra's family must have owed complete allegiance originally, shows that he still considered himself, howsoever nominally, a subordinate of the imperial Guptas. It has, however, also to be noticed that he was powerful enough not to describe himself vaguely as *Paramabhāṭṭārakapāda-ānu-dhyāta*. At the same time, he also does not use the Gupta era, like some other erstwhile feudatories of the imperial Guptas who did so with or without some kind of reference to their former overlords.¹¹ It is of course impossible to identify this Gupta Emperor without further evidence, but the manner in which he is

10. See *IHQ*, XXII, pp. 64-65; *Ibid.*, XXIV, pp. 75-77.

11. 'Select Inscriptions' by D. C. Sircar, pp. 370 ff; Bhandarkar's list No. 1329 etc.

twice mentioned by Narēndra in the present charter seems to indicate that Gupta political influence was not totally absent from South Kōsala even about the beginning of the sixth century.¹²

Prasannamātra:

In the early years of the sixth century, the throne of Śarabhapura passed to a King named Prasanna or Prasannamātra who is known by his gold and silver coins. The exact relation of Prasannamātra with Narēndra is not known but he seems to have been his successor and might have been his son.¹³ Shri L. P. Pandeya¹⁴ has described his silver coin thus: "The coin is round and bears inscription and carving on one side only. The other side is blank. The legend is deciphered as 'Śrī-Prasannamātra' which is in the box-headed characters. It is surmounted by a bust, on one side of which there is a figure of a discus and on the other that of a conch, while at the bottom of the legend, there is a top portion of what appears to be a mace. The coin is of silver but there is a faint polish of gold all over." He further states that the bust referred to above might represent Lakṣmī or Garuḍa. Mr. Allan of the British Museum is in favour of identifying the figure as 'Garuḍa.' Pt. Pandeya's view that the main emblem on it might be either Garuḍa or Lakṣmī is untenable, as it is undoubtedly Garuḍa. Shri R. Burn takes this piece to be a seal or medal.¹⁵ Shri V. P. Rode¹⁶ has also published some gold coins of this King 'which are', according to him, 'manufactured from thin sheets of base gold. They are all a repousse work and are identical in every respect with the pieces published by Shri Pandeya.' Further, he is inclined to take Shri Pandeya's specimens as of base gold and not of silver because, according to him, "what Shri Pandeya considers as a polish of gold, may not be a polish at all. It may be that the

12. *El*, XXXI, pp. 267-268.

13. *IHQ*, XIX; p. 143.

14. *Ibid.*, IX, p. 595. For the second coin published by Shri Pandeya, see *Ibid.*, XV; pp. 475-76. Two more pieces are known to be in the possession of Sri S. K. Sarasvati of the Calcutta University; see *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 87, Fn. 3.

15. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. VIII; p. 12.

16. *JNSI*, XII; pp. 8-10.

metal itself may be impure.”¹⁷ Shri Pandeya’s suggestion¹⁸ that Prasannamātra might have struck his gold coins on the model of Tivaradēva’s seal was based on the assumption that the Śarabhapuriya rulers were the vassals of the Sōmavamśīs, the sovereign lords of Kōsala. But as we know that the Sōmavamśīs succeeded the Śarabhapuriyas in Dakṣina Kōsala, Prasannamātra who is one of the early Kings of Śarabhapura line and flourished in C. 495-510 A.D. could not have struck his coins or tokens on the model of the seal of Tivaradēva,¹⁹ who flourished later. The Prasannamātra gold coins or tokens closely resemble those of Mahēndrāditya and the three Nala Kings viz. Varāha, Bhavadatta and Arthapati.²⁰ Prasannamātra had two sons, named Jayarāja and Mānamātra-Durgarāja. A new city, named Prasannapura was founded after his name. It was situated on the bank of the river, Niḍilā and has not been identified so far.²¹

Jayarāja:

Prasannamātra seems to have been succeeded by his son, Jayarāja (sometimes called Mahā-Jayarāja) who is known from his three charters viz. (1) Āraṅ copper-plates²² (year 5), (2) Mallār-plates²³ (year 5) and (3) Mallār plates²⁴ (year 9). The Āraṅ copper plates of Jayarāja which were issued from Śarabhapura in his 5th regnal year on the 25th day, without any specification of the fortnight of the month *Mārga Śira* (*Pravardhamān-Vijayasaṁvatsara 5 Mārga Śira 20, 5*) describe him as ‘a devout worshipper of the Divine, who meditates on the feet of his parents’. It also states that he ‘subjugated his chieftains and he was the giver of treasure and land and cows’. Dr. V. V. Mirashi is of the view that Bhīmasena II, (who belonged to the Śūra dynasty) or his successor was probably ousted by Jayarāja of the Śarabhapuriya dynasty, who coming from the East conquered the territory

17. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

18. *IHQ*, IX, p. 596, also see below.

19. *JNSI*, XII, p. 10.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10, for the coins of Nala Kings, see *JNSI*, I, pp. 29 ff.

21. *El*, XXXIV, p. 49.

22. *CII*, III, pp. 191-194.

23. *El*, XXXIII, pp. 155 ff.

24. *Ibid.*, XXXIV, pp. 28 ff.

round Āraṅg and established himself there.²⁵ This seems to be true because the ancestors of Bhīmasena II were ruling over a large area round Āraṅg for about one hundred years, as is evident from his Āraṅg plates. Hence the early Śarabhapuriya Kings must have started their career in the *Pūrva-rāṣṭra* i.e. the Eastern country and with the decline of the Śūra dynasty, they must have gradually expanded their territory in the West. The Āraṅg copper plate grant of Jayarāja clearly shows that he completely subjugated the area around Āraṅg before the issue of his charter. His Mallār copper-plates²⁶ were issued a few weeks earlier than the Āraṅg plates because the charter was dated on the fifth day of the month of *Kārttika* in the fifth year of the reign of Jayarāja. It registers the grant of the village of Kadambapadrullaka in Antaranālaka in favour of the Brāhman Kapardisvāmin of the *Kautsa Gōtra*. The village was granted as a permanent rent-free holding on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, for the merit of the King himself and of his parents. The householders of Kadambapadrullaka were advised to be obedient to the donee and to pay him the usual *bhōga* (periodical offerings) and *bhāga* (the king's share in the produce of the fields).²⁷

The latest date of Mahā-Jayarāja is known from his third charter viz. the Mallār copper-plate grant²⁸ which was issued on the 5th day of the month of *Jyēṣṭha* in the ninth year of Jayarāja's reign. Thus Mahā-Jayarāja might have ruled probably for 9 years. Vatsa, an officer in King's service, has been mentioned in the charter whereas Rudrasvāmin is described as *Śabara-bhōgika*, which suggests either that he hailed from an administrative division (*bhōga*) called Śabara or that he was a *Jāgirdār*, enjoying a locality called Śabara.²⁹ All the charters of Jayarāja were issued from his capital, Śarabhapura and engraved by Acalasimha.

The recently discovered Mallār plates of Vyāghra³⁰ have thrown welcome light on the history of the Śarabhapuriya dynasty. The grant was issued from Prasannapura by Vyāghra who was the

25. 'Studies in Indology' I, p. 240.

26. *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 155 ff.

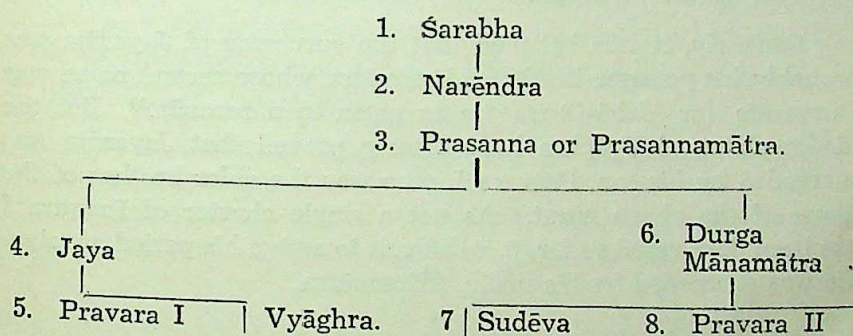
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 155-56.

28. *Ibid.*, XXXIV, pp. 28 ff.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 45 ff.

younger brother (*anuja*) of Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka, the son of Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka.³¹ Dr. D. C. Sircar and G. Bhattacharya who have edited these plates have rightly suggested that the 'names of Jaya and Pravara remind us of Kings Jayarāja and Pravara-rāja of the Śarabhapurīya family and indeed Kings bearing such names and belonging to any other family are not known to have flourished in the age and area concerned'. It is therefore, very probable that King Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka of the inscription is identical with King Jayarāja of Śarabhapura.³² But Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka of the present record cannot be identified with the well-known Śarabhapurīya King Pravara-rāja who was the son of King Durgarāja or Mānamātra, the brother of Jayarāja and was responsible for issuing the Thākurdīyā and Mallār plates from Śrīpura in his third regnal year.³³ Because, if Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka is identified with Pravara-rāja of the Thākurdīyā and Mallār plates, we have to assume that his father was known by no less than three names, viz. Mānamātra, Durgarāja and Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka (Jayarāja). This seems to be less likely than the suggestion offered above.³⁴ Thus, the genealogy of the Śarabhapurīyas including the above two names viz. Pravara and Vyāghra (the son of Jayarāja) may be tabulated as follows.³⁵



However, Dr. D. C. Sircar's and Bhattacharya's interpretation of the passage '*rājñāḥ sumānya-rājapuruṣān samājnāpayati*' that Vyāghra was issuing the order in respect of the grant to the officers

31. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*, Fn. 2.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

of his brother who was on the throne,³⁶ appears to be faulty. Dr. V. V. Mirashi after examining these plates, holds the view that Vyāghra did not issue the above grant in respect of his brother. But he himself had issued the grant and given order to his own officers. This is evident from the legend 'Śrī-Vyāghrarājah' on his seal. If he had issued the grant in respect of his elder brother Pravara I, the name of Pravara I should have occurred on the seal. The legend 'Śrī-Vyāghrarājah' makes it quite clear that Vyāghra himself issued the grant when he was on the throne.

Next, Dr. D. C. Sircar and Bhattacharya have read the date, quoted in lines 22-23 as 'Prava (r) ddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvat 40 1 Pō (Pau) sha-di 20 (7),³⁷ i.e., 'the 27th day of the month of Pausha in the year 41.' Dr. Mirashi who has checked these dates has pointed out that 'the first symbol of the date should be read as '4' instead of '40' and the next sign which has been read as '1' is an unnecessary mark of punctuation.' Thus, according to Dr. Mirashi, the date of the plates should be read as 'prava (r) ddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvat 4 Pō (au) sha-di 20 (7) i.e., 'the 27th day of the month of Pausha in the year 4' apparently of King Vyāghra and not of his elder brother, Pravara I.³⁸

Formerly, it was believed that the successor of Jayarāja was probably his younger brother, Mānamātra whose second name was Durgarāja (or Mahā-Durgarāja as given in a record).³⁹ But the Mallār-plates of Vyāghra have clearly proved that Jayarāja was succeeded by his son, Pravara I, who was the elder brother of the issuer of the above grant. As not a single charter of Pravara I has been discovered so far, it is difficult to assign his period of reign. He was succeeded by his uncle, Mānamātra.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

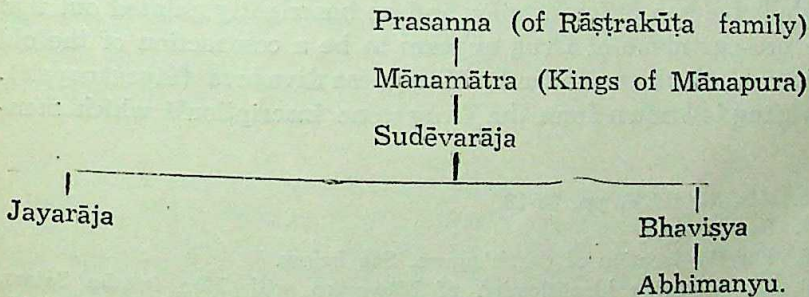
37. *Ibid.*, XXXIV, p. 50; also see fn.

38. The reading of the date of the Mallār copper-plates of Vyāghra as 41 is not very probable; for (i) the Aṅg copper-plates of Bhīmasena II are dated in G.E. 182, i.e. A.D. 501-2. (See *EI*, XXVI, p. 228) and (ii) the date of the Sōma-Vaṁśī King, Mahā Śiva Tivaradēva is fixed as A.D. 550 to 565. (See Dr. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. 1, pp. 220-230, also *EI*, XXVI, p. 229). If we assign a period of 14 years to one King, it would be somewhat difficult to adjust the reign periods of Jayarāja and his successors between A.D. 501 and 550.

39. See below.

Mānamātra:

The Khariyār grant⁴⁰ describes the Śarabhapuriya King Sudēva as one whose birth was from Mānamātra who was the moon born of the sea that was Prasanna. Scholars therefore believed that Sudēvarāja was the son of Mānamātra and grandson of Prasanna. Sudēva, in another charter⁴¹ issued from Sirpur in his 7th regnal year, has expressly called himself as '*Śrī-Mahā-Durgarāja putra*' i.e. 'the son of the illustrious and great Durgarāja.' Durgarāja thus seems to have been another name of Mānamātra. It was so long unknown whether Mānamātra actually ruled as a King of Śarabhapura, the style, '*Śrī-Mahā-Durgarāja*' proves that he did.⁴² Dr. Sten Konow⁴³ conjectures that Mānamātra could perhaps be identified with Mānāṅka, 'the ornament of the Rāshtrakūṭas', mentioned in the copper plates⁴⁴ of Abhimanyu of Mānapura; and that Mānāṅka had a son, Dēvarāja, who might be identified with Sudēvarāja. In support of this hypothesis, Dr. Sten Konow mentions that 'Mātrā and āṅka are both stated by lexicographers to mean ornament.' On the other hand, he also states that 'the alphabets of the two inscriptions differ and this, in addition to the difference in the names, makes the identification doubtful.' Subsequently, Dr. Dubreuil,⁴⁵ accepting the suggestion of Dr. Sten Konow that Mānāṅka might be identical with Mānamātra and Sudēvarāja with Dēvarāja, gave the following genealogy:—



40. *EI*, IX, pp. 170-172.

41. *IHQ*, XXI, p. 294; Also, *EI*, XXXI, p. 315.

42. *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 62.

43. Above, IX, p. 172.

44. Above, VIII, p. 163; Compare Fleet, *IA*, XXX, p. 509.

45. '*Ancient History of Deccan*,' pp. 77 f.

Dr. V. V. Mirashi⁴⁶ does not approve of the identification of Mānamātra with Mānāṅka and Dēvarāja with Sudēvarāja as it is based on weak foundation; for, in the first instance, there is no convincing reason for the changes in the personal names of these Kings; secondly, Jayarāja was an uncle of Sudēvarāja, not his son;⁴⁷ thirdly, there is nothing common in the characters and seals of the descendants of Mānāṅka and those of the descendants of Mānamātra. The charters of the former are inscribed in what Dr. Bühler calls the Western variety of the Southern alphabet, while those of the latter are incised in box-headed characters of Central India. The seals of the charters of the former have the figure of the lion facing the proper right, while those of the latter have the figure of standing Lakshmi with an elephant on either side, pouring water on her. Finally, Dr. Mirashi concludes that Mānamātra who belonged to an altogether different dynasty of Śarabhapura⁴⁸ was ruling over the Bilāspur and Raipur districts of the present Madhya Pradesh. On the contrary, Mānāṅka, from his capital Mānapura⁴⁹ was ruling over Kuntala which in ancient times comprised roughly the Southern Maratha country, South of the Kṛṣṇa and the Kanarese districts of the (former) Bombay and Madras Presidencies.⁵⁰

Another controversy is about the suggestion made by Pandit L. P. Pandeya⁵¹ that the town of Drug (Duraga) in the present M.P. was founded by Durgarāja and named after him. Rai Bahadur Hiralal⁵² holds a different view and he has rightly pointed out that "the present name of Drug appears to be a contraction of the old Śivadurga which was given by Maṇdalesa Śivadeva (Śivagaṇapati). This King is known from the Drug stone inscription⁵³ which men-

46. ABORI, XXV, pp. 38-39.

47. See below.

48. For the location of Śarabhapura, See below.

49. Dr. Mirashi's identification of Mānapura with Mān in the Satara district through which flows the Mānagaṅgā, a tributary of the Bhīmā, (*Ibid*; p. 42) has been accepted by scholars.

50. ABORI, XXV, p. 40.

51. IHQ, XXI, p. 295.

52. Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, 2nd ed. p. 135.

53. Dr. D. C. Sircar has assigned the inscription to the period of Mahā-śivagupta, Bālārjuna, the famous Pāṇḍu Varāṇsi King of Kōsala. Śivadeva was probably his feudatory chief. IHQ, XXII, pp. 62-63.

tioned the names Śivapura and Śivadurga, associated together, indicating that the town and the fort were separate in the times of Śivadeva and he gave the name to both of them." Hence it is wrong to suppose that Mānamātra-Durgarāja founded the town of Durga. As we have not got any record of this King, it is difficult to assign him the actual period of reign. He was succeeded by his son, Sudēva, also known as Mahāsudēvarāja.

Sudēvarāja

Sudēvarāja (also called Mahā-Sudēvarāja) who was the son and successor of Mānamātra-Durgarāja, is known to us from his six charters,⁵⁴ five of which were issued from Śarabhapura and the sixth viz. Kauvātal plates charter, from Śrīpura or modern Sirpur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. The latest date of the King is 10 which is known from his Raipur copper-plates.⁵⁵ The earliest Khariār copper-plates grant⁵⁶ which was issued in the second year of his reign on the 29th day of *Śrāvaṇa* describes him as a devout worshipper of Bhāgavata; who meditates on the feet of his mother and father. He seems to have had troubles in the beginning of his reign probably from his chieftains whom he suppressed; and then he stabilized his position. The Khariār grant describes his early success thus: 'the illustrious Mahā-Sudēvarāja whose feet are washed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre of the crest jewels in the tiaras of the Sāmantas who have been subjugated by his prowess; who is the cause for the removal of the parting of the hair of the women of his enemies.'

The Sirpur plates⁵⁷ dated in his 7th regnal year, mention one Śrī Mahā Sāmanta Indrabalarāja who was the *Sarvādhikārādhi-*

54. His six charters are 1. Khariār plates, (year 2), *EI*, IX, pp. 170 ff. 2. Sārangarh plates, *Ibid.*, pp. 281 ff. 3. Āraṅ plates, (year 7), *Ibid.*, XXIII, pp. 28 ff. 4. Sirpur plates, (year 7) *Ibid.*, XXXII, pp. 103 ff. 5. Kauvātal plates, (year 7), *Ibid.*, pp. 314-315 and 6. The Raipur plates, (year 10), *CII*, III, pp. 197 ff.

55. *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 170 ff.

57. *Ibid.*, XXXI, pp. 103 ff; also see *IHQ*, XXI, p. 295. The Kauvātal plates of Sudēvarāja (*EI*, XXXI; p. 315), describes Indrabalarāja thus:—

Cf. L. 23-24, Saravvādhikārādhikṛta-śrī mahāsāman (ma) nta Indrabalarāja.

24 — ś—ch=ātra dūtakah/pravarddhamāna vijaya-savvansara 7 Mārg(g)a Śiṣa-di 10 (II).

kr̥ta (Chief Minister) of Sudēva. This Indrabalarāja, the *dūtaka* or the executor of the grant has been identified⁵⁸ with a Pāṇḍu Vamśi King of that name, who was the son of Udayana and the father of the great Nanna. It is interesting to note that the powers of the Śarabhapuriya Kings were soon afterwards passed to the Pāṇḍu-vamśis. For it was from Śrīpura that Mahā Śiva Tivara, grandson of Indrabala, issued his charters.⁵⁹

The Kauvātal copper plates⁶⁰ grant of Sudēvarāja which bears the date 7 was the only grant of his reign which was issued from Śrīpura. Before the discovery of this grant, scholars were of the opinion that his younger brother Pravaraarāja II shifted his capital from Śarabhapura to Śrīpura. But the above grant clearly shows that Sudēvarāja already made it his second capital probably to consolidate his position in the West.

Mahā Sudēvarāja was not only a great warrior but also possessed noble virtues. The Khariār grant describes him as 'the giver of riches, of land and of cows.' That he had great respect for learned persons is evident from his Sārangarh plates which record the grant of a village named Chullaṇḍaraka, situated in the *bhukti* or sub-division of Tunḍaraka, made by the Queen and the royal family of Rājā Mahā-Sudēva, and assented to by him, to a number of learned priests viz. Bhāskaravāmi, Prabhākaravāmi, Barbbarivāmi, Bōṭasvāmi, Dattāsvāmi, Viṣṇusvāmi, Phalgusvāmi, Svāmī-kīrttisvāmi and Śankarasvāmi. As the latest date of Sudēvarāja is 10, he might have ruled for about 10 years. Whether he died issueless or left a minor son behind is not known to us. After him, the responsibility of the Śarabhapura kingdom passed to his younger brother, Pravaraarāja II.

Pravaraarāja II

The last powerful King of the Śarabhapuriya dynasty was Pravaraarāja II, (also known as Mahā-Pravaraarāja). He was the son of Mānamātra-Durgarāja and the younger brother of Sudēvarāja. So far, two of his charters have come to light viz. (1)

58. *IHQ*, XXI, p. 295.

59. For details see below.

60. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 314-315.

Ṭhākurdiyā plates,⁶¹ dated on the 2nd day of *Mārga Śr̥ṣa* in the 3rd regnal year and (2) Mallār copper plates⁶² grant which was also issued in his third regnal year but shortly after the previous one, on the 2nd day of *Pausha*.

The Ṭhākurdiyā plates mention him as 'Śrī-Mahā-Pravararāja' who is *Parama Bhāgavata* and meditates on the feet of his mother and father.⁶³ In the legend on the seals of his charters, Pravararāja is said to have won the earth with his own arms.⁶⁴ As such an expression does not occur in the legends on the seals of his brother and uncle, Pravararāja might not have had a peaceful succession. The ambitious chieftains who already troubled his elder brother, might have rebelled again and become a menace to the Śarabhauri dynasty after the death of Sudēvarāja. The charter does not throw light on his enemies about whom we can have some idea on the basis of subsequent events. Both the charters of Mahā-Pravararāja were issued from Śrīpura and were engraved by Gōlasimha. This shows that Mahā-Pravararāja shifted his capital to Śrīpura (modern Sirpur in the Raipur district of present Madhya Pradesh) which was more centrally situated. We have also noticed above that Indrabalarāja, the grandfather of the Sōma-vamśi King Tivaradēva, was a *Mahā Sāmanta* and *Sarvādhikārādhikṛta* (i.e., Chief Minister) of Sudēvarāja. A mutilated stone inscription in the temple of Lakṣṇēśvara at Kharod, about two miles from Sheorī-narāyaṇ, describes him as one whose lotus-like feet looked resplendent with the rows of the crest jewels, of all Kings.⁶⁵ The description is no doubt conventional but it may not be altogether an empty praise. Indrapura which is mentioned in the same inscription as

61. *EI*, XXII, pp. 15-23.

62. *Ibid.*, XXXIV, pp. 51 ff.

63. 'Paramabhāgavatō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātāḥ Śrī-Mahā-Pravararājāḥ.' *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 32; LL 3-4.

64. The following legend occurs on the seal:—

'Mānamātra = sutasya = ēdam sva-bhuj-ōpārjjita-(kṣ)itē(h) (l) Śrīmat-Pravararājasya śāsanam (śat)ru-śā(sa)na(m)(nam II), *Ibid.*, XXXIV, p. 52.

65. This inscription is unedited, Dr. V. V. Mirashi has given the transcript of its line 22 from an impression in his possession (See—*Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 41, Fn. 1).

Cf. 'Sarvv-āvan=iśvara=śirōmaṇi-rājirājat-pād-āmbujah=śaśikul-āmbara-pūṇacandrah/
āsīd=bhuvah=.....pāstaripur=Indrabal-ābhidhānah//

the headquarters of a *Viṣaya* might have been founded by him.⁶⁶ His son *Isānadēva* built the temple of *Lakṣmaṇadēva* (now *Lakṣṇeśvara*) at *Kharod* and endowed it with the gift of some villages.⁶⁷ *Isānadēva*'s brother *Nannarājādhirāja* was ruling when the temple of *Sugata* (Buddha), originally erected by *Sūryaghōṣa* at *Āraṅg*, was repaired.⁶⁸ These inscriptional records together with those of *Tivaradēva* which were issued from *Śrīpura* make it quite obvious that the *Sōma-varaṁśi* Kings were the main enemies of *Mahā-Pravararāja*. The events which ultimately brought about the downfall of the *Śarabhapuriyas* might have moved thus. In the beginning, *Indrabalarāja* the grandfather of the *Sōma-varaṁśi* King, *Tivaradēva*, served *Sudēvarāja* as his *Mahā Sāmanta* and *Sarvādhi-kārādhiḥkṛta* (Chief Minister). Being in the position of power and vantage, he appointed his sons, *Nannarāja* and *Isānadēva* to be in charge of different regions. They must have strengthened their position with the support of their father. After the death of *Sudēvarāja*, they tried to assume independence. As stated in the legend on the seal of the *Thākurdiyā* plates, *Mahā Pravararāja*, in the beginning, seems to have suppressed them. But his success did not last long as we soon find *Nannarājādhirāja* ruling at *Āraṅg*. This clearly indicates that *Mahā Pravararāja* lost much of his territory in the West.

Mahā Pravararāja lost his territory in the East or *Pūrva-rāṣṭra* also. *Vyāghrarāja*, who has been mentioned above,⁶⁹ issued *Mallār* plates grant in his 4th regnal year from his headquarters at *Prasannapura* which was situated in the *Pūrva-rāṣṭra*. He has been identified as a *Śarabhapuriya* King and was the son of *Jayarāja* and younger brother of *Pravararāja I*. But one thing which draws our attention is that his seal is totally unlike that of the *Śarabhapuriya* Kings. The seal of the *Śarabhapuriya* King exhibits the *Gaja-Lakṣmī* emblem in the upper part and a legend below consisting of a stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre written in two lines in the box-headed characters of Central India. Dr. D. C. Sircar and *Bhattacharya* have described the seal of *Vyāghrarāja* thus. 'The surface of the seal has a thick line dividing it into two halves.

66. *Ibid.*,

67. *Hiralal*, 'Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar' Second ed. p. 125.

68. *JRAS*, (1905), pp. 617 f.

69. See above.

The section above the line exhibits three symbols viz. the side view of a Chakra in the left, the head of an animal (probably a lion) to front in the middle and a conch-shell in the right. The legend below the line, written in Southern characters similar to those employed in writing the text of the document on the plates, reads Śrī-Vyāghrarājaḥ. There is another symbol below the legend which is difficult to identify, though it may be an elephant to front'.⁷⁰ Dr. V. V. Mirashi differs from the above description of the seal. According to him 'the three symbols in the first half of the seal are Chakra in the left, Garuḍa facing to front in the middle and a conch-shell in the right. Another symbol below the legend which has not been identified correctly may be a lotus (*Kamal*) but it can never be an elephant.' Further he is of the view that the seal of Vyāghrarāja closely resembles that of the Sōma-vaṁśī King, Tīvaradēva who probably might have copied it from the former.

Anyhow, this much is certain that Vyāghrarāja, while making the above grant, used his own seal probably because he was ruling independently in the *Pūrva-rāṣṭra* from Prasannapura. The Raipur copper-plates⁷¹ grant of Rājā Mahā Sudēvarāja which is dated in his 10th regnal year, was issued from Śarabhapura to two Brāhmans of the village, Śrisāhikā, in the *Pūrvarāṣṭra* or the Eastern country. It clearly shows that his commands were obeyed in that region. Hence, it was quite impossible for Vyāghrarāja to rule independently in the *Pūrva-Rāṣṭra* during the time of Mahā-Sudēvarāja. It was only after his death when his younger brother, Mahā-Pravararāja, came to the throne and his enemies troubled him particularly in the West, that Vyāghrarāja got the opportunity and he must have established his independent principality in the *Pūrva-rāṣṭra* or the Eastern country. This new development further deteriorated the Śarabhapuriya power.

According to his known charters which were issued in his third regnal year, Mahā-Pravararāja was successful in suppressing his warring chiefs in the beginning.⁷² But the situation gradually became worse afterwards and it was impossible for him to keep his vast kingdom intact. The Sōma-vaṁśī King Nannarājādhirāja was

70. *EI*, XXXIV, p. 45.

71. *CII*, III. pp. 196 ff.

72. See above.

pressing him in the West, Nannarāja's brother Iśānadēva also became independent. Moreover, the dissension in the royal house on account of Vyāghrarāja further aggravated the situation. The downfall of the Śarabhapurīyas became certain. The situation was ripe for an adventurous leader and Mahā Śiva Tīvaradēva who was the son of Nannarājādhirāja started his victorious campaign. The last Śarabhapurīya King, probably Mahā-Pravararāja or his successor, might have come in conflict with him. But the Śarabhapurīyas were no match for Tīvaradēva who got complete victory over them. Soon we find Tīvaradeva issuing charters from Śrīpura in which he refers to himself as 'the Lord of whole Kōsala'.⁷³ Thus the Śarabhapurīya power collapsed and a new era of the Sōma-vamśī Kings began in South Kōsala.

Location of Śarabhapura:

As regards the location of Śarabhapura, the capital of the Śarabhapurīya Kings, different suggestions have been put forward by scholars. Shri Rajendralal Mitra surmises that Śarabhapura is the old name of Sambalpur town, the headquarters of the same name, now in Orissa. Shri L. P. Pandeya⁷⁴ suggests different names viz. Sarpagarh or Sarbpur in the former Gangpur feudatory state, Sarhar and Sarabhā or Sarwā village near the town of Sheorīnarāyaṇ in the Bilāspur district. Rai Bahadur Hiralal⁷⁵ supposes that the Śarabhapurīya Kings flourished after the Sōma-vamśī Kings of Śrīpura, and is of the opinion that Śarabhapura was a new name imposed on the conquered city of Sirpur by the victor from the fabulous animal of that name, believed to be a match for a lion, with reference to the claim of Sirpur dynasty to be Kēsari (Lions)! But these views of Rai Bahadur Hiralal are not supported by facts as we have already seen that the Śarabhapurīyas were the predecessors and not the successors of the Sōma-vamśī Kings of Śrīpura. Tīvaradēva and his successors who reigned at Śrīpura are not known to have ever assumed the title of Kēsari.⁷⁶ Moreover, the charters of the Śarabhapurīya Kings were also issued from Śrīpura e.g., the Kauvātal copper plates grant of Mahā

73. *EI*, VII, p. 105.

74. *IHQ*, XV, pp. 475-76.

75. *EI*, XI, p. 186, Fn. 5.

76. *EI*, XXII, p. 17.

Sudēvarāja which is dated in his 7th regnal year was issued from Sirpur whereas his other grants were made from Śarabhapura. Later, Mahā Pravaraarāja II. issued his charters (i.e. the Ṭhākurdīyā plates and the Mallār plates grants, both dated in his 3rd regnal year) from Śrīpura only. As has been stated above, Mahā Sudēvarāja probably made Sirpur his second capital and afterwards during the time of Mahā Pravaraarāja II, it became the permanent seat of the Śarabhapurīyas.⁷⁷ Another inference that can also be drawn from the above is that Śrīpura and Śarabhapura were two different towns even during the time of Śarabhapurīyas and it is a mere conjecture that Śarabhapura was a new name imposed on Śrīpura.

Further, another argument of Rai Bahadur Hiralal is that 'the inscriptions of the Śarabhapurīyas have been found in the country round about and in close vicinity of Sirpur viz. Āraṅg, Raipur, Khariār and Sārangarh which enclose Sirpur from all directions, north, south, east and west.'⁷⁸ This statement has induced some scholars to suggest the location of Śarabhapura in the neighbourhood of Śrīpura. Dr. D. C. Sircar,⁷⁹ while editing the Pīpardūla copper plates of Mahārāja Narēndra writes, 'In any case, it (Śarabhapura) does not appear to have been far off from Śrīpura in the present Raipur district. As the records issued from the city have all been discovered in the country about the Raipur district, it should positively be located in the same region. It is indeed probable that Pravara (II) founded the new capital very near the old city which had been the capital of his forefathers.' Dr. M. G. Dikshit⁸⁰ also holds the same view while editing the Kurud plates of Narēndra which are dated in his 24th regnal year. According to him, 'the Kurud plates of Narēndra support the conclusion that the rule of Śarabhapurīya dynasty was mostly confined to the environs of Raipur and that their capital, Śarabhapura, was probably in the neighbourhood of Śrīpura.' As for evidencē, he further writes, that in the excavations at Sirpur, a small gold coin of King Prasanna-mātra was found in the lowest stratum which was super-imposed by buildings attributed to the Pāṇḍava Kings. This also shows the

77. See above.

78. *EL*, XI, p. 186.

79. *IHQ*, XIX, p. 144.

80. *EL*, XXXI, p. 264.

early association of the Śarabhapurīya Kings with Sirpur which is hardly 3 miles from Kurud on the opposite bank of the Mahānadi.⁸¹

However, there are certain difficulties in accepting the above suggestion of Dr. D. C. Sircar and Dr. M. G. Dikshit. Shri G. Bhattacharya and Shri M. Sivayya have recently pointed out that the discovery of most of the charters, issued from Śarabhapura, near about Sirpur has lent colour to this view (that Śarabhapura was probably in the neighbourhood of Śrīpura). The fact, however, that two different persons were responsible for engraving the charters of Sudēvarāja, issued from Śarabhapura and Śrīpura, may go against it.⁸² All the plates of Sudēvarāja which were issued from Śarabhapura were engraved by Drōṇasimha while those from Śrīpura, were engraved by Gōlasimha. Besides, the Āraṅ plates of Bhīmasena II which are dated in G.E. 182 (A.D. 501)⁸³ inform us that the Śūra dynasty was ruling over a vast area around Āraṅ for the previous one hundred years. It does not seem to be possible for both the dynasties i.e. the Śarabhapurīyas and the descendants of Śūra, to have their capitals in the same area. Moreover, the Āraṅ copper-plates grant⁸⁴ of Jayarāja, which is dated in his fifth regnal year, evidently shows that Bhīmasena II or his successor was probably ousted by Jayarāja of the Śarabhapurīya dynasty who, coming from the East, conquered the territory around Āraṅ and established himself there.⁸⁵ In the beginning, Śarabhapurīyas might have ruled in the Eastern country of Kōsala⁸⁶ and with the decline of the Śūra dynasty, they gradually occupied the territory

81. *Ibid.*

82. *Ibid.*, XXXIV, p. 29.

83. *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 342 ff; also see *ibid.*, XXVI, p. 228.

84. See above.

85. *Ibid.*

86. This is also evident from the villages granted in their early charters e.g., the Piparḍula copper plates of Narēndra, which are the earliest record of the Śarabhapurīya dynasty, mention the grant of the village Śarkarā-pādraka, situated in the Nandapura-bhōga. Dr. Sircar has identified Śarkarā-pādraka with Śākarā and Nandapura with Nandgaon or Nandour, both lying in the former Sāraṅgarh state (*IHQ*, Vol. XIX; pp. 144-145). As these villages have been located far away from Śrīpura towards the East our view gets further support that in the beginning, the Śarabhapurīyas started their career in the Eastern country of Kōsala, i.e., Pūrvarāṣṭra.

in the West. The Kurud plates of Narēndra⁸⁷ also show that Mahārāja Narēndra extended the Śarabhapurīya power upto the bank of the river Mahānadi in the West. The area around Āraṅg, including Sirpur which is hardly 3 miles from Kurud on the opposite bank of the river Mahānadi was conquered subsequently by Jayarāja. Thus taking all these facts into account it will not be improbable to find Śarabhapura, the early capital of the Śarabhapurīyas, in the Eastern part of Kōsala rather than in the neighbourhood of Śrīpura (or Sirpur).

Dr. Sten Konow's⁸⁸ suggestion that Śarabhapura might be identical with the present Sarabhavaram which is twenty miles North-West from Rājahmundry in Āndhra cannot be accepted as not a single record of the Śarabhapurīyas has been found in that region. Another name which Shri L. P. Pandeya⁸⁹ suggests and Dr. V. V. Mirashi⁹⁰ considers plausible is Sarabhagarh (or Sarappur), the chief town in the former Gangpur state in Orissa.

Sarabhagarh (or 'Sarappur') seems to be a probable claimant for Śarabhapura as it partly tallies with it and is situated in the Eastern country (of Kōsala). However, before we accept this identification finally, we should search for more conclusive evidence.

87. *Ibid.*

88. *El*, XIII, p. 108.

89. *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 19, also *IHQ*, IX, p. 595.

90. *El*, XXII, p. 17. Also *Ibid*, XXVI, p. 229, fn. 2.

* The author gratefully acknowledges the valuable help which Dr. V. V. Mirashi has rendered to him by checking the Mallār plates of Vyāghrarāja. (For Plates, see *El*, XXXIV, p. 48 F.)

India's Resistance to Mediaeval Invaders

BY

A. K. MAJUMDAR, *Bombay*

In the August (1965) issue of the *Journal of Indian History*, Dr. A. L. Srivastava has written an interesting article on India's resistance to Muslim invasion and the causes of its failure.¹ Dr. Srivastava's survey is confined to the Muslim invasion from the North-West, but he has arrived at certain conclusions which seek to explain the "causes of eventual Hindu defeat". This naturally enlarges the scope of investigation, as the causes of the "Hindu defeat" cannot be explained by a survey of the history of the North-West only.

While explaining the causes of Hindu defeat, Dr. Srivastava has convincingly proved the untenability of certain theses advanced by Prof. Habib and Dr. Nizami. He has, however, put forward certain theories of his own to explain the defeat, and it is necessary to analyse Dr. Srivastava's theories to see how far they are logical or fit in with the known facts. Before proceeding to do so we shall take up certain statements made by Dr. Srivastava and examine as to how far they agree with known facts.

Dr. Srivastava writes: "It is a pity that Indian rulers of the time did not combine together to make a concerted attempt to drive out the Ghaznavides from the Punjab".² This is not quite accurate, for a concerted Hindu attempt was made to capture Lahore in A.D. 1043; this incident has been narrated by several Muslim historians, and seems to be corroborated by several inscriptions.³

1. Dr. A. L. Srivastava: A Survey of India's Resistance to Mediaeval Invaders from the North-West: Causes of Eventual Hindu Defeat *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLIII, part II, August 1965, serial No. 128, pp. 349-68.

2. *Ibid.*, page 357.

3. A. K. Majumdar: Hindu Invasion of Western Punjab in A.D. 1043. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 4, December 1957, pp. 305-13.

R. S. Avasthy and A. Ghosh: References to Muhammedans in Sanskrit Inscriptions in Northern India, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XV, pp. 161-84.

Next Dr. Srivastava considers the period of Turkish conquest by Muiz-ud-din from A.D. 1173 to 1206 and remarks: "Thereafter organised resistance came almost to an end, and during the space of twelve years the invader over-ran the whole of the Gangetic valley and occupied the country as far as Lakhnauti near Gaur in Bengal".⁴

This statement is probably valid, but since Dr. Srivastava seeks to find out the causes of the defeat of the Hindus in general, he should have pointed out that, in 1178 Muiz-ud-din suffered a disastrous defeat in his attempt to invade Gujarat which compelled him to change his plans altogether.⁵ Further, Rajasthan defied the Turkish invaders, and the Kings of Orissa fought on equal terms with the Turkish Sultans of Bengal. For example, the Kendu-patana (Cuttack) inscription says about Narasimha I (A.D. 1238-64):

Rāḍh-āvanīndra-yavanī-nayanāñjan-āsru-pureṇa
dūra-viniveśitakālīma-śrīḥ
tad = vipralambha-karanādbhuta-nistarāṅgā
*Gaṅgāpi nūnam amunā Yamun-ābhūt.*⁶

As Dr. Habibullah has pointed out: "But they (the Turks) succeeded in establishing a durable hold on a narrow belt along the Ganges and the Jamuna while the Indus and its branches outlined their dominion in the North-West. The hold on Rajputana was never strong and towards the end of the century they were practically thrown out of the country. The Turkish dominion thus embraced a very small part of North India, but it contained the most fertile regions, which explains the foreigners' continued ability to resist the determined hostility of the Hindu States and also of the all-conquering Mongols."⁷

This appears to us to be the correct view, and Dr. Srivastava's statements quoted above, while possibly not inaccurate, seek to present a more dismal picture of the weakness of the Hindus than is warranted by the available evidence.

4. Dr. A. L. Srivastava. *op. cit.*, page 358.

5. A. B. M. Habibullah: *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Second Revised Edition (1961), p. 57.

6. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XLV, p. 250

7. Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah, *op.cit.*, p. 341.

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We now have to discuss the causes of eventual Hindu defeat put forward by Dr. Srivastava.

Dr. Srivastava has rightly rejected the theory that caste system was responsible for the defeats suffered by the Hindus. He then adds: "A more probable cause seems to be the wide-spread demoralisation and panic caused by the defeat of great Hindu kings and an erroneous belief in the invincibility of the Turkish hordes...."⁸ As has been pointed out above, not all the Hindu Kings were defeated by the Turks, and small principalities like Mithila for example, held out against the Turks for a very long time. It cannot therefore be said that the Hindus were demoralized.

However, in order to support his theory of general demoralization of the Hindus, Dr. Srivastava has quoted six verses from the *Mahābhārata* (Śāntiparva, LXVII, 6-11). We were indeed surprised that these little known verses should be torn out of their context and presented as the quintessence of the great epic to prove the novel theory of its demoralizing effect. As a matter of fact Dr. Srivastava has held the preaching of the *Mahābhārata* to be partially responsible for weakening the resistance of the Hindus. He has quoted Al-Biruni to prove the popularity of the *Mahābhārata* in the 11th century, and has recalled in this connection that during his young days the *Mahābhārata* used to be recited and explained by Pandits during the rainy season. But this does not prove that the obscure verses quoted by him were at all known to any but the most erudite. In any case the verses in question do not counsel surrender to the enemy so long there is any organized government that can face them. However, when there is no King, there is anarchy, and as the entire tenor of the *Mahābhārata*, as indeed of all Sanskrit texts, is towards monarchy, what Bhīṣma says here has to be studied in that context. That is if there is no King, the people themselves should not attempt to carry on the government, which under the circumstances must lead to anarchy.⁹ Unfortunately, Dr. Srivastava has consulted an uncritical edition of

8. Dr. A. L. Srivastava, *op.cit.*, p. 360.

9. *arājakeṣu rāṣṭreṣu dharmo na vyavatiṣṭhate*
parasparam ca khāndanti sarvatha dhig = arājakam
nārājakeṣu rāṣṭreṣu vastavyam iti vaidikam
nārājakeṣu rāṣṭreṣu havyam-agnirvāhaty = api
Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, ch. 67, vv. 3 and 5 B.O.R.I. ed.

the *Mahābhārata* where the second line of verse six reads *arāja-kāṇi rāṣṭrāṇi hataviryaṇi vā punaḥ*; however, in the critical edition, this line reads: *arājakāṇi rāṣṭrāṇi hatarājāṇi vā punaḥ*. From this it is quite clear that what follows is only applicable to a Kingless state. This does not mean that the King should submit to any invader. The duty of a warrior has been explained by Bhīṣma in a previous chapter of the same *parva*, and is as follows:¹⁰

Kṣatriyasy = āpi yo dharmas = tam te vakṣyāmi Bhārata
nity = ōdyuktō dasyu-vadhe raṇe kuryāt parākramam

.....

avikṣatena dehena samarād — yo nivartate

Kṣatriyō n = āsya tat karma praśaṁsanti purāvidah
vadham hi kṣatra-bandhūnām dharmam ākuḥ pradhānataḥ

This indeed is the dominating theme of the *Mahābhārata* which is too well-known to be stated here. Therefore, we do not think that the epic was in any way responsible for the lowering of the morale of Hindus; on the contrary it sustained the morale of the fighting class.

Next Dr. Srivastava has blamed certain Sanskrit texts and temple sculptures for demoralizing the people.

In this connection Dr. Srivastava has mentioned five Sanskrit works, which according to him "show the depth to which the Hindus of the tenth and eleventh centuries had fallen".¹¹ These works are Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, Kṣēmendra's *Kalāvilāsa*, *Samayamāṭṛka*, *Deśopadeśa* and *Narmamālā*, and Soma-deva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

Now, Dāmodaragupta was the minister of King Jayāpiḍa whose period is usually taken to be c. A.D. 770 to 800. Therefore, the *Kuṭṭanīmatam* cannot be cited as an evidence for "the depth to which the Hindus of the tenth and eleventh centuries had fallen". Secondly, the *Kuṭṭanīmatam* describes the life of a prostitute in order to show the prostitutes in their true colour, and at the end of his work Dāmodaragupta writes:

Kāvyaṃ idam yāh śṛṇute samyak kāvyārtha-paṭhanen-asau
na vañcate kadācid = vīta-vēśyā-dhūrta-kuṭṭanibhir = iti

10. *Mahābhārata*, *ibid.*, ch. 60, vv. 13-17.

11. Dr. A. L. Srivastava, *op.cit.*, pp. 362-63.

Indeed this cleverly-written work produces a revulsion towards the prostitutes, and shows that efforts were being made by men of the highest authority to dissuade people from visiting them.

Kṣēmendra was a writer of the eleventh century and we have now to examine the effect of his works.¹²

The *Kalāvīlāsa* is considered to be Kṣēmendra's best work. It is a satire on various types of people, including courtesans, lovers, goldsmiths, etc. It is, however, a didactic poem and only shows the worst side of the society which the poet wanted to improve. To condemn the society on the basis of this work would be like condemning the English society on the basis of certain novels, like Dickens' *Olivér Twist*, though the period during which Dickens wrote was probably the greatest in England's history.

In the *Samayamātrikā* Kṣēmendra depicts the snares of the courtesans and like the *Kalāvīlāsa* it is didactic in character. It shows that prostitution was still going on (as indeed it does even now in most parts of the world including India) but the poet was trying to expose the wiles of courtesans.

In the *Deśopadeśa*, Kṣēmendra ridicules several customs and types. For example he writes on misers: "Without rhyme or reason, he falls out with his wife and contrives thereby to get rid of his relatives or guests". In another canto (*Upadeśa*) Kṣēmendra makes fun of the Gauda students in Kashmir. These are humorous character sketches, and though they are related to life need hardly cause any disquietude as affecting the efficiency of the fighting forces.

The *Narmamālā* is similar to the *Deśopadeśa*, but it confines its object of ridicule to one class, or caste, namely the Kāyasthas. This is not surprising as the Kāyasthas have been abused and ridiculed since the time of Yājñavalkya. However, in this work Kṣēmendra has in passing also criticised physicians, astrologers and the preceptor (*guru*).

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* is a voluminous work written with a view to divert a princess. Various types of stories are to be

12. For summaries of Kṣēmendra's works see Dr. Suryakanta, *Kṣēmendra Studies*, pp. 20-23..

found including some in which rogues are given prominence. These were meant to be amusing and do not indicate that the country was full of rogues. For example, there are several stories relating to adventures on the sea. From this one should not conclude that Kashmirians had become sea-farers, since Somadeva was a Kashmir poet as was the princess for whom he wrote. Incidentally all the three authors mentioned by Dr. Srivastava were Kashmirians, though Kashmir was one of the Indian provinces which was never conquered by the Turks; Muslims gained hegemony in Kashmir by the most peculiar twist of fortune.

These examples have been put forward by other scholars also to explain the cause of the downfall of the Hindus. Sex indulgence certainly saps the vitality of a nation and the erotic sculptures may have had evil influence on the people in general. However, of the three temples mentioned by Dr. Srivastava, two, namely Konarak and Jagannath Temple at Puri, are in Orissa, and it is important to remember that in spite of this debilitating influences, Orissa maintained her independence against Turko-Afghan onslaughts practically till about 1580.

Next Dr. Srivastava asserts that the Hindus of Afghanistan were denied help from the rest of India, because the former were descendants of a mixed race; this is an assumption, which may or may not be correct; but not so his next assumption that after the fall of the Mauryas "there was no such thing as the defence of the frontiers of India by the united might and resources of the Indian people...."¹³ It seems that Dr. Srivastava is overlooking the Gupta empire and the part played by Skandagupta in repulsing the Hūnas.

The fourth reason, according to Dr. Srivastava, for the downfall of the Hindus, was the Brahmanical revival, and the usurpation of thrones by the Brahmin ministers. In this connection, Dr. Srivastava has based his inference on two well-known examples from the histories of Sind and Kabul. Now, this type of inferences, which are often relied upon by historians, must show an invariable non-committance and an invariable concommittance. The proposition is: the Brahmin usurped the throne from a

13. Dr. Srivastava, *op.cit.*, p. 364.

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Kṣatriya; therefore the foreigners could conquer the country. It must follow therefore: First, that had the country retained its Kṣatriya rulers it would not have been conquered by the Muslims, *because Kṣatriyas have never been defeated by the Muslims*. As the italicised premise is nontenable the invariable non-committance, is not established. Secondly, it is necessary to prove that the Brahmins were always defeated. Now, this is not correct, the most celebrated example of Brahmin military leadership being the Peshwas. They also usurped power at a critical time, yet were able to establish a vast empire. The progenitors of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras, and probably of the Guhilas also were Brahmins.¹⁴ Therefore, it cannot be said that Brahmin usurpation was the cause of defeat. It should be remembered that Kallar or Lalliya Shāhī was defeated by the founder of the Saffavid dynasty, a very remarkable soldier. Still Lalliya succeeded in retaining his hold on a considerable part of his kingdom. It may therefore be quite possible that the praise bestowed on him by Kalhana may not be without some foundation as Dr. Srivastava seems to imply.

"Finally," Dr. Srivastava writes, "the mistakes of policy and strategy and those of detail in the course of fighting cannot be lightly brushed aside...."¹⁵ Indeed we think that this was the determining cause of the reverses suffered by the Hindus. For example, the Mongols on account of their superior battle tactics and strategy wiped out all the Muslim kingdoms of Central Asia and ultimately captured Bagdad bringing about the downfall of the Caliphate. The Muslims did not suffer from any of the defects listed above, yet their defeat was complete. Such examples can be multiplied.

There is no doubt that social conditions to a large extent determine the fortunes of a nation. But in the case of the Hindus it is very difficult to make any generalization. For example, if we attribute to social conditions the defeat of the Hindus of the North-West and West by Sultan Mahmud, we are faced with the problem as to what forces enabled the Cōḷas to found an overseas empire during the same period. For, in the present state of our knowledge which is mainly derived from Smṛti texts, the social

14. *Ibid.*, p. 355. For the Brahmin origin of the Guhilas and a discussion on the Brahma-Kṣatriyas see D. C. Sircar: *The Guhilas of Kīṣkindha*, pp. 6-11.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 365.

conditions in the North and South were the same. We again come to the revival of Hindu power in the South under the Vijayanagara empire, where the same social forces operated, apparently without any detriment to the political power.

Again, if social decay had been the prime cause of Hindu defeat, one would have expected the society to disintegrate. However, the Gangetic Valley which was so easily captured by the Turks, remained the stronghold of Hindu religion and society. For example, the two great Smṛti writers of Bengal, namely Śūlapāṇi and Raghunandana flourished under the Sultanate. Evidently, without the support of the Government, they expected the law as expounded by them to be generally obeyed, as indeed it most probably was.

Actually, the survival of the Hindu society with all its crudities and imperfections calls for explanation.

NOT TO BE ISSUED

The Press in Madras Under the East India Company

BY

C. J. NIRMAL, M.A., M.LITT., A.M. (PENN.), *Madras*

Newspapers as historical source-material have increasingly been made use of in the writing of 19th and 20th century history. However, contemporary historians have witnessed in the growth of newspapers the beginnings of a social and political force which was to mirror, articulate, and direct public opinion; first, in the context of an immediate and local society; and later in that of the country and through it, the world. The birth of a few newspapers was accidental though some others were born of a purpose and were sustained by it. The record of the Madras press demonstrates that, whatever be their origin, newspapers captured the spirit of the age, which is essential in our understanding of the role of Madras in the making of modern India.

18th century newspapers were mainly scissor-and-paste productions and only the advertisement column had a touch of originality which reflected the needs and demands of that society and later was an index of a growing economy. Advertisements made it possible for newspapers to survive and exist, and thus enabled them to contribute generously towards the betterment of society. Towards the second half of the 19th century in Madras the press mirrored the first stirrings of public opinion in a society dominated by an alien government and increasingly influenced by western education. The press in Madras had only scratched the surface. Its circulation figures were not proportionate to the population, though readership extended to people besides the buyer. It was an age in which newspaper men had not merely to educate themselves, but educate a whole people. Such a newspaper press could hardly have been indifferent to the winds of change blowing across India in the second half of the 19th century. The impact of the Indian renaissance, the rise of the vernacular press, the consequent passing of Press Laws which were mainly directed against subversive elements within, and the establishment of the Indian National

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Congress, one hundred years after the appearance of the first Madras newspaper revealed the manifestation of the new forces at work. The role of newspapers and editors in expressing and leading opinion, British and Indian, in English as well as vernacular medium, dramatically portrayed the conflict between the zealot and the Herodian, and the Conservative and the Liberal and ultimately, towards the end of the 19th century, prepared the basis for a struggle between the Government and the people. Much more than political and social reforms, statistics of economic progress or demonstrations of national consciousness, the state of Madras newspapers revealed which rung of the ladder of modern progress had been reached.

Madras was the first among Indian towns in the British era to have a press in 1711. Calcutta followed with a printing press established in 1779. The community of English residents in India at that time was comparatively small in number and news quickly spread by word of mouth. With the growth of the English community and its settlement in the Presidency towns newspapers made their appearance.

Early English journalism was restricted to the Presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Of these Calcutta, being the seat of the Government took the lead. Madras came a close second. The Governorship of Lord Macartney (1781-85) witnessed the stabilization of the English settlement at Madras. The beginning of the century saw the English as mere traders struggling for a beach-head; whereas in the closing decades they established sovereignty over vast territories. The Presidency town of Madras was hastening rapidly in the direction of a new civilization and culture, and a new sense of responsibility.

In the twilight of Warren Hastings' career, the first newspaper of modern India made its appearance.¹ Madras responded with its first paper in 1785 during the Governorship of Alexander Davidson (1785-86), who was succeeded by Sir Archibald Campbell (1786-1790). Inaugurating a period of comparative quiet for the city and the Presidency, his Governorship was noteworthy for the development of peaceful institutions like the Committee of Police,

1. *The Calcutta General Advertiser*, Jan. 29, 1780.

the Astronomical Observatory, a Medical Department under a Physician-General, the Madras Post Office, a Circulating Library, Dr. Anderson's "Nopalry" which was to grow into the Botanical Gardens, and Dr. Andrew Bell's Charity School. In such a progressive setting in Madras, the newspaper made its bow to the public.

The history of the newspaper in Madras is co-extensive with that of the Madras Presidency. Though created for the inhabitants of the English settlement it gradually came to recognize more than one "public". Ever mindful of the growing circle of readers and the changes in the attitude of the Government, it was able to "inform" and later influence people's thinking on a variety of subjects.

Newspapers in Madras were humble in their beginnings. They were more or less by-products of the first printing presses set up in the city. The first printing press that was established in Madras, referred to earlier, belonged to the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, in 1711 and it issued a Tamil edition of the New Testament. St. Mary's Charity School, which was started in 1715, had a press established at the School. From this emanated the *Madras Male Asylum Almanac*. These publications were not newspapers in their proper sense, yet they served certain "public" interests.

As the European colony of the Madras Presidency became significantly numerous, newspapers made their appearance. Within five years of the publication of Hickey's *Bengal Gazette*, on Oct. 12, 1785, *The Madras Courier* was founded by Mr. Richard Johnston, the Government's printer.² In September 1783, Richard Johnston, Captain of the 13th Foot, was permitted to come out to join his brother-in-law, Sir John Burgoyne, commanding the 23rd Light Dragoons, then at Madras. Finding Burgoyne involved in furious disputes with civil authorities, he sold out and sought a living in other ways. He was founder, manager, and editor rolled into one. Each copy of the *Madras Courier* was priced at one rupee. The paper was issued weekly on Wednesday until 3rd August, 1791, when the day of publication became Thursday.³ It

2. Margarita Barns, *The Indian Press*, p. 57.

3. H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. III, p. 440.

monopolised the publication of all Government advertisements and it was officially recognized as the medium for those Government notifications which were formerly posted at the Sea Gate of the fort. These Government advertisements and notifications in the *Madras Courier* had to be accepted as if they were specifically applicable to any servant of the Company.⁴ Military news bulked largely in its pages but infiltration of general news was not unusual. In March 1786, at Johnston's insistence, freight facilities for his printing plant from England were given to him by the Company. The reorganization of the postal system led to a further concession that was to permit the circulation of the *Madras Courier*, free of postage within the Presidency. The Governor-General at Calcutta accepted the favourably recommended request of the Madras Government, to grant free postage.⁵ The *Madras Courier*, had become established enough to make the Bombay Government request the Madras Government that they might be supplied regularly with copies of the *Madras Courier*, as well as a complete set, from its first publication. A request for free postage to Bombay was denied.

The *Madras Courier* consisted of four pages, which on occasions were increased to six. It was headed with the Royal arms and the motto *Quinquid agunt homines*;⁶ in the course of its history, it alternated three other mottos *Ich Dien*,⁷ *Nolumus Leges Anglise Mutari*,⁸ and *Auspicio Regis Et Senatus Anglia*.⁹ A special edition of the newspaper was entitled the *Madras Courier Extraordinary*. One such special edition carried special news of interest to the English community resident at Madras. "As the arrival of an *Indiaman* from *Great Britain* is at all times an event of peculiar importance to every British inhabitant of India, we lose not a moment in the present instance, in laying the desired information before our readers." This welcome announcement was made in

4. Fort St. George—Civil Dept., Nov. 11, 1785.

5. Public Consultations, 29th May, 1786.

6. In the way man behaves.

7. I serve.

8. We shall not alter the laws of England.

9. Under the auspices of the King and Parliament of England.

thick print, in the Extra-ordinary Edition of the *Madras Courier*.¹⁰ The anticipation of the expectations of the Madras public was one of the paper's most successful feature. The promise of "more ample detail of intelligence" ensured a heavy demand for the paper. The other Madras papers did not fail to emulate The *Madras Couriër*, to their own advantage and interest. Every time a ship arrived, an Extra-ordinary Edition was printed. Normally the paper was filled with extracts from English papers in the first two pages; the third contained letters to the Editor mostly on poetry, and the fourth page consisted of advertisements, which sometimes were placed on the first page. The pages of the *Courier* varied from 20" to 16" in length and were 12" in breadth. Each issue was marked "Post free-Price Re. 1." The Editor of the paper in 1789 was Hugh Boyd, who held the official position of Master Attendant.¹¹ In that year he became involved in a difference with Sir Paul Jodrell, Physician to the Nawab. He complained that libellous statements regarding him and his family had been published in the *Courier*, and he asked that the Editor's "base career" be checked. Mr. Hugh Boyd replied that no specific instance of libel was cited and hence there was no argument in support of it. In 1791, Hugh Boyd resigned the Editorship of the journal. In an Editorial note of the *Madras Courier*, 13th July, 1791, Hugh Boyd announced to the public his resignation: "The Editor who for some years has had the honour of conducting the *Madras Courier*, finding its weekly return of attention which it requires extremely inconvenient and hardly compatible with other employments which claim his first care, has been obliged since the last *Courier*, to decline the conduct of the Paper.... Of his old weekly friend the *Courier* he takes leave with less regret as he is confident, from the care of the other Proprietors and the abilities of the gentleman who has so well assisted in the Editorship for fifteen

10. Dated, December 16th, 1795.

11. *Vestiges of Old Madras*, by H. D. Love, Vol. III, p. 440. He had lived in London, on the set of which Burke was the centre. He had come out to Madras in 1781 as one of Lord Macartney's Private Secretaries. Henry Dodwell, the author of the "*Nabobs of Madras*" compares him to one of Lamb's great men, who lay all the rest of mankind under contribution. His seduction of manner was hard to resist. Not only was he Master Attendant, but he was Deputy Pay-Master to the King's troops in India, p. 193-94.

months past, it will be conducted entirely to the satisfaction of the Public."¹²

The Editorship of the *Courier* passed on to Mr. James Stuart Hall, on Boyd's resignation in 1791. Mr. J. S. Hall was by profession an attorney of the Mayor's Court. Very soon after, he clashed with the Government over an allegorical story entitled a "Chinese Anecdote", which offended the Collector of South Arcot, as he saw in it a distorted account of incidents in his own official life. Mr. James Stuart Hall tendered an apology and the tension between the press and the Government on this issue eased. The Government terminated the exclusive advertising monopoly that it enjoyed and began to share its advertisements with other papers. Its make-up continued to be the same, except that round about 1793, a new column entitled 'Births, Marriages, and Death', made its appearance. At the end of the first decade, The *Madras Courier* had a new and enterprising printer in Mr. William Urquhart, who set up his office in Stringer Street, Black Town. He was later associated with the starting of other Madras journals.¹³ The *Courier* was fortunate to acquire the services of C. H. Clay Esquire, as the Editor. W. T. Munro, the author of *Madrasiana*¹⁴ in 1868, recalls him as a young man of handsome person and of easy manners, who was clerk to the Chief Justice and Court Sealer. His legal environment and associations were useful to him; he had the entree of good society, and was backed by military officers. Such an Editor was indeed an asset to the *Madras Courier*, a man whose credentials were acceptable to the Government and the public alike. "Under the Byronic C. H. Clay, the *Courier* was to become a very lively sheet indeed."¹⁵ On June 21st, 1797, the

12. Boyd was "so very insolvent that his estate will not produce nearly sufficient to satisfy those who have obtained decrees and executions against it." Public Consultation, Vol. CC 28th April 1795. Two years later Boyd established a paper called the *Hircarrah*, "having received very general encouragement from the public expressing their desire that I should publish a new paper." It was a short-lived journal and died with him in Oct., 1794.

13. *Commercial Circulator* and the *Madras Monthly Journal*.

14. *Madrasiana*, by W. T. Munro, p. 237. C. H. Clay was preceded by James Williams Chater, who had come out in 1782, as Lieutenant on H. M. S. *Magnanine*, and who filled his leisure with selling madeira and arrack-Dodwell, p. 194.

15. Hilton Brown, *Parry's of Madras*, p. 3.

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Madras Courier Office was shifted to Popham's Broadway. From 1797 to 1809, the *Madras Courier* engaged three different printers. Amongst the services rendered by the *Courier*, was the attempt to publish a *Maharatta* dictionary.¹⁶ Its acceptance of a Tamil advertisement of the Ceylon Government, regarding pearl fishery, shows how by 1813,¹⁷ the *Courier* was casting its net far and wide to attract local Tamil readers.

The *Madras Courier*, for nearly thirty years or more served the public with varying fortunes, changes of Editorship and Governmental policy; one need not under-estimate its competition and Editorial controversies with the *Madras Gazette*, one of its contemporaries, which shared in the trials and tribulations of pioneers: yet Dodwell says it was no better than the *Swillingford Patriot*.¹⁸

On January 1st, 1795, Madras witnessed the appearance of a new weekly paper called the *Madras Gazette*, published under the management of Mr. R. William. It was edited by Mr. Emmanuel Samuel, who had a varied career as Company's Surgeon, Attorney of the Mayor's Court and part proprietor of the *Courier*.¹⁹ Robert Williams had succeeded Popham as the Company's Solicitor. The proprietors of the *Courier*, protested to the Government against the establishment of another printing press, since it was likely to affect the interests of the first company. Brushing aside the protest of the *Madras Courier*, the Government extended its patronage also to the new publishing house. Official printing work was divided between these two newspaper presses. Meanwhile an episode occurred at Madras, that set the Government thinking in terms of modifying the policy towards the press in Madras. On April 2nd, 1795, the first number of a paper called the *India Herald* was published at Madras without the authority of the Government, by a Mr. Humphreys who did not hold the Company's licence. As prior permission was denied to him to start a newspaper,²⁰ he pirated this publication which contained "several gross libels on

16. Public Consultations, 30th May, 1800.

17. The *Ceylon Advertisement*, dated, Dec., 7th 1813.

18. The *Nabobs of Madras*, by Dodwell, p. 195.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Public Consultations, 19th Sept., 1794.

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the Government and on the Prince of Wales". The Editor of the *India Herald* was arrested and deported, but on the way he escaped from the ship. Censorship was the natural consequence, and all the Madras newspapers had to toe the line. On December 12th, 1795, the Editor of the *Madras Gazette* was prohibited from publishing copies of the general orders of the Government until they had been submitted for the inspection of the Military Secretary. Four years later on June 29th, 1799 all newspapers were directed that they should be submitted to inspection by the Secretary of the Government before publication. The *Madras Gazette*, like the rest of the newspaper press at Madras, took this new directive in its stride.

In 1796 the *Madras Gazette* broke new ground in causing a font of Malabar types to be cast, to be used consequently in the insertion of advertisements in the "Malabar Language". The language under reference was Tamil and not Malayalam. The *Madras Gazette* sought in this measure to bring within range, news to a wider "public". It was printed at the Exchange, North Street, Fort St. George. It consisted of four pages which on occasions increased to five or six. It was headed with the Royal arms which had the imprint under it—"Published by Authority".²¹ It was 13½" in length and about 11" in breadth. The make-up of the paper in regard to advertisements, extracts from European newspapers or sources, and military intelligence, made it similar to other contemporary newspapers. It was edited by Dr. Davis, whom W. T. Munro, describes as "a short stout man, a little lame, which defect possibly threw a degree of acerbity (Sic) in his countenance, not discernible in his writings. He was an able man".²²

In 1799, the privilege of immunity from postage was withdrawn and it affected all newspapers. The *Madras Gazette* was no exception, and was hard-hit by the withdrawal of this privilege. Dr. Davis, the Editor of the *Madras Gazette* took the initiative in presenting the need to establish a definite rate for the postal conveyance of newspapers. As there was no limitation as to the charge levied as postage on the newspapers published at this Presidency,

21. This meant that the Governor or his Secretary commonly approved the contents of the paper before printing it.

22. W. T. Munro, *Madrasiana*, p. 236.

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the subscribers were often obliged to pay double, treble, and even quadruple for these papers.²³ Consequently many a reader declared his intention of withdrawing his subscription. Dr. Davis, after analysing this five-year old problem, requested that newspapers might be conveyed by the *tappal*²⁴ on payment of the postage of a single letter only. The Governor-in-Council in a Minute thereon stated that in future papers published in the Presidency, would be *subjected* only to the rate of a single letter.²⁵ The fortunes of the *Madras Gazette* were stable enough to serve the Anglo-Indian community in the Presidency, and its role in upholding the cause and freedom of the press in Madras, against Government authority and pressure, left behind an example that was not fruitless. The Editorial controversies and the frequent quarrels between the "*Trifler*" of the *Gazette* and the "*Anti-trifler*" of the *Courier*, were in a sense an attempt to capture the "public". In those days, Madras society was not literary, and to write Editorials was a condescension. Such was the opinion of a writer of the 60's in the last century.²⁶

Compared with the *Madras Courier* and the *Madras Gazette* the *Government Gazette* enjoyed a certain precedence. The precedence claimed by it was not without justification. It was made the sole medium for the official Gazette and all Government notifications. It was printed at the Male Asylum Press, from which emanated *The Madras Male Asylum Almanac*, a useful publication which endured for many years. The well-paid Editor of the *Government Gazette* was Mr. J. Goldingnam, Esquire, the Company's Astronomer. The Banqueting Hall was built by him. The versatile Editor had to exercise great discretion in his printing of extracts from European papers, and for the rest seemed to be guided by these rules. First, to write as little editorial matter as possible; secondly, to make that little convey as little meaning as possible; thirdly, to remember that the use of language is to conceal a meaning. The playing down of the Editorial suggests that the Editor

23. Postal levy was charged at the delivery end, Public Consultations, 11th Jan., 1799.

24. By post.

25. Public Consultations, 28th Jan., 1804. The word "subjected" means applicable to.

26. W. T. Munro, *Madrasiana*, published at Madras in 1868.

was a place man or a safe man, from the official standpoint. The absence of an Editorial did not handicap the circulation of the paper. Its circulation was assured as the "Services" subscribed to it. It was the official organ; patronage was not only etiquette but also charity.²⁷ A newspaper basking in the sunshine of official patronage could never lack subscribers. Thus the *Government Gazette*, though lacking in original thinking that gives character and virility to a paper was able to continue the even tenor of its way. The three hebdomadals, The *Government Gazette*, The *Madras Courier* and The *Madras Gazette* held sway over Madras, ever since the last decade of the eighteenth century. These pioneers reached the climax in the first quarter of the last century. During this period they catered to all sorts of people, under all different conditions. "For a Madras newspaper to please it must be wise in moral essay (Johnsonian in type) or witty in flippant correspondence or the respective editors must be witty or wise".²⁸ The two *Gazettes* elected to be wise; the *Courier* thought it would pay best to be witty. The responsibilities of running a paper week by week, primarily as an information sheet, enlightening the public, were made all the more difficult with the scarcity of news.

Little news of the regional English settlement reached the dignity of print. Piracy of news from non-local sources mainly took the shape of extracts from European papers, which arrived six months after the date of the event. The insertion of such "late" news into the newspaper was because of its exclusive interest to the European community resident at Madras. Its inclusion was not a matter of writing for the historical record. From October to the end of December, there were no arrivals of ships, and this cut off the Editor from an important source of news. The Editor rationed out the stock that he had at the end of September, for the remaining months. Failure, for a Madras Editor, was not uncommon, but it was no reflection on his ability alone, as one would have to take into account the pull of various other professions, the attitude of the Government and the circumstances of the times. Though the profit motive was present, no fortunes were made, and the profession of a newspaper-man was risky enough to drive him

27. W. T. Munro, *Madrasiana*, p. 236.

28. W. T. Munro, *Madrasiana*, p. 235, (1868 Edition).

into bankruptcy. Yet the challenge of the profession did not go unheeded.

Mr. William Urquhart, the late printer of the *Madras Courier* in 1795, submitted to the Government, the prospectus of a new monthly journal, to be called *The Madras Monthly Journal or India Recorder*,²⁹ that he was going to start upon a new and cheap plan. It was handsomely printed on small octavo with new types of fine English paper. Most printing paper was imported from England. It contained in a small compass the whole of the domestic news of Madras, Bengal, Bombay, and Ceylon. It comprised principally of naval intelligence, civil appointments, military promotions, Government notifications, general orders, sale and purchase of Government papers, current prices of exports and imports at Madras, arrivals and departures of ships, marriages, births, deaths. Here was journalism on a sweeping scale, based on authentic public documents and papers. Occasionally it was spiced with essays, poetry and biographical sketches of the most distinguished public characters who had been conspicuous in India, and the usual summary of European intelligence. It was not limited to any particular number of pages, but contained the whole occurrences of the month, however voluminous, divided into weekly numbers. One of the letters addressed to the Editor dated July 14, 1805, gives us an insight into the contemporary Madras press in 1805:

Sir,

After the tedium of an East India voyage or as a gentleman of my acquaintance humorously terms it, after being drawled through a parcel of salt water, from the land's end of Old England to the surf of Madras; or, name it how you will, I repeat Sir, that on my arrival at this place, it became amongst my earliest enquiries to question as to the stock of literary fare. Your very debonair settlement was supplied withal. My debash (for I was soon furnished with a servant of this description) readily informed me.....but you shall have it in his own very elegant lingo.....O Sir, Madras too much fine place, everything too good.....very fine indeed very well, Samy, but are there any periodical publications?... ..I dont know Sir,.....Master, 'spose means long cloths, ---- all to the Southward, Sir, ---- very 'yscarce, here.....pho, pho, Samy, I mean printed thing.....

29. Public Consultations, 16th May, 1805.

newspaper thing.....book thing, eh? ... (I now resolved to adopt Samy's phraseology, by which I was likely to become more intelligible). Thing, Thing,'...replied Samy O, Now I understand Master....O here is very fine thing....too much thing..' very fine thing, indeed....Master means Newspapers....Here is one-two-three—all very fine indeed. Master want—I bring now directly. In a few minutes my communicating squire returned with the whole of the weekly papers; but I must confess, Sir, that altho', (without particularizing any individual one) the whole appeared to me to be conducted with a decorum and propriety which I conceived, did much honour to the judgment and erudition of their respective Editors, yet such was my insatiable thirst for novelty that I still continue malcontent. Samy, as if by inspiration, anticipated my wishes, and with a reiteration of his favourite exclamations of 'fine and very fine indeed' presented me with a copy of your publication for June.

The public taste, Mr. Editor, though frequently capricious, is seldom wrong and I think you will coincide with me in concluding that in a country, where there is so great a dearth of public amusements, a periodical publication, occasionally enlivened with sprightly (at the same time decorous) Essays, could not fail of competently remunerating you for the discharge of a talk, which (it is not easy to say why so many have unaccountably shrunk from). Fort St. George, July 14, 1805.

In an address to the public, printed at the end of volume 1, dated December 30, 1805, the Editor expressed his thanks for the liberal support he had received.

In the further prosecution of the paper he hoped, by better arrangement of the different subjects, and by some judicious alteration in the plan, to render the journal still more deserving of the public favour. The Editor displayed a farsighted vision, when he earnestly solicited the favour of his correspondents in one branch which, he was convinced, was of great utility and importance—this was *Oriental Biography* and sketches of the lives and character of those great and respectable men who were connected with Indian affairs. The policy of the *Madras Monthly Journal* was inimical to political discussions however highly wrought or immoral invocations, however poetically decorated. The *Madras Monthly Journal* continued the even tenor of its life, without having any truck with sensational news. It brought to the attention of those engaged in public business or interested in commercial speculations any

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fluctuation of exchange, bazaar currencies, and other mercantile transactions. True to its title it was a record of passing events and the first to perform an economic service to the Madras public.

On 1st June 1833, a new English newspaper made its appearance. It was a bi-weekly, published on the morning of each successive Wednesday and Saturday entitled the *Madras Times*. Mr. Joseph Hiscox Williamson was its proprietor. The newspaper was printed on China demy with clear and neat type, each number containing four pages of closely printed letter-press; one page of which would be allotted to advertisements, and the remainder to miscellaneous intelligence. The general news make-up was not different from that of other contemporary newspapers. The Motto that it adopted: "*Mobilitate viget Viresque adquirit eundo*,"³⁰ was a proclamation of the confident trust and support that it would enjoy with the Madras public. The subscription was rated at rupees two *per mensem* or rupees twenty annually, if paid in advance.

A contemporary to the *Madras Times* was *The Spectator*, established in 1836. It was published by J. Ouchterlony as a bi-weekly, on Wednesday and Saturday. The publisher whose name appeared on the paper from 1837 to 1839, was C. Sooboo Moodely; and during the next eight years, C. M. Pereira was the publisher. There was also a *Spectator Press*. The paper became a tri-weekly in 1846, and a daily in 1850. Within a decade it was incorporated into the *Madras Times* of 1860³¹ and through it into *The Mail*.

The growth of the press in Madras to such dimensions and the appearance of newspapers, both in English and the vernacular, were indicative of the permanency of the press as an institution in society.³² It is noteworthy that after fifty years of English-owned English papers, an attempt was made to start a newspaper by Indians or natives, as they were called in the official jargon. In 1832 a petition was submitted from Constantine Sampie, A. Va-

30. A quotation from Virgil: Aeneid IV, 175, Which flourishes in movement and gains strength by going.

31. The relation between the *Madras Times* of 1860 and the *Madras Times* of 1833 is not traceable.

32. Madras press had indeed grown since 1847 when there were the daily, *Madras Atlas* and the tri-weeklies, *Spectator*, *Atheneum* and *Circulator* and the bi-weeklies, *U. S. Gazette* and *Crescent*.

thisaiva, T. Vesakaparookalieward, T. Samanaparoomalier, collectively, to the Governor of Madras, Sir Frederick Adams. They introduced themselves as the proprietors of a native paper to be established at Madras called the *Madras Chronicle*.³³ It was hoped that the paper would be conducted on the same liberal principles as those of the English journals of the Presidency; in the 'Malabar' and Telugu languages. The paper envisaged was the first of its kind to be ever published in this part of India, and as such they hoped that it would confer upon the native population of Madras, the privilege of communicating their thoughts and sentiments, through the medium of a journal in their own language. The paper was scheduled to be published twice a week on Wednesday in Telugu and on Saturday in the Tamil language. Printed on English demy, of three columns on each page, it would comprise a variety of matters, commercial, political, and literary. It would give publicity to all civil and military appointments, and the state of the English, native, and foreign markets. The columns would always be open to free and liberal discussion. Such a manifesto, for a "native" paper coming as it did in the background of a Bentinck, and a Sir Thomas Munro, was hardly acceptable to the Government. Yet Lt. Col. Morrison, a member of the Governor-general's Council in 1835, expressed apprehension at allowing freedom to the "native" press. It was he who suggested that a responsible officer might be appointed to watch the operation of the Indian language press.³⁴ Though this suggestion was rejected by Metcalfe, it was to become the cornerstone of newspaper policy in the latter half of the last century. Margarita Barns establishes the fact of a "native" paper³⁵ in Madras in 1835, on the strength of Lt. Col. Morrison's Minute.³⁶ The Rev. J. Long in a report submitted in 1859 gives the date of the first newspaper in Tamil³⁷ and

33. Public Consultations, 2nd Nov. 1832.

34. The *Calcutta Review*, Vol. 125, 1908, p. 129.

35. *Ibid.* *Carnatic Chronicle* No. 147, 3rd Sept., 1834.

36. The *Indian Press*, by Margarita Barns, p. 126.

37. The journalistic phase of the Tamil language began towards the end of the sixteenth century, though the classical literature of the language is over 2,000 years old. The first book printed in the Tamil language was in 1575, which was mainly due to the initiative of missionaries who introduced printing into South India.

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Telugu as 1833.³⁸ The existence of such a paper in that period, is confirmed by the requirement of the Telugu translator who was to report on a "Teloogoo" (Sic) Newspaper called the *Virithanthu*.³⁹ The College of Tamil Pandits in Fort St. George made important Tamil classics available in print. The first attempt at Tamil journalism was made by the Religious Tract Society in 1831 when it undertook publication of the *Tamil Magazine*. The fact that even with Government support, it did not survive for more than two or three years, is comment enough on the nature of this so-called newspaper. It is possible that the *Tamil Magazine* continued for a few years even after 1833. The next important newspaper in Tamil was the *Rajavriti Bodhini* published in 1855, which was quite content in presenting general intelligence, which was chiefly translation from English newspapers. The same year another weekly paper in Tamil, called the *Dinavartamani* edited by the Rev. P. Percival was established. It was a journal of general intelligence, domestic and foreign. It was supported by the Government, and had a circulation of 1,000, at two annas per copy. The variety of vernacular journalism at Madras is attested by the publication of newspapers—one in Telugu, another in Persian, and the third in Persian and English, but the last two papers at Madras had very small circulation.⁴⁰ The Missionary experience in the field of vernacular journalism opened up the possibilities of a political newspaper owned by natives, using the regional language. The lesson was not lost, for such indications in Tamil journalism were not far off.

The newspaper in Madras now became a part of the Madras way of life regardless of the views of "the Establishment". Newspapers throughout the world had to struggle with Governments hostile to them. The East India Company's Government in India was no exception to the general trend. It is therefore not surprising that the question of the freedom of the press became a contemporary issue that had to be faced from time to time.

38. J. Natarajan, *History of Indian Journalism*, p. 64.

39. Public Consultations, 4 Dec., 1838.

40. *History of Indian Journalism*, by J. Natarajan, p. 64.

The fact that no "national" newspaper existed during this period is no reflection on the extent of national consciousness in Madras. "Like a wisp of cloud in a sunny sky, one small shadow appears—the first tentative murmur of Indian political aspirations, the first glimmerings of the Indian nationalist idea. To the "Indian" man in the street the notion that Government was a thing with which he personally had anything to do was almost completely foreign; Government was and had been for centuries a thing managed by other people whom he could not control and with whom he had no direct contact.... But now in 1840's—perhaps as an eddy from that strange tide of popular unrest then running all over the world—there came a change. No doubt the ideas of Indian nationalism, of Swaraj, of swadeshi were as yet but dimly apprehended in Madras and were scarcely formulated at all; but in 1844 the men whose children and grandchildren were to think along these lines armed themselves with two essential weapons, an Association and a newspaper".⁴¹

The Association was called The Madras Native Association, a predecessor of the Madras *Mahajana Sabha*. The newspaper was the *Crescent*, which was possibly the earliest Hindu periodical of Madras, issued for the first time on 2nd October, 1844. The services of one Mr. Harley as Editor were secured. Previously in the Army, he brought to the conduct of his journal his military spirit and an untractable disposition. The object of the paper was stated to be "the amelioration of the condition of the Hindus".⁴² The *Crescent* was intended to act as a counterblast to the Christian Missionary journal, the *Record*. In the 1850's it became known as the *Madras Crescent* and was published twice a week. Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetti was the man behind the Association and the newspaper. Lakshminarasu Chetti incurred the displeasure of the officials of the Government to the extent of having been deprived of the normal privileges of a newspaper of that day. Few Indians at Madras possessed national consciousness or political education, and among them only a handful had the courage of their convictions at that time. Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetti was indeed

41. Hilton Brown, *Parry's of Madras*, p. 91.

42. G. Parameswaran Pillai, *Representative Men of Southern India*, p. 149-50.

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ahead of his times, yet few would question his claim to be Madras's first publicist and political agitator.⁴³

II

No history of the press in Madras would be complete without an evaluation of the Government outlook and policy as shaped at London, Calcutta and Madras. The influence of the press on the Government and the changing attitude of the Government towards the press led to the evolution of a press policy. It necessitated the abandonment of a casual condescension towards the press and a growing awareness of the press as an institution, the potentialities of which for good and evil could not be under-estimated in a society governed by aliens. The origin and development of the Indian newspaper was largely in the face of a hostile administration. The late eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth witnessed a mounting challenge to official control that neither the levy of a fine nor deportation could restrain. In spite of repeated attempts the Government was not able to keep the press in chains.

The French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars and the wars in India gave the impression that the Government was suspicious of, if not openly hostile to, the press. A further cause for concern was the rise of newspapers published in the regional language and owned by Indians. Taking into account the "susceptibility" for subversion of loyalty to the Government, the Government reacted with controls and later, restrictions on the press. In this formative epoch, the relations between the press and the Government assumed the characteristics of a struggle, a struggle for the freedom of the press.

As every newspaper passed from a marketable means of publicity to that of an independent organ of information and opinion, it had not only to face the challenge of its environment, the "publics" to which it catered, but to avoid, in the pursuit of its

43. The Government relented and made Mr. Chetti a C.S.I. in 1863. He was "appointed" to the Madras Legislative Council. He was the second Indian thus honoured. The *Crescent* continued till 1864, when it was given up for want of funds. He died in 1868 "leaving a name for genuine patriotism and self-sacrifice rare in the annals of India, *Ibid.*, p. 161.

duty, the "severe displeasure of the Governor-in-Council" which could be easily provoked, even in trivial matters.⁴⁴ Fortunately the early Madras press was aided and abetted by the servants of the Company's administration at Madras. It stands to the credit of quite a few senior officials of the Company, that many an early Madras Editor was encouraged, financed and provided with material and facilities for importing a press. Thus official recognition and favour, like the granting of Government advertisements, provided the best insurance against a premature exit of quite a few Madras journals. Yet, the Madras press was in no sense slavish, though it lacked the fiery independence of its counterpart in Bengal. Though the Madras press was far from extremist and had no James Augustus Hickey in its annals, yet on April 2nd, 1795, the *Indian Herald* "published at Madras by a Mr. Humphreys, who did not hold the company's licence", provided the setting in reference to which the Government at Madras began to evolve a press policy. Mr. Humphrey's publication contained "several gross libels on the Government and on the Prince of Wales". The Government acted swiftly in arresting and deporting him, though he escaped from the ship later. In such dramatic circumstances, censorship was introduced, and all Madras newspapers came under the lash of the censor. In pursuance of this policy of censorship, a directive was issued on June 29th, 1799, that all newspapers should be submitted to inspection by the Secretary of the Government before publication. Censorship was rigorously applied, and the words "Expunged by the Chief Secretary" were not unfamiliar. Censorship was first applied to the *Madras Gazette* in 1795, during the Governorship of Lord Hobart (1795-1798). Free postage facilities which were available in the first decade of the Madras press were now withdrawn, indicating indirect official pressure which was brought to bear upon the press. The turn of the century marked the end of a phase in journalism in India, where press laws as such were conspicuously absent. The only check on the establishment and publication of newspapers was that any person whom the Government considered *persona non grata*, would be risking immediate deportation, if he attempted to start a newspaper. Prevention of hostile journalism rather than control of

44. Public Consultations, 16th May, 1800.

papers was the motivating factor in the regulations passed for the conduct of the press.

One of the British historians writing about the press says it was left to follow its own course with no other check than that which the law of libel imposed....“while they were useless as vehicles of local information of any value, they were filled with indecorous attacks upon private life and ignorant censures of public measures”.⁴⁵ The Government and the British historian found ample justification for the introduction of regulations that went beyond censorship, the nature of which was preventive rather than punitive. Sensitivity to offensive writings made the Government frame rules for the guidance of Editors. As the Government and society began to develop a sense of responsibility, it is not surprising that the same was expected of the press. The road towards the freedom of the press from 1780 indicates certain decisive phases. The period 1785-1818 witnessed the introduction of preventive measures and the exercise of rigorous Government supervision; during 1818-1823 censorship was abolished and the Government relaxed control. Regulations were issued fixing the responsibility more squarely upon the Editors and printers. The period 1823-1828, was a dark period when stringent regulations were restored and the press was muzzled. During 1828-1835, a counter-action led to the declaration of the freedom of the press, which became a reality between 1835 and 1857.

The Governorship of the second Lord Clive (1798-1803) witnessed the fall of Seringapatam and the destruction of Tipu's power in 1799, and the assumption of English supremacy in the whole of South India. Regardless of the official attitude towards the press, the President proposed a plan for publishing a newspaper.⁴⁶ It was to be published at the Government Press, denominated the *Government Gazette*. Lord Clive in his Minute stated the case for such a paper and the advantages likely to accrue therefrom. After having examined the financial commitment for the preparation of types in the English, Persian, and Malabar languages, he proposed a draft for the *Madras Gazette*, to be established at Egmore, under the direction and control of the Superintendent of

45. James Mill, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 581.

46. Public Consultations, 25th Sept., 1801.

the Male Asylum. It was to be a weekly publication, containing such advertisements and articles of intelligence as might be ordered or sanctioned by the Government and such individual advertisements as *per* payment of the rates to be fixed by the Director of the Male Asylum, from time to time. The *Government Gazette* was to be circulated, free of postage. All expenditure to be met from the profit and net profit was to be divided into three portions; one third was devoted to charity, one third was for the Superintendent as the remuneration for his labour and the remaining one third would constitute a fund at the disposal of the Government for renewing the fonts of type. The Minute thereon⁴⁷ accepted the proposals of Lord Clive. An advertisement announcing the publication of such a paper styled the *Government gazette* was also made.⁴⁸ This was the first instance of a newspaper founded entirely on official patronage and Presidential initiative. The Government joined the fray by starting a paper of its own, but this did not lead to any relaxation of censorship. A rigorous censorship of the press continued at Madras. During the administration of Wellesley and Minto, the Government dreaded the free diffusion of news and the function of emasculating the Editor's sheets was one of the important functions of the Secretary of the Government. Several factors were responsible for this press policy. The influence of the Home Government, i.e., the Court of Directors, weighed heavily in determining any domestic policy—the policy towards the press came under the same review. The press, by its very character, would bring into the harsh sunlight of critical review the financial scandals and low standard of morality. The conditions prevailing in the English settlements in India were far from perfect, and the presence of a paper in such conditions made the Government all the more nervous. Appreciation of the Government and its actions was not unusual, yet a fear that the freedom of the press might be abused led many an administrator to act ruthlessly towards the press, on the slightest pretext. The deportation of Mr. William Duane, the Editor of the *Bengal Journal* by Lord Cornwallis in 1791 is a case in point. Fear, political circumstances and the conduct of the press, conspired to subject newspapers to "rigorous supervision". In an atmosphere

47. Public Consultations, 25th Sept., 1801.

48. *Ibid.*, 14th Oct., 1801.

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charged with French intrigues, it was thought that dangerous results would accrue from careless and unwary publications. Consequently on May 13, 1799, the Governor-General in Council formulated regulations for the guidance of the Editors and proprietors of newspapers, violation of which was punishable with deportation. (i) Every printer of a newspaper should print his name at the bottom of the paper, (ii) Every Editor and proprietor of a paper should deliver in his name and place of abode to the Secretary of Government, (iii) No paper should be published on Sundays, (iv) No paper should be published at all unless it was previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government or by a person authorised by him for that purpose and objectionable matter struck out. The Court of Directors gave their approval to these regulations. The circulation of general orders and naval intelligence through the paper was prohibited strictly. This order was strictly enforced at Madras and Bombay. As a result of the operation of these regulations, the newspapers were given a respectable character, at the cost of the Government pruning of "truth" which was unpalatable to it.

The desired effect on "the whole tribe" of Editors was strangely enough good, yet as time passed by the Editors once more lapsed into old habits. Lord Minto, like his predecessors, exercised a rigorous supervision over the press. The press was placed under more restrictions. Works which touched the religious sensibilities of the Indians were prohibited from being published. Everything that was printed—*notices, hand bills, pamphlets and all ephemeral publications and the regular newspapers*—had to be sent to the Chief Secretary for revision. Even titles of books intended to be published were to be transmitted to the same officer, who had the option of requiring the work itself to be sent for his examination, if he deemed it necessary and desirable. The Madras order on pamphlets was even more stringent and printing presses were required to submit the manuscripts of all their publications even before they were printed. The Governor of Madras was Lord William Bentinck during this distressful period (1803-1807). The record of administration was far from peaceful and he had a rough time during his tenure; the Vellore Mutiny of 1806 broke out during his period. Not the least of his troubles arose in an institution where he might well have looked for peace and quiet—the Supreme Court. Sir Henry Guillim, one of the Puisne Judges who had a

habit of quarrelling violently and persistently got into trouble with his superior, Chief Justice, Sir Thomas Strange, Lord William Bentinck and Petrie, the First In Council. He went further and made an onslaught on the police when they attempted to put down a riot. Sir Henry Guillim got the constables arrested and the Superintendent impeached. "These were public scenes and public scandal; Madras had not enjoyed herself so much since the days of Governor Pigot's abduction".⁴⁹ In reference to these turbulent times, Bentinck stated in his Presidential Minute: "It is necessary in my opinion for the public safety that the press in India should be kept under the most rigid control. It matters not from what pen the dangerous matter may issue, the higher the authority, the greater the mischief, we cannot prevent the Judges of the Supreme Court uttering in open court opinions however mischievous, but it is in our power and it is our duty to prohibit them from being circulated through the country by means of the press. Entertaining thoroughly this sentiment, I would recommend that the order of Government may be given to all proprietors of printing presses forbidding them upon pain of the utmost displeasure of the Governor-in-Council to print any papers whatever without the previous sanction of the Governor-in-Council communicated by the Chief Secretary."⁵⁰ The freedom of the press throughout the Governorship of Bentinck, was subjected to so many regulations, so as to make the press most miserable. When Lord Moira took over from Lord Minto in 1813, newspapers all over India, in the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were well under control, with Madras leading in the matter of stringency of regulations.⁵¹ So effective and complete was the control of the press by the Government, that during 1801-1820 there did not occur even one occasion when the Government had to threaten deportation. Between 1813 and 1818 significant developments began to take place in the field of newspapers. In 1816 the first Indian-owned newspaper was published by Gangadhar Bhattacharjee — *The Bengal Gazette*. Lord Hastings who was inclined towards reform pursued a middle-of-the-road policy, which neither imposed strict censorship nor granted com-

49. Hilton Brown, *Parry's of Madras*, p. 34.

50. Public Consultations, Aug., 24, 1807.

51. Natarajan, *History of Indian Journalism*, p. 12.

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plete freedom of expression and publication. On August 19, 1818, the office of the Censor was abolished and a liberal policy of self-censorship for the press inaugurated, which would make the Editors themselves responsible for excluding anything likely to prejudice the authority of the Government or disturb the public peace. In the conduct of newspapers, a greater measure of prudence and discretion was now demanded of Editors, whose exercise of it became an important factor in maintaining harmonious relationship with the Government. It is not surprising that during Lord Hastings' administration "independent and well-conducted papers" flourished. The changes in press policy did not get the approval of the Court of Directors. It was their decided conviction that neither the Government nor the public, nor the Editors, would benefit from the change. Though the press was freed from irksome restrictions, yet a few directive principles were laid down. "The Editors of newspapers were prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads, viz., First: Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Honourable Court of Directors, or other public authorities in England connected with the Government of India; or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration, or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the Members of Council, of the Judges of the Supreme Court or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Second: Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population, of any intended interference with their religious opinions or observances. Third: The republication from English or other newspapers, of passages coming under any of the above heads or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India. Fourth: Private scandal, and personal remarks on individuals, tending to excite dissension in society."⁵² These rules were essential to make the abolition of pre-censorship acceptable to the Directors and palatable to men like Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir Thomas Munro. Elphinstone made it clear that the Editor who infringed the rules would be dealt with immediately and deported. A newspaper conducted within such a framework, was bound to make the Government adopt a responsive attitude towards the press and through it towards public opinion. Sharp difference of opinion existed between the Court of Directors and

52. Natarajan, *History of Indian Journalism*, p. 13.

the Board of Control, yet no influence was brought to bear on the shaping of press policy in India.

Sir Thomas Munro was Governor of Madras during 1820-1827. His creditable record as a soldier was paralleled by the brilliance of his administration. With Mountstuart Elphinstone and John Malcolm, he belongs to a group of dedicated civil servants who served the interests of the British Empire. His independent views and his forthright statement of them mark him out as a man of political integrity. John Adams, the successor of Lord Hastings, was a man more after Munro's heart. He was responsible for bringing into operation a set of regulations far more stringent than any that had been put into effect earlier. The swing of the pendulum was in favour of restriction, and Sir Thomas Munro maintained with conviction that such a state of affairs was in the best interests of the British dominion in India. With remarkable administrative insight, he declared the incompatibility of a free press with the domination of strangers. Sir Thomas Munro's stand on the press in India was well articulated in his famous minute of 1822.⁵³

"A great deal has of late been said, both in England and in this country, regarding the liberty of the Indian Press.—I cannot view the question of a free press in this country without feeling that the tenure by which we hold our power never has been and never can be, the liberties of the people.—In place of spreading useful knowledge among the people, and tending to their better government it would generate insubordination, insurrection, and anarchy—A free press would, far from facilitating, render their attainment utterly impracticable, for by attempting to precipitate improvement, it would frustrate all the benefit which might have been derived from more cautious and temperate proceedings.—In the present state of India, the good to be expected from a free press is trifling and uncertain, but the mischief is incalculable, as to proprietors of newspapers, as mischief is more profitable of the two, it will generally have the preference. The restraint on the press is very limited, it extends only to attacks on the character of Government and its officers, and on the religion of the native; on all other points it is free. The removal of these restrictions could be of advantage to none but the proprietors of newspapers, it is their business to sell their papers and they must fill them with such articles as are most likely to answer this

53. Public Consultations, 12th April, 1822.

purpose, nothing in a newspaper excites so much interest as strictures on the conduct of Government or its officers, but this is more peculiarly the case in India, where, from the smallness of the European society, almost all the individuals composing it are known to each other, and almost every European may be said to be a Public Officer. The newspaper which censures mostly freely public men and measures, and which is most personal in its attacks, will have the greatest sale.

The laws, it may be supposed, would be able to correct any violent abuse of the liberty of the press, but this would not be the case. The petty jury are shop-keepers and mechanics, a class not holding in this country the same station as in England, a class by themselves, not mixing with merchants, or the civil and military servants, insignificant in number and having no weight in the community. They will never, however differently the judge may think, find a libel in the newspaper against a public servant. Even if the jury could not act without bias the agitation arising from such trials in a small society, would far outweigh any advantage they could produce. The Editors of newspaper therefore if only restricted by the law of libel, might foully calumniate the character of public officers and misrepresent the conduct of Government. They would be urged by the powerful incentive of self-interest to follow this course and they would be the only part of the European population which would derive any advantage from a free press.

Every military officer who was dissatisfied with his immediate superiors, with the Commander-in-chief or with the decision of a Court-Martial, would traduce them in a newspaper. Every civil servant who thought his service neglected or not sufficiently acknowledged by the head of the department in which he was employed or by Government would libel them. Every attempt to restrain them by recourse to a jury would end in defeat, ridicule, and disgrace, and all proper respect for the authority of Government would be gradually destroyed..

.... We cannot have a monopoly of the freedom of the press, we cannot confine it to the Europeans only; there is no device or contrivance by which this is to be done, and if it be made really free, it must in time produce nearly the same consequences which it does everywhere else. It must spread among the people the principle of liberty and stimulate them to expel the strangers who ruled over them and to establish a national government.

".....the danger would come upon us from a native army, not from the people. He is of the opinion that with a free press, the spirit of independence will spring up in the army long before it is even thought among the people..... I do not apprehend any immediate danger from the press, it

would require many years before it could produce much effect on our native army; but though the danger be distant, it is not the less certain, and will ultimately overtake us if the press becomes free. The liberty of the press and a foreign yoke as already stated, are quite incompatible. We cannot leave it free with any regard to our safety, we cannot restrain it by a trial by jury; because from the nature of juries in this country, public officers can never be tried by the peers. No jury will ever give verdict against the publisher of a libel upon him, however gross it may be. The press must be restrained either by a Censor or by the power of sending home at once the publisher of any libellous or inflammatory paper, at the responsibility of Government without the Supreme Court having the authority or any plea to detain him for a single day. We are trying an experiment never yet tried in the world; maintaining a foreign domination by means of a native army, and teaching that army through a free press that they ought to expel us and deliver their country.

But though I consider that the danger is still very distant, I think that we cannot be too early in taking measures to avoid it, and I trust that the Honourable Court of Directors will view the question of the press in India as one of the most important that ever came before them and the establishment of such an engine, unless under the most absolute control of their Government, as dangerous in the highest degree of the existence of the British power in this country".

(signed) Thomas Munro.

In the larger administrative interests of the British Empire, the freedom of the press was bound to be a casualty. An imminent struggle in the context of the British Empire in India was the framework in which Sir Thomas Munro made his recommendations on the press. No better advocate could have stated the case for the British Empire, and it is within the logic of its interests that Munro should have mapped such a press policy. Sir Thomas Munro's consistency in his attitude towards the press is confirmed by another Presidential Minute of 1823.⁵⁴ Making a comparative study of the existing law, regulations and usages affecting the press at Calcutta and at Madras, he found that "there is no law here to prevent anybody printing and publishing any paper or anything he likes, the only remedy against slander is in the verdict of a common jury. A custom has however prevailed from

54. Public Consultations, 4th April, 1823.

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early times at this Presidency on the part of the Editors of newspapers of sending their journals to the Chief Secretary for revision and the Editors have generally adhered to his corrections. But there is no law that requires this to be done and it has been doubted whether such revision does not relieve the Editors from their responsibility and fix it upon the Chief Secretary.

But wherever may be the legal liability it is clear that the custom of giving his sanction to each publication by his signature renders the Chief Secretary officially answerable for whatever may appear respecting the measures of the government or the conduct of individuals and both are thus restrained in, and almost deprived of, that prompt and effectual defence against the wilful falsehoods of private malevolence and disappointed ambition which now is prevalent in Calcutta." The need to plug these legal loopholes and strengthen the rampart of Government organization against the inroads of the press was clearly brought out by him.

S. R. Lushington, Munro's successor at Madras, between 1827 and 1832 shared the convictions of his predecessor.⁵⁵ He recommended that the Legislature would in its wisdom place the press at all the Presidencies of India upon the same and uniform foundation, when the Charter was to be renewed in 1833. The Charter Act of 1833 centralized administration, by making the Governor-General-in-Council as the only law-making body in India, and as such the initiative hitherto exercised by the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay lapsed.

The *Fort St. George Gazette* joined the ranks of other Madras newspapers, during the Governorship of S. R. Lushington. The first number of the *Gazette* was dated January 4, 1832. A Minute of the Chief Secretary, dated Dec. 13, 1831, gives an insight into the beginnings of the paper:

"Considering it desirable that there should be established at Madras, both as a medium of official communication and for general information a Gazette, in a compact and convenient form, to be exclusively appropriated to Government advertisement and notifications of general interest from any of the Public Offices; the Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council

55. Public Consultations, 16th March, 1832.

has been pleased to resolve that from the 1st January 1832, a paper for that purpose, to be called the *Fort St. George Gazette*, shall be published every Wednesday and Saturday or in one of those days only, according to quantity or importance of the matter for publication.

The general orders of the Government and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will continue to be published at length in the *Government Gazette*, which paper will also communicate to the public such advertisements, notifications..... as may appear in the *Fort St. George Gazette*.

When official notifications from the Government office are inserted in the *Fort St. George Gazette*, no communication on the subject will be made in writing to any department concerned, but all public officers are required to take notice of such official notifications in the same manner as if they had been directly communicated to them by letter from the Secretary's Office, and as Heads of offices alone will be furnished by Government with the *Fort St. George Gazette*, they will be expected to communicate to their subordinate officers all orders which may in any manner concern them.

The *Fort St. George Gazette* furnished by Government to public offices are to be lodged with the records and are not to be removed from the office.

Public officers are prohibited from inserting official notifications in any paper, but the *Fort St. George Gazette* in the first instance, and the *Government Gazette* afterwards; except when particular circumstances may render it desirable that such notification should appear before the regular publication of the *Fort St. George Gazette*, when they may be published first in the *Government Gazette*; and all public officers employing auctioneers or others in the sale of public property are required to give directions for inserting advertisements respecting such sales in the *Fort St. George Gazette* in the first instance and afterwards in the *Government Gazette* only. Official notifications or advertisements inserted in any other paper contrary to the foregoing order must be paid by the parties inserting them.

In order that official notifications may not be inserted in the *Fort St. George Gazette* without knowledge of Government, and that approved notifications may be put into proper form, all public officers are required to forward them to the press in a blank cover, through the Chief Secretary's office.

For the convenience of persons residing in the interior who may desire to become subscribers to the *Fort St. George Gazette*, the Collectors of the several districts and Military Paymasters subject to this Presidency are authorized to receive

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subscriptions at the rate of three rupees *per* quarter payable in advance, and to remit the same to the Chief Secretary to Government by Bills on the Accountant-General. Subscribers availing themselves of this accommodation will be furnished, by the Collectors or Paymasters as the case may be, with receipts for the amount of their subscriptions, and on forwarding the receipts to Mr. F. Lawrence at the Government Office, Fort St. George Paper, the paper will be regularly transmitted to them.

- Persons becoming subscribers after the commencement of a quarter will only be entitled to such numbers of the paper as may be issued in that quarter subsequently to the receipt of their subscriptions.

The *Fort St. George Gazette* will be transmitted post free. By order of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council.

H. CHAMIER,
Chief Secretary.

The length of the paper was about 10½" and the breadth about 6". It was divided into 2 columns. It consisted of twelve pages or six sheets. No large change is noticeable, for nearly three decades — its news make-up and physical form are still the same. In the 1870's its bill of fare was mainly departmental news, advertisements of the Madras Municipality, vacancies and private notifications. All orders of the Government were translated into Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese. It retained more or less the same form in its first seventy years in the 19th century. The fluctuation in size was according to the material available. As a Government record the utility to the historian cannot be over-estimated. It was and is a bulletin sheet of the Madras Government.

Sir Frederick Adams, who became the successor of Lushington as Governor of Madras during 1832-1837 was eager that the town of Madras and the territories subject to the Fort St. George Presidency, should come within the jurisdiction of licensing rules, the like of which obtained at Bengal and Bombay.⁵⁶ The Advocate-General recommended the Bombay regulations as being shorter and more simplified. "Whatever doubt may exist in any quarter, as to the expediency of such strict coercion of the press as is

56. Public Consultations, 19th August 1834.

implied in the imposing licences in the use of printing presses, I conceive neither objection nor doubt can arise on the expediency of the provisions which go to ascertaining the responsible parties for publication. The want of them has placed the press of Madras in a condition of total impunity in cases of grossest libels; of which two instances have in the course of the last few months arisen within my own personal experience from the impossibility of detecting the Editors or Publishers or Printers or Proprietors of a certain newspaper".⁵⁷ The urgency of the measure was obvious, but the passing of the initiative from the Madras Government on account of the operation of the Charter Act of 1833, handicapped the Government in making any independent moves. The Secretary to the Government of India at Fort William duly informed the Madras Government that any such independent regulation of the press at this Presidency must wait until the Law Commission would be constituted.⁵⁸

Lord William Bentinck who, as Governor of Madras (1803-1807) had made an unpromising debut, survived it, to gain an outstanding reputation as Governor-General. Bentinck as Governor-General looked more favourably on the press than as Governor of Madras. This change in his attitude towards the press must be seen in the context of the crusade that he mounted in social affairs in India. The press, as an auxiliary to good Government, was recognized. Many new Indian language papers were published as a result of the Government tackling the socio-religious questions of the day. The newspaper though not legally free was practically enjoying its freedom, until the first Burmese War, with its consequent strain on the finances of the Company, led to the "half-batta" order, which led to many denunciatory articles. Lord Bentinck, looking back introspectively to the Mutiny of Madras officers in 1809, said in his Minute proclaiming restrictions on the Press: "Let it be remarked that the mutiny did take place at Madras; though there was not a shadow of liberty belonging to the press there, the communication and interchange of sentiment and concert was as general as if it had passed through the medium of a daily press, without the reserve which the responsibility of the Editor more

57. Public Consultations, 21st Oct., 1834.

58. *Ibid.*, 12th Dec. 1834.

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or less requires for his own security."⁵⁹ The comparison that he drew between the state of the press in Madras in 1809 and that in 1830, is interesting as an expression that the press is a safety-valve for discontent. It was not without a Minute of Dissent by Sir Charles Metcalfe, that the press was gagged.⁶⁰ Lord Macaulay in his Minute⁶¹ noted that the danger of a free press in India was exaggerated and overrated.

New newspapers still continued to make their appearance. In Madras about this time, two language papers, one appearing in Tamil and the other in Telugu, were published with a Government grant. The Director of public Instruction, Madras, reported that Tamil newspapers had a large circulation and added: "The grant of such a character whether it is looked at in an educational or in political point of view can hardly be overestimated."⁶²

The resignation of Lord William Bentinck in 1835 owing to ill-health and the assumption of the Governor-Generalship by Sir Charles Metcalfe proved to be a turning point in the history of the Indian press. The strong views of the latter on the freedom of the press and the conviction with which he gave statutory expression to it, marks him out as the liberator of the Indian press. Lord Macaulay, a legislative member of the Supreme Council, felt that in times of peace, the offensive form and ceremonial of despotism should be withdrawn. Macaulay drew attention to the press in Madras and the absence of any restriction in its operations, and buttressed the case for freedom of the press. The Governor-General's Minute of April 17, 1835, sums up the case and tabulates the reasons for it. "First, the press ought to be free.... Secondly, that the press is already practically free, and that the Government has no intention to enforce the existing restrictions, while we have all the odium of those restrictions, as if the press were shackled.... Thirdly, that the existing restrictions leave room for the exercise of caprice on the part of the Governments in India.... Fourth, the different state of law, or the want of any law, at the other Presidencies, renders the enactment of some general law for all India

59. Quoted in the *History of Indian Journalism*, J. Natarajan, p. 32.

60. *Kaye's Life of Metcalfe*, Vol. II, p. 121.

61. *Trevelyan's Life and Letters of Macaulay*, p. 282.

62. J. Natarajan, *History of Indian Journalism*, p. 31.

indispensable. To extend the odious and useless restrictions which now exist is out of question; and no law in my opinion could be devised with any good effect except a law making the press free".⁶³

Sir Charles Metcalfe granted legal freedom to the press by passing an Act on September 15, 1835, which repealed the press regulations of 1823 in Bengal and those of 1825 and 1827 in Bombay. The freedom of the press now became *de jure* and *de facto*. H. T. Prinsep and Lt. Colonel Morrison, both members of the Governor-General's Council, expressed disagreement with the Government's policy towards the press. They both recommended in their separate Minutes that "the native press" should be watched and separate laws made to govern it. Sir Charles Metcalfe in a footnote to their Minutes stated that the "native press has for years been as free as the European and I am not aware that any evil has ensued....It is quite unnecessary to take any measures to watch the proceedings of the native press...." Metcalfe affirmed that any restraint on the native press beyond what was imposed on the European would be injudicious and injurious. "A tenure dependent on attempts to suppress the communication of public opinion could not be lasting".⁶⁴ Act No. XI of 1835 made the press in India as free as in England.

The Madras Government, on receiving a copy of the Act, referred to an injunction of the Court of Directors,⁶⁵ prohibiting persons in the Company's employ from any association with a newspaper as Editor or proprietor. The Government of India in its reply mentioned covenanted and commissioned servants of the Company as prohibited from any newspaper associations. The uncovenanted servant was free and the prohibition did not apply in his case. Lord Auckland (1836-1842) who succeeded Metcalfe, revoked the prohibition against Company's servants being connected with newspapers. The only issue that came up was the publication in the press by officials of official documents in defence of their own position in a newspaper controversy. Lord Ellenborough, Governor-General during 1842-1844, prohibited the use of official

63. J. Natarajan, *History of Indian Journalism*, p. 36.

64. J. Natarajan, *History of Indian Journalism*, p. 37-38. This is the Final Minute of Charles Metcalfe quoted by J. Natarajan.

65. Court of Directors-General Letter, dated 30th Dec., 1825, quoted in Consultations 23rd May, 1826.

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documents and papers, by officials. The official was restrained and the Editor was spared.

Madras in the meanwhile had made great strides. Between 1830 and 1842, the Engineering, Medical, Presidency, Christian and Pachaiyappa's Colleges had been established. It was an age of rapid progress, reform, as well as reaction in India. The Indian press remained free, partly on account of the indifference of Lord Hardinge, Governor-General from 1844 to 1848. To the fortune of the press, Lord Dalhousie who succeeded him and was Governor-General during 1848-1856, flirted with the idea of a Government newspaper that could do propaganda and soften the opposition to his policy.

The Madras press since its birth in the early eighties of the eighteenth century had, in its association with the Honourable Company's Government, been subjected to pressures, friendly and hostile, characterised by co-operation, censorship, restriction, and relaxation. Though critical and grossly libellous at times, it was far from kindling any mutinous spirit. The persuasion of the Madras press was fairly peaceful and the record of its relations with the Government displayed no violent tendencies.

Albīrūnī's Stay and Travel in India

BY

DR. J. S. MISHRA, M.A., PH.D.,

Banaras Hindu University

Albīrūnī* was the first sympathetic Muslim scholar who did pioneer work in the field of Indian history and culture. Modern writers of Indian history have given due recognition to his valuable account. But no serious attempt has hitherto been made to historicize his stay and travel in India, much less to give a biographical account of the great scholar. In this article I wish to throw some light on this aspect.

It is necessary to consider previous views on this subject. Elliot holds that Albīrūnī travelled in India and stayed for forty years in the country.¹ His statement seems to be based on Albīrūnī's vast and thorough knowledge of Indian learning, religion, philosophy, astronomy, astrology, sociology, history, geography, mathematics, *smṛtis*, *purāṇas*, ethics, art and culture. Scholars in history subsequently accepted his theory to be true without caring to verify it. Criticizing the above statement of Elliot, Hodivala says that Albīrūnī's stay in India could not have exceeded thirteen

* Generally people write 'Alberūnī' or Albérūnī, but 'Albīrūnī' should be the correct form, according to Arabic rules of pronunciation.

1. (a) "Abū Rihān travelled into India and ... stayed forty years there." Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II, pp. 2-3.

Note: This view has been followed without any mention of Elliot in 'Hindi Vishvakosh' (Encyclopaedia), Varanasi, 1960, "*Bīrūnī Bhārata mein chālīs varsh rahe*". In the said work Dr. B. N. Puri has contributed an article on our subject which is full of serious historical mistakes. Dr. Puri while giving an historical account of Albīrūnī has also reproduced and repeated the statement of Elliot, which is now out-dated.

(b) *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 726 and *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. III, p. 653 do not say anything in regard to Albīrūnī's stay in India.

(c) "He visited India, where he spent a long period." *Encyclopaedia Americana*, Vol. IV, p. 11.

years.² In support of his opinion, he presents the historical evidence adduced by Sachau that in 1017 A.D. Maḥmūd Ghazanī, having defeated the ruler of Khīva, took Albīrūnī to Ghazan. Thus Albīrūnī's visit to India seems probable only after 1017 A.D. It is held that at the time of Maḥmūd's death Albīrūnī was present in Ghazan. It is obvious now, that Albīrūnī's presence in India is possible only between two important events i.e. the invasion of Khīva by Maḥmūd in 1017 A.D. and his death in 1030 A.D. This is the only basis of Hodivala's statement regarding Albīrūnī's stay in India. But this evidence too, does not stand when we study Albīrūnī's work '*Tārīkh-ul-Hind*' (or *Tahqīq mā li'l Hind*') with a searching eye. In this paper we shall try to point out from Albīrūnī's own account that his stay in India could not have exceeded two years i.e. 1027-28 and 1028-29 A.D.

It is not possible that Albīrūnī set out for India immediately in 1017 A.D. and that he had been with Maḥmūd during his expeditions to India.³ Had Albīrūnī been a noted warrior it might have been possible, but contrary to this he was a great scholar and author, and the battlefield could not have been a suitable place for him. On reaching Ghazan, in 1017 A.D. Albīrūnī came in close contact with Firdausī, Un-sarī, Al-utbī and many others who were famous for their learning and literary activities. He liked their company very much. Had he been with Maḥmūd at the time of his invasion, he would have certainly mentioned the fact in his '*Tārīkh-ul-Hind*', among others.

Abū Raihān Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Albīrūnī was born⁴ in Khīva, a city in Turkistan, Central Asia, on the 4th of December

2. "Its duration could not have exceeded thirteen years." Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, 1934, p. 132.

3. (a) Max Meyerhop speculated that "He accompanied the Sultān on several of his seventeen campaigns in north and western India," *Islamic Culture*, XIX, No. 4.

(b) Mr. N. S. Bose followed it saying, "Abū Rihān, who accompanied Sultān Maḥmūd in his campaign against Kālanjar in A.D. 1022." *History of Chandelas of Jejakbhukti*, p. 12.

4. Elliot has given 970-71 A.D. (360 H) (the same is translated in '*Hindī Vishvakosh*'); Sachau, *Albīrūnī's India*, p. 8; Barani, *Albīrūnī*, 1926, 2nd Ed., V. Courtios; *Albīrūnī*, p. 9, 1952; *Albīrūnī Commemoration Volume*, 1952 p. 14; S. K. Chatterjee, *Albīrūnī and Sanskrit*, op.cit., p. 83; M. A. Kazim, op.cit., p. 161.

973 A.D. He died⁵ on 13th of December 1048. Thus his span of life appears to be of seventy five years only. He reached Ghazan in 1017 A.D., and if he came to India, he must have done so only after 1017 A.D. If we take it for granted that he came to India after his arrival at Ghazan, his stay in India for forty years, as held by Elliot, is not possible. For, in case we accept his stay in India for forty years, we must also accept the fact that he came to India for the first time in 1008 A.D. which is far from being probable; before meeting Maḥmūd Ghazanī in 1017 A.D. he had left Khiva, for some time, for Gurganj but not for India.

Now we come to the view of Hodivala. It is evident that right from 1017 A.D. till his death, except for a brief span of two years, he lived in the court of Ghazan. It is obvious from his writings that he was present in Ghazan at the moment of Maḥmūd's death (1030 A.D.). We also come across a reference that he passed his days in Ghazan from 1030 A.D. till his own death. In such a state of affairs his stay in India for thirteen years seems to be a mere conjecture. It is strange that he does not mention the duration of his stay in India when he is very particular in describing in his book "*Tārīkh-ul-Hind*", every person whom he met, the sources of his knowledge, the time and subject of his writing, and full details of the places he visited. We will now present a factual account of his travel and stay in India, based on a close scrutiny of his life-history and writings.

As a student Albīrūnī was intelligent, industrious and promising. His devotion to learning was so sincere and keen that he came to be recognized as a scholar at a young age. He was only twenty three years⁶ old, when he decided to seek his fortunes at the court of the ruler of Gurganj by bringing to light his accomplishments in the field of learning. Moreover, his scholarly mind had an additional charm for the place because Gurganj

5. Elliot has given 1038-39 A.D. (the same is translated in '*Hindi Vishvakosh*'); Sachau, op.cit., p. 24; V. Courtois, op.cit., p. 15; *Albiruni Commemoration Volume*, Introduction, p. 14. According to Max Meyerhop Albīrūnī died in 1050 A.D. not in 1048 A.D. as stated by the Arabic chronologists; ISIS., Vol. 27, 1947, p. 32; Zeki Valid Togan accepted Meyerhop's view. *Biruni's Picture of the World*, p. 5.

6. V. Courtois, *Albīrūnī*, p. 10.

was a famous seat of learning and culture. At the time he went to Gurganj, its ruler was an independent King, for Albīrūnī himself tells us that Prince Qābūs had by that time freed the country from the kingdom of Samānī. Honourably received by the King, he stayed there upto 1008 A.D. During this period he had been diligently engaged in writing books. By the time he was twenty-seven, he had completed nine books including his famous work, "*Athar 'al Bāqiyā*", which was dedicated to Prince Qābūs (son of Wāshangīr), the ruler of Gurganj.⁷

He came back to his motherland Khwārizm (Khīva) from Gurganj in the year 1009. By that time, he had become so prominent for his learning and intellect that he was appointed a Vizīr (Councillor) in the court of Khwārizm.

In the year 1017 Maḥmūd Ghazanī conquered Khīva and honoured himself with the title of '*Shāh-a-Khwārizm*'.⁸ The conquerer took with him all the courtiers and scholars to Ghazan. He used to annex countries, rob them of their riches and take their scholars to his own place. How could Maḥmūd, a lover of learning and scholarship, leave behind a scholar like Albīrūnī and thereby not enhance the reputation of his own court? It opened a new chapter in Albīrūnī's life. After 1017 A.D. Albīrūnī passed the rest of his life under the patronage of the Sultāns of Ghazan.⁹ He spent his whole life in studying and writing books. Sam's 'al Bin Muhammad Shahrāzūrī, one of his earliest biographers, says, "He (Al-bīrūnī) never had a pen out of his hand, nor his eyes ever off a book, and his thoughts were always directed to his studies, with the exception of two days in the year, namely *Nauroz* and *Mihrijan* when he was occupied in procuring the necessaries of life on such a moderate scale as to afford him bare sustenance and clothing."¹⁰

Having reached Ghazan Albīrūnī came into close contact with Indian scholars, their culture and literature. He had known Indian subjects even before his arrival at Ghazan and translated a few

7. Sayed Hasan Barani, *Albīrūnī* (Urdu), 1926, p. 39.

8. Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabqat Akbari* (Tr. B. Dey), 1913, p. 9.

9. Sachau: *Albīrūnī's India*, Introduction, 1910, p. 9.

10. Quoted by H. Elliot in *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 2.

Indian books in his mother-tongue. Through Indian scholars, invited to Ghazan by Emperor Maḥmūd, he learnt eagerly and critically subjects like astronomy, mathematics, geography, chemistry, *dharmasāstras* and philosophy. He used to study all the available books about India. He would gladly spend money and obtain such books not easily available. The books he could not easily follow, he left no stone unturned to understand and interpret. He studied them with the help of distant Hindu scholars. He invited them or went to them himself.

In the first chapter of his book, "*Tārīkh-ul-Hind*" he says:

"I do not spare either trouble or money in collecting Sanskrit books from place to place where supposed they were likely to be found, and in procuring for myself, even from every remote place, Hindu scholars who understand them and are able to teach me."¹¹

It is true that the thirst for knowledge brought him to India. in Ghazan he actively participated in all the discussions about Indian culture and philosophy. He himself says:

"In order to illustrate the point of our conversation one of those present referred to the religions and doctrines of the Hindus by way of an example."¹²

At one place he writes:

"What I know about the Hindus is a help to those who want to discuss religious questions with them, and is a repository of information to those who want to associate with them."¹³

These quotations from Albīrūnī refer to the discussions held on Indian subjects at Ghazan. Most of the literate persons knew about Indian subjects. That the fame of Indian religion and philosophy, civilization and culture, literature and art, echoed even in distant lands, is evident from Albīrūnī's statement that Alerān

11. Albīrūnī, *Tārīkh-ul-Hind*, p. 12. Sachau, *Albīrūnī's India* Vol. I, p. 24.

12. Albīrūnī, *op.cit.*, Preface, p. 4. Sachau, *op.cit.*, p. 6.

13. Albīrūnī, *op.cit.*, p. 4. Sachau, *op.cit.*, p. 7.

Saharī¹⁴ and other Arab scholars have quoted this, 'the wisdom of India', from place to place in their religious and philosophical works. Greatly impressed by the intellectual achievements of the Hindus, he assiduously tried to master their doctrines and philosophy and wrote the book named '*Kitāb Abi'l Raihān Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Bīrūnī fi Tahqīq mā li' l Hind min Maqbūlah fi'l-Aql aō mardhūla*'¹⁵ (An enquiry into or a description of Indian things admissible to the intellect or to be rejected).

Whatever Albīrūnī could learn and assimilate from Indian subjects and contacts with the Hindu scholars, he wanted to leave in the shape of a book on India. Abū-Sahal, his 'ustād (teacher) inspired him in this task and encouraged his intellectual undertaking. Abū-Sahal,¹⁶ one of the ministers of Maḥmūd, was well-versed in Arabic and Indian subjects. Albīrūnī says:

"In order to please him I have done so, and written this book on the doctrines of the Hindus."¹⁷

Albīrūnī wrote much of the "*Tārīkh-ul-Hind*" while staying in Ghazan. A few portions of it were written outside Ghazan. In the first chapter he writes:

"Yamīni-addaula Maḥmūd marched into India during a period of thirty years and more Maḥmūd utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed there wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions."¹⁸

The above extract proves that while he was writing the first chapter of his famous book "*Tārīkh-ul-Hind*", Maḥmūd had completed his Indian invasions lasting for more than thirty years. The terms '*into India*' and '*there*' indicate that Albīrūnī was writing the first chapter of his book at his own place, Ghazan.

14. But it is often referred to as '*Tārīkh-ul-Hindī*' from a short title entered as identification reference on the first page of the Paris manuscript. The Arabic text was edited by Edward Sachau in London in 1887, and its English translation in two volumes published and translated by him in 1910.

15. Albīrūnī, op.cit., p. 6.

16. Sachau, op.cit., Vol. II, Notes, p. 250.

17. Albīrūnī, op.cit., p. 4. Sachau, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 7.

18. Albīrūnī, op.cit., p. 11. Sachau, op.cit., p. 22.

Had he written the book in India he would have used the word 'here' instead of 'there'. The above quotation also shows that he wrote the first chapter and the preface after the completion of his book. For, besides the account of the invasion of Somnāth, he nowhere writes in his book that Maḥmūd was busy in Indian campaigns. His statement proves that when he was writing these lines Maḥmūd was already dead. Maḥmūd had ascended the throne of Ghazan at the age of thirty¹⁹ and died when he was sixty-three.²⁰ Thus he ruled Ghazan for a period of thirty-three years, of which more than thirty years were spent in his invasions of India.

A reference in the eleventh chapter states that Albīrūnī was writing some chapters of "*Tārīkh-ul-Hind*" out of Ghazan after 1027 A.D.:

"The city of Tāneshar is highly venerated by the Hindus. The idol of that place is called Cakrasvāmin, i.e. the owner of the *Cakra*, a weapon which we have already described. It is of bronze, and is nearly the size of a man. It is now lying in the Hippodrome in Ghazan, together with the Lord of Somnāth."²¹

The statement of Albīrūnī throws light on some historical events.

In the first place, that the idol of Cakrasvāmin of Tāneshar (Sthāniswar) which Maḥmūd broke in his sixth invasion of India in 1011 A.D. was then lying in the hippodrome of Ghazan along with the idol of Somnāth, which the iconoclast had brought to Ghazan after the sack and plunder of the temple of the same deity in 1026 A.D. The first event happened in the absence of Albīrūnī when he was in his own country, Khwārizm, while the second took place in his presence, say about eight to nine years after he had settled down in Ghazan. He had seen those broken idols in the hippodrome of Ghazan being trodden upon, and when he began to write on the idols, he wrote what he had seen. The

19. Muhammad Habib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazani*, p. 60 (1951).

20. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

21. Albīrūnī. *op.cit.*, p. 56. Sachau, *op.cit.*, p. 117.

idol of Somnāth was carried to Ghazan only when Maḥmūd returned from India to Ghazan.²² When he was returning from Somnāth, the Jats harried his army. Maḥmūd became greatly enraged at the hostile conduct of the Jats. In 1027 A.D. he marched against Jats and punished them. It was his last invasion of India. Therefore Albīrūnī's statement proves that he was in Ghazan upto 1027 A.D. Only afterwards he came to India.

Secondly, that Albīrūnī was out of Ghazan for some time. The statement, 'It (this idol) is of bronze and is nearly the size of a man' indicates that he had seen the idol with his own eyes. His phrase 'in Ghazan' implies that he was not in Ghazan at that time. If he had been in Ghazan he would have used 'here' in the place of 'Ghazan'. It is clear that Albīrūnī was busily writing his book somewhere outside Ghazan, most probably in India during 1027-28 A.D. As has already been said, he thought it proper to write some middle chapters earlier and left aside some chapters of the beginning to be written afterwards.

In his seventeenth chapter he writes:

"The Hindus tell a tale about Vallabha, the king of the city of Vallabha, whose era we have mentioned in *proper chapter*."²³

The reference to 'proper chapter' may indicate that he did not write serially all the chapters of "*Tārīkh-ul-Hind*". If he had written them serially, he would have definitely mentioned their numbers, wherever necessary. It is obvious that he was writing his chapters according to the material available for them, in disregard of the serial order.

Thus, it is definite that he wrote not only the eleventh chapter but also some other chapters out of Ghazan.

The question, when and with whom Albīrūnī came to India, has been variously dealt with by different scholars. Some say that he accompanied Maḥmūd in the expeditions²⁴ and others would

22. Briggs, *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 83.

23. Albīrūnī, *op.cit.*, p. 94. Sachau, *op.cit.*, p. 192.

24. N. S. Bose, *History of Chandelas of Jejakbhukti*, p. 12.

have us believe that he was exiled by Maḥmūd to India.²⁵ These views are purely speculative. I have already discussed and shown above that if he had come to India with Maḥmūd or if he had been exiled by Maḥmūd to India, he would have mentioned this fact in his book "*Tārīkh-ul-Hind*" in some way or other. In case of banishment he would not have so often remembered Maḥmūd with high reverence and gratitude as he actually does in his book²⁶ but would have imitated Firdausi²⁷ in condemning his patron.

It is very clear from Albīrūnī's statement that he completed his book "*Tārīkh-ul-Hind*" in Ghazan. The manuscript of the book bears a note in Arabic which says that Albīrūnī completed his book in Ghazan on 1st Muharram 423 H. or 29th December 1031 A.D. After the death of Maḥmūd Ghazanī when he wrote the forty-ninth chapter of the book, he described Maḥmūd Ghazanī as the pillar of Islam and his death a historic event of the world:

"It is a memorable time; for the breaking of the strongest pillar of the religion, the decease of the patron, of prince Maḥmūd, the lion of the world, the wonder of his time—may God have mercy upon him; — took place only a short time, less than a year, before it."²⁸

From the above it seems that having reached Ghazan a year or two before the death of Maḥmūd, probably in 1028-29 A.D. Albīrūnī devoted himself to the completion of his book. His manner of describing the demise of Maḥmūd clearly shows that he was present in Ghazan at the time. He could never have remained beyond the sight of his patron Sultān Maḥmūd during his last days of life.

It is clear from the stray statements of Albīrūnī that he came to India during 1027-28 A.D. and went back to Ghazan after a year or two, sometime during 1028-29 A.D.

25. M. Habib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazani*, p. 68.

26. (a) "The Amīr Maḥmūd may God's mercy with him". Albīrūnī, *op.cit.*, p. 56. Sachau, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 116.

(b) "The Amīr Maḥmūd may the grace of God with him." Albīrūnī, *op.cit.*, p. 52. Sachau, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 103.

27. *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, 1962.

28. Albīrūnī, *op.cit.*, p. 203. Sachau, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 2.

On the basis of the geographical accounts of Northern India as given by Albīrūnī, some historians cling to the view that he had travelled in many provinces of India, but these accounts do not appear to justify such a view. He has mentioned only some places of the Punjab in India, which were actually visited by him. His geographical descriptions of Northern India depend on his study of the *Purāṇas* and his contact with Indian people through whom he learnt the geography of these parts. These accounts, therefore, have created a wrong impression on most of the historians, particularly Elliot²⁹ and Sachau,³⁰ and made them believe that Albīrūnī visited many places and provinces of Northern India.³¹ But the following lines from Albīrūnī's work enable one to conclude that he could not have gone to any place beyond some selected places of the Punjab:

"The fortress Rājagiri lies south of it, and the fortress Lahur west of it, the strongest places I have even seen."³²

"I myself have found the latitude of the fortress Lahur to be 34° 10'. What other latitudes I have been able to observe myself, I shall enumerate in this place:

Ghazana

Kābul

Kandī, the guard-station of the prince (Sultān)

Dunpur

Lamghān

Purshāvar

Waihand

Jailam

29. (a) "Several of the provinces of India were visited by him." Elliot, *op.cit.*, pp. 2-3.

(b) "Unhone yahān ke kāī prānto kā bhraman kiya." *Hindī Vishva-kosh*, p. 213.

30. "He stayed in different parts of India." Sachau, *op.cit.*, Intro., p. 15.

31. "He travelled all over India". S. M. Jaffar, *Medieval India under Muslim Kings*, Vol. II, 1940, p. 115.

32. Albīrūnī, *op.cit.*, p. 102. Sachau, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 208.

The fortress Nandna

Sālkot

Mandakkakor

Multān

We ourselves have (in our travels) in their country not passed beyond the places which we have mentioned."³³

Now, it is clear that he did not visit the places in India other than those described in his lines quoted above. So his travel in other provinces of India cannot be accepted, on Albīrūnī's own testimony.

At the time of Albīrūnī, the Punjab was included in the Ghazanavid empire. So, Albīrūnī could travel easily inside the Punjab. Maḥmūd by his stormy Indian campaigns extending from 1000 to 1027 A.D. had ruined India's prosperity, destroyed her cities, ravaged her temples, desecrated her holy places, and caused great carnage and enslavement of millions of infidels. Albīrūnī himself writes:

"The repugnance of the Hindus against foreigners increased more and more when the Muslims began to make their inroads into their country."³⁴

He adds:

"Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims."³⁵

There might have prevailed, therefore, an anti-Muslim atmosphere characterized by bitterness, hate and hostility which prevented Albīrūnī from going beyond the borders of Maḥmūd's Indian possessions. This line of suggestion appears correct in view of what he writes about the attitude of the Hindus towards the Muslims in general and of the Kashmīrīs towards any foreigner in parti-

33. Albīrūnī, *op.cit.*, p. 163. Sachau, *op.cit.*, pp. 317-18.

34. Albīrūnī, *op.cit.*, p. 11. Sachau, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

35. Albīrūnī, *op.cit.*, p. 11. Sachau, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

cular³⁶ It may further be suggested that he might have, of necessity, completed his work already and felt no need to go beyond the Punjab even at a time when conditions became less hazardous for his travel in India.

Moreover, there is a clear difference between the description of the places he visited and that of the regions which he did not visit. As regards the former he writes, '*I myself have found*', and as to the latter he writes, '*told me*' or '*gave me the following report*,'³⁷ etc.

Thus it is quite clear that he wrote many things about India on the basis of information received from those who hailed from India or had been there and also on that of his own study of books on Indian subjects. It would, therefore, be incorrect to regard his whole account of India as based upon his personal observations and visits. However, it should be stated that he did visit many places in the provinces of Punjab.

It is obvious now that Albīrūnī's stay in India could not have exceeded more than two years, 1027-28 and 1028-29 A.D. It is incorrect to say that he stayed in India either for forty years or for thirteen years. To speak of his travels in many provinces of India is also equally baseless.

36. He writes about Kashmir: "They (Kashmīrīs) are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country, and therefore *take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it ... at present they do not allow any Hindus whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people.*" Albīrūnī, op.cit., p. 101. Sachau, op.cit., p. 206.

37. (a) "I have come across some people from the country of Kanoj who told me." Albīrūnī, op.cit., p. 267. Sachau, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 129.

(b) "A man from the neighbourhood of Somnāth told me." Albīrūnī, op.cit., p. 77. Sachau, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 161.

(c) "Opposite Tilwat the country to the left is the realm of Naipāl. A man who had travelled in those countries gave me the following report." Albīrūnī, op.cit., p. 100. Sachau, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 201.

Zorawar Singh's Invasion of Western Tibet

BY

C. L. DATTA, *Panjab University, Chandigarh*

The story of Zorawar Singh's conquest of Ladakh and Baltistan in the thirties of the nineteenth century forms a most fascinating study in Western Himalayan politics. But his invasion of Western Tibet in 1841 is without any parallel in Indian History. The present paper deals briefly with this expedition of the brave General, who pushed the boundaries of the Lahore Durbar beyond the Himalayas.

With the sanction of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Zorawar Singh Kahluria, the Dogra General of Raja Gulab Singh, had invaded and conquered Ladakh. On March 16, 1836, when Zorawar came to pay tribute to Ranjit Singh in the town of Jandiala, he requested Maharaja's blessings for the conquest of Tibet, a country, which "extended over a distance of five hundred Kos",¹ and was continuous with China. He further told Ranjit Singh that "by the grace of ever triumphant glory of the Maharaja, he would take possession of it".² But Ranjit Singh foreseeing hostile reactions to such an adventure from bigger powers such as China and the British, counselled patience with the General. This restrained Zorawar and delayed his invasion of Western Tibet by a few years.

After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in June, 1839, Kharak Singh who succeeded him proved a weak ruler and the real power was wielded by his son Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh. Nau Nihal Singh, with the help of the Dogra brothers, organised a strong party and was a protagonist of the forward policy. He was anxious to

(Unless otherwise stated all MS references are to records, Foreign and political Department, National Archives of India, New Delhi.)

1. Lala Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftir iii, (tr.) V. S. Suri, (New Delhi, 1961), p. 282.

2. *Ibid.*

counter the British policy of encirclement by entering into alliance with Nepal, the other Hindu and the only powerful state on the Indian sub-continent. After 1834, there had been a brisk exchange of delegations between the two powers, but as the British territory lay in between the Punjab and Nepal, all attempts in this connection were discovered and foiled by the British. Under these circumstances Zorawar again moved into Ladakh. Now it was said, that one of the objects of Zorawar's invasion of Western Tibet was to build a chain of forts from Ladakh to the border of Nepal on the other side of the Himalayas, and thus to effectuate the much desired alliance with Nepal, still a desideratum.³

The second object of this invasion of Zorawar was to ensure the usual flow of shawl wool from Western Tibet to Kashmir, which for some years in the past had been diverted and was now flowing into Bashahr and other areas. This could easily be done by occupying the very shawl producing areas i.e. Western Tibet.

By the end of 1840, Zorawar had quelled all the rebellions in Ladakh and conquered Baltistan. Now he was ready to strike on Tibet. He revived old claims of Ladakh over Tibetan territory to the West of Mayum Pass,⁴ which in the past had been under the control of the Rajas of Ladakh. Zorawar wrote to the Garpon,⁵ in charge of this area, not to supply 'Pashmeena' (shawl wool) to any other area except Ladakh and also demanded tribute from him.⁶ But the Garpon sent only five horses and five mules.⁷ Zorawar felt insulted at it, and ordered his army to invade West Tibet.

3. Secret consultations, Sept. 13, 1841, No. 20, Lushington (Commissioner of Kumaon) to Thomason (Secretary, Govt, North West Province) August 25, 1841.

4. This territory known in Tibetan as Na-ris sKor-g Sum, and having important districts such as Rudok, Gartok, and Taklakot was ceded by Ladakh to Tibet during the reign of Tse-bratanrnam-rgyal (1780-90). For details see L. Petech "The Tibetan-Ladakh Moghul War of 1681-83", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXIII (Sept. 1947), pp. 169-99. Also see Margaret W. Fisher, et al, *Himalayan Battleground, Sino-Indian Rivalry in Ladakh* (New York, 1963), Appen. p. 157.

5. The Tibetan Local Governor.

6. Secret Proceedings, June 21, 1841, No. 15.

7. *Ibid.*

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The strength of Zorawar's army was about 5,000.⁸ Out of this number about 2,000 were the Dogra soldiers of Kishtwar and Jammu and the rest of them were from Ladakh and Baltistan.⁹ The former formed the nucleus of the army and was the fighting force, whereas the last two formed auxiliary troops or camp-followers of Zorawar's army. In addition, local population was also used as carriers of provisions, tents and accoutrements. Each peasant was made responsible for carrying 240 pounds, which load he had to convey on horses, yaks, donkeys, or on his own back.¹⁰ Zorawar had about five or six small guns, probably jingals, which could be carried by men or by mules.¹¹ Zorawar also took with him some important dignitaries both from Baltistan and Ladakh: they were, Ahmad Shah, the former ruler of Baltistan, Nono Sunnum, (the brother, of the former Ladakhi Raja placed on the 'Gaddi' of Ladakh by Zorawar in 1836), Gulam Khan, the son-in-law of Rahim Khan who was in charge of the Spiti district and Gonpo or Gonbo, steward of the Hemis monastery.¹² Zorawar seems to have taken these persons with him, so that during his invasion of Western Tibet, they may not create any trouble. It was indeed a most politic measure.

Zorawar's attack on Western Tibet was three-pronged and well planned. The first contingent of about three hundred soldiers was placed under Gulam Khan. Early in April 1841, this column moved through Rupshu, and passing through Hanle,¹³ ran over the Tibetan posts of Churit, Chumurty, Tsaparang and Tholing. Gulam Khan met with some resistance at Tsaparang, but the Tibetans were easily defeated and their leader slain. In the Tsaparang fort, he found a large quantity of grain, two jingals,

8. A. Cunningham, *Ladak, Physical, Statistical and Historical*, (London, 1854), p. 351.

9. Secret Consultations, Nov. 1, 1841, Nos. 36-38

10. A. H. Francke, *A History of Western Tibet, One of the unknown Empires*, (London, 1907), p. 163,

11. Secret Consultations, Nov 22, 1841, No. 23, Cunningham to Clerk, October 21, 1841.

12. *Ibid.* Also see A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, (Calcutta, 1926), II, 133.

13. District headquarters of Rupshu district in Ladakh.

some ammunition and other property.¹⁴ Gulam Khan plundered the Buddhist monasteries at all these places and is said to have broken all the idols with iconoclastic zeal.¹⁵

Nono Sunnum was placed in charge of the second column, who conquered Tashigong and other places around it.

Zorawar himself led the third column. With about three thousand soldiers, following the route to the South of the Pang gong Lake, he invaded Rudok, which he conquered on June 5, 1841. There was little resistance, soon the fort was overtaken and the Garpon of Rudok made a prisoner. Here some ammunition fell into Zorawar's hands.¹⁶ From Rudok, he moved to Gartok, another important military post where Jukpa tribe¹⁷ offered some opposition but they were soon defeated. Here the other two divisions of the army, moving North, united with Zorawar. The Garpon of Gartok had fled to Taklakot, a place about fifteen miles from the border of Nepal. Soon Taklakot was stormed, and conquered on September 6, 1841. The Tibetan Commander seeing the hopeless task of holding before a strong army had pulled behind the Mayum Pass. Zorawar constructed a fort here, and placed it under the control of Basti Ram.¹⁸ Thus by September 1841, Zorawar conquered almost all Tibet to the West of the Mayum Pass: the wrongs done to Ladakh after the Ladakhi-Tibetan war 1681-83, were avenged.

14. Secret Consultations, Dec. 20, 1841, No. 40, Cunningham to Clerk, Nov. 8, 1841.

15. A. H. Francke, *History of Western Tibet*, op.cit., pp. 162-63. Also see Alexander Cunningham, op.cit., pp. 35-52.

16. Secret Consultations, December 20, 1840, No. 40.

17. Jukpas, a tribe of robbers, infested Western Tibet at that time. As they were partially organized, so they were taken into service by the local Tibetan authorities and pressed against the Dogras.

18. Mehta Basti Ram was a Colonel in the Dogra army. He was a Rajput from Kishtwar and one Zorawar's chief officers. He accompanied Zorawar in all the expeditions and the conquest of Iskardo (Baltistan) was due to his ingenuity. Later on when he escaped from Taklakot to Jammu, he was made a commandant at Zanskar. Afterwards he was appointed Governor of Ladakh. [K. M. Panikkar, *The Founding of the Kashmir State*, (London, 1953). Appen. II, p. 168].

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The propinquity of the Dogras along the Western fringe of the Nepalese territory enthused its King. The King of Nepal tried to establish intercourse with the Sikhs, through one of his confidants, Hastbeer Khawas, the Nepalese Governor at Joomla. There was exchange of some missions between the two powers.¹⁹

While it is open to doubt, if next season Zorawar Singh wanted to conquer Lhasa, as Basti Ram told Lushington (Commissioner of Kumaon) at Kala Pani on October 8, 1841, it is certain that the brave General was in no mood to abandon his new conquests. He had already taken some steps to consolidate the newly acquired territories. He stationed his own soldiers at every post, and also constructed small forts at strategic points such as Chitang, Tirthapuri and Taklakot. Revenue, no doubt, was collected as in the past, but by the officers appointed by Zorawar Singh. Arrangements were also made to ensure the supply of shawl wool from West Tibet to Ladakh only. As a result of all these measures, imports of Bashahr (British protected hill state) in this commodity, suffered a great set-back.²⁰

The fear of a Sikh-Nepalese rapprochement; steep fall in the imports of shawl wool; and maltreatment and suffering of their subjects at the hands of Zorawar's soldiers, were sufficient reasons for the British to act quickly. J. D. Cunningham, Assistant to George Clerk, Political Agent, North-West Frontier, was post-haste despatched to West Tibet,²¹ and asked to investigate and report on the objects of Zorawar's wanderings in that area. Later on when Zorawar was busy in consolidating the newly acquired territories, Clerk on instructions from the Governor-General asked Maharaja Sher Singh to arrange the withdrawal of Zorawar Singh to his original position in Ladakh by December 10, 1841.²²

19. Secret Consultations, August 16, 1841, No. 41, Hodgson (British Resident in Nepal) to Maddock (Secretary to Government) July 30, 1841.

20. Secret Proceedings, January 24, 1842, No. 20.

21. Bhandari Family Archives Papers, S. No. 328, Register A, Pt. iii. Letter dated September 27, 1841, from Clerk to Maharaja Sher Singh (Persian, Ms. Panjab State Archives, Patiala). See also secret Proceedings, Sept. 28, 1841, No. 71.

22. *Ibid.* S. No. 329, Register A, Pt. iii. (These two Persian Mss. were kindly shown by Shri V. S. Suri, Director, Panjab State Archives, Patiala, to whom I am deeply grateful).

The foreboding of Ranjit Singh was becoming true. There was reaction from the other side also. First alarms sent by the Garpons of Rudok and Gartok at the time of Zorawar's entry into Tibet had been heard in Peking and Lhasa. Meng Pao, the Chinese Resident at Lhasa, collected about 10,000 soldiers from various parts of Tibet, and immediately despatched them to expel the *Shen-pas*.²³ This army had a strong park of cavalry and artillery. Adequate commissariat arrangements were also made, and their conveyance to the West of Mayum Pass arranged with the help of merchants and monasteries.²⁴

Zorawar, when he first heard of the arrival of this army, was wintering near Tirthapuri, where provisions had been stored and some fortifications constructed. The arrival of the Tibetan force near the Manasarowar lake was contrary to his expectations, because winter had set in, and the Mayum Pass, situated on the high road from Lhasa, had already been closed by heavy snow falls. But the Tibetan force discovered a by-pass. About 7th November, he despatched 300 soldiers under Nono Sunnum to check advance of the enemy. but this detachment was surrounded at Kardam, to the South of the Manasarowar lake and annihilated.²⁵ On 19th November, Zorawar again despatched an advance column of about 600 soldiers under the joint command of Nono-Sunnum and Gulam Khan. But like the first column, it was also cut to pieces and the two leaders were made prisoners.²⁶

The Indian army was now in a critical position. Zorawar's success had reached its high mark and the capture of Western Tibet was the pinnacle of his glory. What followed was rather in the nature of an anti-climax. There was no hope of his receiving any help either from Jammu or from Lahore. Nau Nihal Singh had died on November 5, 1840. After his death the Lahore Durbar became a cockpit of conflicting ambitions and discordant interests.

23. "Shen-pa" literally means "the Singh People", a term used by the Tibetans and the Chinese to refer to both Sikhs and Dogras. (Fisher, *op.cit.*, App., p. 155).

24. Fisher, *op.cit.*, Appen. pp. 157-60, et. *passim*.

25. A. Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p. 352. Also see, Francke, *History of Western Tibet*, *op.cit.*, p. 163.

26. *Ibid.*

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Sher Singh who became Maharaja, unlike Naunihal, was weak and tractable; Raja Dhian Singh being anxious to retain his position as Prime Minister was keeping all his hill troops in readiness for any eventuality; Raja Gulab Singh was very much busy at Hazara and Peshawar, quelling rebellion and helping the British in their war with the Afghans. Even Zorawar's own soldiers stationed at Leh and other military posts, whom he had ordered to reach the scene of battlefield, were not in a position to move, because the heavy fall of snow had closed all the passes, Zorawar now realised the gravity of the situation: he was surrounded in the depth of winter, retreat was impracticable, and he was facing the enemy of about three times the strength of his own troops. He moved from Tirthanuri towards Taklakot, perhaps to join the troops of Basti Ram. But the way had already been blocked by the Tibetans. Acting on the Napoleonic maxim that attack was the best form of defence he fell upon the enemy. The first action was fought on 10th December, 1841, near Do-yo. War continued for three days: on 12th December, Zorawar was struck by a ball in the right shoulder²⁷ and fell down from his horse. But he was not a man who would give in easily: seizing the sword in his left hand,²⁸ he put to death many Tibetans, before he was speared to death by a Tibetan warrior.

After his death, the Dogra army lost heart and gave way. Rai Singh, Zorawar's second in command, some other chief officers and 836 soldiers were made prisoners.²⁹ Gulam Khan, the desecrator of the monasteries was tortured to death whereas others, comparatively, were treated kindly.³⁰ Basti Ram, when he came to know about this disaster, thought that discretion was the better part of valour. Leaving the camp fires burning and horses tied,³¹ he along with 200 soldiers fled over the Lepu Lekh Pass and reached Almora where they were kindly treated by the British. But while passing

27. Secret Proceedings, March 3, 1842, No. 102. Also see, A. Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p. 352.

28. Francke, *History of Western Tibet*, *op.cit.*, p. 163.

29. Fisher, *op.cit.*, Appen, pp. 167, 169.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

31. A Sherring, *Western Tibet* (London, 1906), p. 197. Also see Dewan Kirpa Ram, *Gulab Nama* (Persian) (Jammu, 1875), p. 255.

over the high mountain ranges they suffered very much. "The deadly cold reduced them to half their numbers, and left a moiety of the remainder maimed for life".³² The story of Napoleon's retreat and sufferings of his army during the Moscow campaign was repeated. With Zorawar's death and the defeat of his army, vanished the possibility of Sikh-Nepalese alliance.

The causes of Zorawar's defeat are easy to seek. The Indian soldiers fought under very great disadvantages. General Winter was their greatest enemy. The battlefield was upward of 15,000 feet above the sea, and the time mid-winter, when even during the day the temperature never rises above the freezing point.³³ Clothing and fuel were scant, many soldiers suffered from frost-bite, and lost the use of their fingers and toes and could not handle their weapons; a few reckless among them, even burnt the stocks of their muskets to get temporary warmth.³⁴ Further Zorawar had advanced too far from his base of operations from where he could not get any succour.

Zorawar had left a permanent mark on history. His greatest contribution to India was the conquest and consolidation of Ladakh and the surrounding areas, which now form our Northern frontier. He was a great military strategist and an intrepid commander. As Panikkar remarked, "His greatness will shine through the pages of Indian History as that of a great and noble warrior."³⁵

32. J. D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs* (Eds.) H. L. O. Garret and R. R. Sethi (Delhi, 1955), p. 220.

33. A. Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p. 357.

34. A. Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p. 357; also see J. D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, *op.cit.*, p. 220.

35. *The Founding of the Kashmir State*, *op.cit.*, p. 82.

Relics of Jainism—Ālatūr

BY

N. G. UNNITHAN, *Trivandrum*

At Ālatūr in Kāvaṣṣerī *Amśom*, Pālghāt District, Kēraḷa, a ruined Jain temple, with sculptures and inscriptions scattered, was noticed by me in the year 1960. The site of the ruined temple is popularly known as 'Cākkayār Tōṭṭam' or Kuṇḍam—a colloquial derivation probably from 'Śākya Garden'. In olden days there was little distinction between the Jain and Buddhist sects, as the term 'Paḷḷi' was applied to all non-Hindu temples.¹ The ruined temple under reference is on a hillock, just half a furlong away from the 'Cākkayār Kuṇḍam', which is known even today as 'Paḷḷikkunnu'. The ruined parts of a temple, like beams, slabs, pillars etc. are found scattered in the area. Around the temple are verdant paddy fields.

No details are available about the character of the temple or its main deity as the whole edifice has been destroyed. Two sculptures of Mahāvīra and Pārśvanātha² and an inscription in *Vaṭṭeluttu*, partly broken, have alone been recovered intact from the

1. *Cērasāmrāṣyam*, *Onpatum Pattum Nūttāṇḍukaḷil*, p. 111, by P. N. Kunjan Pillai.

2. His incarnation is characterised by piety, equanimity and purity. A snake couple killed by Mahīpala's axe died hearing the soothing hymns chanted by Pārśvanātha. They were re-born as the snake king and queen in the nether world. Pārśvanātha was in his final incarnation when he saw the snake couple dying. Later he took to the life of a mendicant and was finally absorbed in meditation when the car of Samvara in his heavenly flight was stopped by the spiritual radiance of Pārśvanātha. In anger, he brought down a heavy downpour to scare him out of his contemplation. Water rose to his chest and chin. Pārśvanātha stood motionless. Padmāvatī fixed a lotus under Pārśvanātha's feet and he rose above surging waters and Dhāraṇendra assumed his immense form, unfolded his seven big hoods over the lord's head and kept it out of the rain. Pārśvanātha became Jain and conqueror of attachment and aversion. This is the explanation for the seven-hooded *lāñchana* of Pārśvanātha.

site of the ruined temple. Several beautiful but broken sculptures, believed to be those of Mahāvīra, were found strewn on the hillock and in the fields around. The temple and the sculptures show signs of ravages, apparently effected during the days of the Mysorean occupation of Malabar.

Buddhism and Jainism were very popular in Kēraḷa and held sway over her people in the early centuries of the Christian era.³ As regards Buddhism, no temples are now extant. There is a broken image of the Buddha in a recently constructed *stūpa* in the Ambalapūḷa Taluk, Alleppey District. This place has been identified to be the original 'Śrīmūlavāsam', the seat of early Buddhism in Kēraḷa,⁴ though images of the Buddha are extant in several other neighbouring places. As regards Jainism, Jain temples continue to exist in many parts of Kēraḷa, though some of them are known as Hindu temples and the deities called by Hindu names. The Jain temple at Kallil, about eight miles from Perumbāvūr in the Erṇakūḷam District, has adopted Hindu forms and rituals though those at Sultān Battery in Calicut District and Muṇḍūr in Pālghāt District still continue to preserve the Jain rituals and forms.

In Kēraḷa the Jain sect had a good following and this is amply evidenced by the centres of Jainism found in the State. The two important centres of Jainism, Cītrāl and Nāgarkōvil of the present Madras State, were previously parts of the erstwhile Travancore State, which had, with the other two regions of Cochin and Malabar, united to form the Kēraḷa State. Sculptures of the Jain monks in the two centres referred to above, deserve appreciation in view of their exquisitely graceful features.

Kallil is the most important ancient site of Jainism in Kēraḷa. Kallil contains a natural rock-cave in which are set the figures of Mahāvīra, Pārsvanātha and Padmāvatī Dēvī. On the facade of the cave on the overhanging rock there is the figure of Mahāvīra which is incomplete. People believe that heavenly sculptors come down every day to complete it. The image of Mahāvīra, carved in half relief on the back wall of the cave, is seated on a *simhāsana* in the *yōgic* posture. The usual totem lion is carved on the

3. *Op.cit.*, p. 110.

4. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II, p. 116.

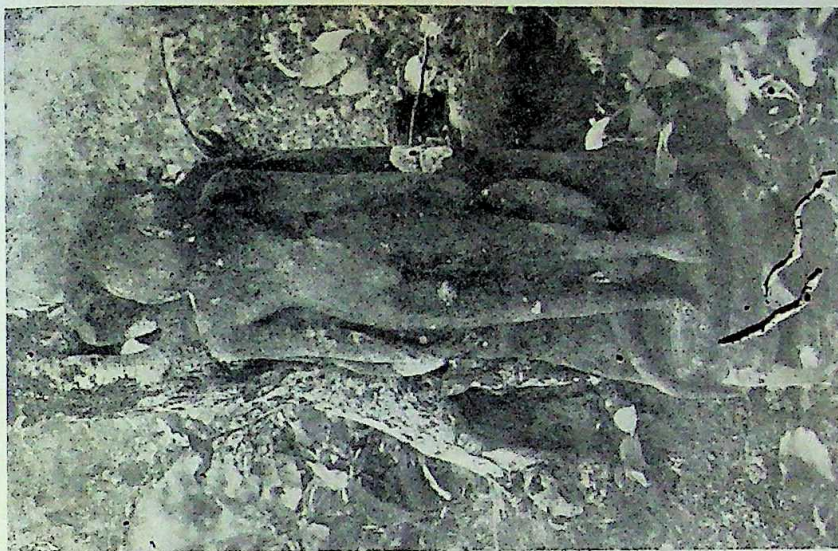


PLATE II—Parśvanātha

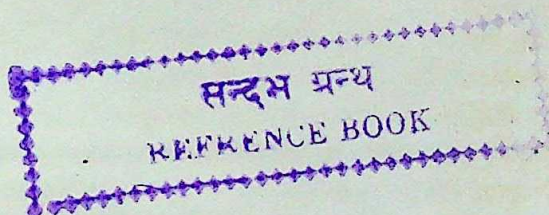


PLATE I—Mahāvira

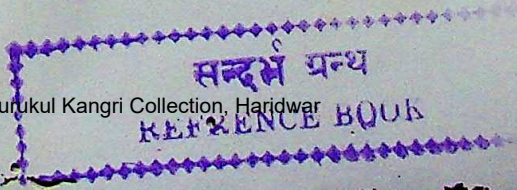




PLATE III — Vatteluthu Inscription—Alatūr

middle of the seat with triple umbrella above the head and *Gan-dharvas* on either side with *cauris*. On the right is shown *Ṛadmā-vāṭī Dēvī*, the principal deity in the temple today. To the left of *Mahāvīra* is *Pārśvanātha*.

In addition to the above, more centres of Jainism have been reported in the Calicut and Pālghāt Districts. Gaṇapativāṭṭan in Sultān Battery was an important centre of Jainism in South Wayanād. The most interesting of the temples at Sultān Battery is the Vasti temple, hidden in a lantana thicket, a few yards south of the sixtieth milestone on the Kēraḷa-Mysore road.⁵ There are Jains at Manantōdy and Kalpetta in Wayanād. The Dēvī temple on the top of the Edakkal Cave is also believed to have been a Jain temple though conclusive evidence is not available.⁶

In Pālghāt too, relics of Jainism are available. One interesting temple in Pālghāt other than the one at Ālatūr, is the small Jain temple near Basel Mission Tile Works, which caters to the spiritual needs of a few Jains in Pālghāt and Muṇḍūr. It is believed that there were two Jain settlements, one at Muttu-paṭṭanam and the other at Macalapattanam and that they were dispersed as a result of Hyder's invasion.⁷ Even now Jains inhabit Puthen Āṅgāḍi and other places. Maṇṇārgḥāt, Paḷlikurup, Tācan-pāra, Nāṭṭukallu, Tuppanād etc., in Pālghāt District are the other strongholds of Jainism in Kēraḷa.

The distinguishing features of a Jain sculpture are its long hanging arms, *Śrīvatsa* symbol, mild appearance, youthful body and nudity.⁸ There are also special symbols or chin *mudras* to recognise one Tirthaṅkara from another. Besides, there are certain symbols which mark out a Jain representation from others like the *Svastika*, mirror, urn, cane seat, flower garland, book, small fish etc. In the early stages of Jain iconography there had not been the practice of making out a Jain figure with distinctive symbols, except the *Pārśvanātha* figure which used to be represented always with a snake canopy. It appears that only

5. *Malabar District Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 505.

6. *Samskāratintē Nalikkallukal*, P. N. Kunjan Pillai, p. 40.

7. *Malabar Gazetteer*, C. A. Innes, Vol. I, p. 474.

8. *Jaina Iconography*, B. C. Bhattacharya, p. 28.

from the Gupta period *lāñchanas* (symbols) used to be associated with Jain figures. The presence of the *Yakṣa* or *Yakṣiṇī* on the sides of the main figure is also a *lāñchana* of Jain Tīrthankaras. While in the Jain figures of the Kuṣāṇ age no *Yakṣa* or *Yakṣiṇī* is seen⁹, the *Yakṣi* cult seems to have been popular in South India from the days of *Silappadikāram*.¹⁰ Mahāvīra is invariably represented in *yōgic* posture with the lion as his symbol.

The image of Mahāvīra recovered from Ālatūr is seated in the *Paryāṅkāśana* pose, on a simple but nicely finished *bhadrāsana*. The figure is exceedingly graceful and the proportions are well-modelled. The face displays inner composure and self-absorption. The face is round and the ears are long and extended. The shoulders are straight and square and the arms and body are beautifully modelled. The usual marks of Jain sculpture are absent except the triple umbrella, nudity, long arms, youthful body and the *lāñchana* of Mahāvīra, namely the lions. The *Gandharvas* flank the sides of the Jina. The well-modelled proportions of the body, the graceful face etc., indicate an early period probably 9th-10th century A.D. The *Gandharvas* hold the *cauris* in their right hands and they keep the left ones akimbo. Two lions with palm upwards are carved on the sides of Mahāvīra (Plate I).

The other sculpture is that of Pārśvanātha, (Plate II) which is also intact except for certain cracks here and there. All the *lāñchanas* for the Jain figure are not seen in the sculpture. Instead of a seven or five-hooded cobra above *Pārśvanātha*, a three-hooded cobra alone is seen. He is in the *kayōtsarga* pose. The hands and body indicate deep meditation. The face is round and the shoulders are straight. The limbs are gracefully modelled and the trunk is nude. The other identifying marks of a Jain figure like *Śrīvatsa* symbol, *Yakṣa* figures etc., are not seen. The *Yakṣa* *Dharaṇendra* and *Yakṣiṇī* *Padmāvatī* too are absent.

A granite inscription, broken at top, in *Vatṭeḷuttu* script and Tamil language, and broken pieces of Jain sculpture, probably of Mahāvīra in the *paryanka* pose, have also been recovered from

9. *Jain Iconography*, B. C. Battacharya, p. 40.

10. *Jainism in South India*, P. B. Desai, p. 90.

the area. The inscription is in a very bad state of preservation and it has not been possible to decipher it properly. It is believed to have been engraved by an assembly of several bodies such as 'Nārpatteṇṇāyiravar, Patipādamūlam of Tirukkunavāyttēvar, Attikōśam, and the Aḍiganmār of Nalañjiyar to lay down the principle that the right of collecting levies such as *Ulaikkalam* etc., from the *Nalañjiyarppalli* and other connected establishments should not be mortgaged to others.¹¹ The inscription on palaeographic grounds, may be placed in 10th century A.D. (Plate III). From the above, it may be presumed that the temple in ruins was a Jain temple.

According to Sri P. B. Desai the term 'Paḷli' is closely associated with Jainism. The term 'Paḷlikūdam'¹² means a school which was intimately associated with a monastery or temple in ancient times, and the Jain teachers were renowned for their learning and educational activities.

The earliest reference to the grant known as 'Paḷlichchandam' occurs about 9th century A.D. and in the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya rulers' grants, from the 9th to the 13th centuries, the term occurs frequently. These appear to have been exclusive grants to Jain ascetic orders or temples.

Jainism was thus popular in Kēraḷa from the 8th century A.D. to the 11th, though definite data are absent. In Kēraḷa also the *Yakṣiṇī* cult was freely adopted in order to popularise the faith. In the temple at Kallil,¹³ the *Yakṣiṇī* figures of Padmāvatī are prominently carved. At Ālatūr broken parts of female figures have been noticed, which suggest another instance of the availability of the *Yakṣiṇī* figures in centres of Jainism of Kēraḷa.

The new discovery is an important landmark in the history of Jainism in Kēraḷa, in view of its proximity to the Kongu-dēśa, which according to the present evidences included parts of Mysore, Coimbatore and Salem. The 'Kongu Dēśa Rājākkaḷ' gives a succession of 28 princes, of whom the first seven are said to

11. *Annual Report—Indian Epigraphy* 1960, p. 70.

12. *Jainism in South India*, p. 79.

13. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. I and II.

belong to the Reddi community.¹⁴ The Koṅgunāḍu is as old as the other three Tamil kingdoms and there are references to it in *Patirru Pattu*,¹⁵ Śilappadikāram, etc. The *Koṅgudēsa Rājākkal*, though supported by inscriptions, is not treated as an authoritative work. But there are also a few inscriptions which give details of the dynasty and their patronage to Jainism. Invariably all monarchs patronised Jainism and professed the faith. Most of the inscriptions refer to some grant to Jain temples or order.¹⁶ After the 7th prince, Koṅgaṇivarma was the first in the line of twenty or twentyone kings referred to in *Koṅgudēsa Rājākkal* though in the inscriptions only fifteen or sixteen are noticed and the rise of their dynasty is placed at the beginning of the 8th century A.D. and its close in 1125 A.D. Jainism was very popular till the beginning of the 12th century A.D. in Koṅgunāḍ. Only on the find of new relics in the present Districts of Kēraḷa with clear inscriptional evidences, it would be possible to correlate the patronage of the Koṅgu Ceras in the spread of Jainism in the Cera empire which also lost its predominance sometime about 1102 A.D.

In South Indian Jain sculptures *Uṣṇīṣa* is not seen. *Śrīvatsa* on the right chest and petals of *Padma* on the pedestals are other characteristics of South Indian sculptures.¹⁷ In the sculptures under reference, some of the South Indian characteristics are seen though *Śrīvatsa* on the right chest is not clear. It has not been possible so far to clearly discover provincial peculiarities in these sculptures which alone would be able to provide whether they had been carved either through Cera or Koṅgu patronage. The bronze recently discovered in Koṅgu country have also not indicated any special characteristic.¹⁸ We have yet to wait for details from new relics to discover provincial traits or features.

14. J.R.A.S., Vol. VIII, p. 2, *Madras Journal*, Vol. XIV, p. 4.

15. *Kongupuram Perṛa Korra Venda*, Puram 373.

16. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, p. 101.

17. *Jaina Vestige in Andhra*, p. 79.

18. 'Bronzes from Kongunad'—*Lalit Kala Academy Journal*, April 1961. P. R. Nagaswamy. The Editor in his remarks on 'Bronzes from Kongunad' has stated that the *Yajñōpavīta* going round the arm in the Tripurāntaka image is a Pallava feature which has not been noticed after the close of the Pallava period. Its appearance in later sculptures preferably from Kongunad, according to him, is a sure indication of the local characteristics

It may be inferred, as already indicated, from the finds of sculptures and inscriptions in different parts of the State, that Jainism was very popular from 8th century A.D. to the 11th. In view of the similarities between the sects of Jainism and Hinduism, it was possible for Jainism to go hand in hand with Hinduism, though some of the Jain centres were gradually transformed into Hindu temples. The common features in both Hinduism and Jainism had enabled Jainism to keep its tenets living and even to-day there are nearly 3,000¹⁹ followers for it in Kēraḷa while Buddhism has only just about 228.

that must have developed in the Kongu country. Similar sculptures datable to 10th-11th century from the Districts of Calicut, Quilon and Kanyākumārī of the States of Kēraḷa and Madras respectively with Yajñōpavīta going round the right arm have been noticed. In order, therefore, to attribute this feature as a local characteristic in later sculptures, further evidences are required.

19. *Census Report*, 1961.

Afghan Usurpation of Patna

BY

SHREE GOVIND MISHRA, M.A., PH.D.,
Bhagalpur University

During the mid-18th century, Darbhanga was a stronghold of the Afghans. The Afghans played a remarkable role in Bihar in this century. With a glorious history in the past, they had at one time established their suzerainty over a greater part of Hindusthan. But after the death of Sher Shah, the period of disintegration began for the Afghans. In 1556 Akbar defeated them. This victory finally extinguished the different ruling houses of the Afghans throughout Hindusthan. Thereafter they lost their independent status and were reduced to a servile position.

After 1556 the Afghans under the authority of the Mughals settled in the different parts of India. The Afghan soldiers and captains were employed in the Mughal army and they fought under the banners of Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. During the reign of Aurangzeb the Afghans went to the Deccan to fight against the Marathas, Bijapur and Golkonda. They were acting as mercenary soldiers in the Mughal army. The Afghans had no longer any home in India under a chief of their own race even as a great territorial magnate, so they did not possess a centre of political cohesion or a nucleus¹ for their racial rally.

Taking advantage of the disintegration of the Mughal empire after Aurangzeb, the Afghans raised their heads. They were seized with the idea of establishing their independent empire. Then they had already settled as peaceful landholders and captains of mercenary soldiers in Orissa, Sylhet, Darbhanga and Allahabad. The invasion of Nadir Shah of Persia in 1739 clearly demonstrated to the people of Hindusthan the impotence of the Mughal empire.

1. Sarkar, J. N., *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 41.

This invasion tempted the Indian Afghans to carve out a principality for themselves. So they settled near Delhi².

Alivardi, when he was the Deputy Governor of the province, had received valuable services from the Afghans of Bihar. He also received help from them, when he became the Nawab of Bengal. Mustafa Khan, the most prominent Afghan General, had helped him considerably from the first invasion of the Marathas till the assassination³ of Bhaskar Pandit and his companions. Mustafa Khan had been the sole instrument behind the assassination of the Maratha General and his soldiers. He had executed this atrocious deed on the promise of Alivardi that he would confer upon him the post of the Deputy Governor of Bihar. Alivardi hesitated to fulfil⁴ his promise. This enraged Mustafa Khan and he stopped attending the court.

Really Alivardi was not justified in his action. It would have been proper for Alivardi to declare Mustafa Khan, the Deputy Governor of Bihar. Mustafa Khan's relation with Alivardi deteriorated in such a way that an armed conflict between them seemed inevitable. Mustafa Khan had begun to consider himself as powerful and as competent as Alivardi. He thought that if he continued to attend the court, he might share the same fate as Bhaskar.⁵ Therefore he refused to attend the court and began to live in his own house surrounded by his retainers. Alivardi also took adequate measures for his own protection.

Tactful and cunning as Alivardi was, he followed the policy of divide and rule. He won over some Afghan Generals to his side. Shamshir Khan, Rahim Khan and Sardar Khan now became the intimate friends of Alivardi. This new development perplexed Mustafa Khan and he resigned the service of Alivardi. The Nawab cleared off his dues of the army amounting to 17 crores.⁶

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

3. Datta, K. K., *Alivardi and His Times*, p. 120.

Datta, K. K., *Fort William—India House Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 3.

4. Husain, Ghulam, *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin*, Vol. I, p. 439.

5. Sarkar, J. N., *Bihar and Orissa during the fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 62.

6. Husain, Ghulam, *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin*, Vol. I, p. 443.

He left the capital in utter disgust in February, 1745 and started for Patna with the distinct purpose of wresting the government from Zainuddin, the Deputy Governor of Bihar. He thought that if Alivardi could take the Subahdaree of Bengal by force, he could as well wrest the Government of Bihar from Zainuddin. Thus he was prepared to fight against Haibat Jang. Mustafa Khan started from Murshidabad and reached Rajmahal, which was the boundary of Bihar at that time. He took some guns and elephants from the Foujdar of Rajmahal, wherefrom he went to Monghyr and occupied the local fort. He then appeared near Patna (March 14, 1745) in open rebellion, and put up his camp in the mango-grove lying south of the Patna city. Alivardi learnt of the departure of Mustafa Khan for Patna and was apprehensive that the battle might take place between Zainuddin and Mustafa Khan. Zainuddin, the most beloved of his relations, was really: 'the candle that enlightened the old age of his uncle and the taper that blazed out for the glory of family⁸ and his race'. Alivardi sent him a secret letter and the letter contained an order to his nephew to go over to him by the northern shore of Ganga and to approach Bengal from the Purnea side and to consult with him about the further course of action. The order was 'calculated to prevent in the young man, a temptation to fight Mustafa Khan⁹ for whose wide mouth, he apprehended, he might prove but one easy morsel'. But Zainuddin did not accept the advice of Alivardi. He was prepared to defend the capital at all costs. He had just returned from Tirhut. He gathered an army. He called all his soldiers from the outpost of his dominion. All the local Zamindars and the rich men helped Zainuddin. In this way his army swelled to 14000 fighters in a short space of time. Zainuddin proceeded further. He had put his camp at Jafar Khan's garden, east of the Patna city. The battle started and the Afghans were certain of their success but at that very moment a musket killed Mustafa Khan's elephant driver. So Mustafa Khan came down from the elephant. But his action in dismounting produced exactly the effect that he wanted to avoid.¹⁰

7. Ali, Karam, *Muzaffarnamah*, F. 29.

Khan, Yusuf Ali, *Tarikh-i-Mahabat Jang*, F. 33.

8. Husain, Ghulam, *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin*, Vol. I, p. 445.

9. *Ibid.*, (original), F. 28.

10. Khan, Yusuf Ali, *Tarikh-i-Mahabat Jang*, F. 34.

The Afghan soldiers thought that their leader had been killed. From 21st March the whole Afghan force began to retreat.

Zainuddin, when informed about the retreat, did not believe it to be true. He could not understand that such a danger could pass off so easily. They retreated through Naubatpur, Mithapur and Muhib¹¹ Alipur and came southwards to the Son river. After the departure of Mustafa Khan from Murshidabad, Alivardi also started for Patna. He reached Patna, when Mustafa Khan had already retreated from the battlefield. He joined Haibat Jang in the pursuit against Mustafa Khan. Soon Mustafa Khan left Bihar. He was pursued as far as Ghazipur.¹² Now he took shelter near the fort of Chunar in a countryside. Alivardi and Zainuddin returned to Patna in April 1745.

At the time of the flight from Murshidabad, Mustafa Khan had communicated to Raghuji,¹³ the independent chief of Nagpur, his desire in regard to the invasion of Bengal. So Raghuji Bhonsle attacked Bengal. This news emboldened Mustafa Khan to come out of Chunar. He wanted to give another battle to Zainuddin. Mustafa now came to Shahabad district, entered the Zamindari of Udwant Singh Ujjainia, the owner of Jagdishpur. Udwant Singh was hostile to the Governor of Bihar. Zainuddin Haibat Jang heard of this development but he was not the man to be daunted at this attack. It was a taste of Zainuddin's strength. He gathered an army of 13000 men. He had two able officers with him, Shahdin-Mohamed and Rahim Khan. The whole army crossed the Son river by foot at Koilwar and came to Karhani on the edge of the jungle of Jagdishpur. The enemy were lying there and the battle started on June 20, 1745. Mustafa's force had dwindled. He had no money, so no new recruitment could be made. However the battle started. It appeared at the outset that victory would go to the Afghans but just then the leader of the force, Mustafa Khan was¹⁴ shot by a musket ball. A soldier of the Nawab now

11. *Ibid.*, F. 35.

12. Husain, Ghulam, *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin*, p. 463.

13. Salim, Gulam Husain, *Riyazu-us-Salatin*, p. 352.

14. Husain, Ghulam, *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin*, p. 467.
Khan, Yusuf Ali, *Tarikh-i-Mahabat Jang*, F. 36.

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mounted on the elephant, cut off¹⁵ the head of Mustafa Khan, fixed it on the point of a spear and exposed it before the army. The whole force fled to the village of Magror,¹⁶ 14 miles right of Chainpur on the bank of the river Karamnasa, under the leadership of Mustafa's son Murtaza. Thus one great danger passed off from the province of Bihar.

Within a short time a second danger, more formidable than the first, appeared. After the departure of Mustafa Khan, the rest of the Afghan soldiers were not sincere to their duties. They did not help Alivardi, when he was engaged in a battle with Raghuji in Nov. 1745.¹⁷ They were said to have formed a secret alliance with Raghuji for overthrowing Alivardi. The ultimate motive of the Afghans was to subjugate the province of Bihar in conjunction with the Marathas. Having no other alternative, the Nawab dismissed two Afghan Generals, Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan, with six thousand men in 1746.¹⁸ He further ordered them to retire to their homes in the Darbhanga district in Bihar.¹⁹ Then they went to Darbhanga.

Zainuddin had helped Alivardi against the first Maratha invasion. He had defeated Mustafa Khan in March 1745 and killed him in his second expedition. These daring deeds created in him a feeling of indispensability and vanity. He began to consider himself as an equal to Alivardi and thought of usurping the *Masnad* of Bengal. He wanted to oust Alivardi from the position he held.²⁰ To be successful in his ambition, he wanted to enlist three thousand Afghans in his army. Alivardi had discharged these Afghans on the ground of disloyalty to himself. Zainuddin wrote a letter to Alivardi in which he suggested that he wanted to recruit three thousand Afghans in his army, provided he would meet the additional expenses. Alivardi grudgingly²¹ consented and Zainuddin, on his instruction, sent his agents to Darbhanga to invite the

15. Salim, Gulam Husain, *Riyazu-us-Salatin*, p. 353.

16. Datta, K. K., *Fort-William—India House Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 6.

17. Khan, Yusuf Ali, *Tarikh-i-Mahabat Jang*, F. 45.

18. Datta, K. K., *Fort-William—India House Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 6.

19. Khan, Yusuf Ali, *Tarikh-i-Mahabat Jang*, F. 45.

20. *Ibid.*, 47.

21. *Ibid.*, F. 47.

Afghans to go over to Patna. The Afghans viewed this proposal of Zainuddin with a great suspicion. However, the Afghans went to Hajipur on 16th Dec. 1747 and the negotiations started between Zainuddin and the Afghans. Everything was settled and the Afghans went to Patna. The 10th January, 1748²² was fixed for a ceremonial interview of the Afghans with Zainuddin in the Chilhil Satan or (Hall of audience, hall of forty pillars) at Patna. The Afghans were not sincere to Zainuddin. All the Afghans one by one were presented to Zainuddin. As everything was pre-arranged, Zainuddin was stabbed by Abdur Rashid Khan and cut into two pieces, by Murad Sher Khan. Thus Zainuddin perished at the hands of his faithless allies.²³

It was a terrible blow to Alivardi. The cruel fate had snatched away his able son-in-law at the closing years of his life. The Deputy Governor of Bihar had been paid back in his own coin by the Afghans. His wife Amina Begum was arrested and imprisoned. Her father Haji Ahmad also was arrested and they were put together. Thus Amina Begum was, for seventeen days,²⁴ forced to listen to the cries of Haji Ahmad who was tortured by various horrible devices, to reveal the place where his treasure lay hidden. Then for well nigh a year he spent anxious days as a prisoner in the enemy's camp.²⁵ Haji Ahmad met with a very cruel end.²⁶ The Afghans were under the impression that Haji Ahmad was responsible for the murder of their leader, Mustafa Khan. So Shamshir Khan gave him a hundred and one lashes from *Khorah*. He was placed on an ass, with his leg tied under the belly of the animal and his face painted half-black and half-white.²⁷ He was led round the city. Then he was chained to the leg of an elephant, and at last he was doomed to a cruel and lingering death.

22. Datta, K. K., *Alivardi and His Times*, p. 132.

23. *Bengal: Past and Present*, 1920, p. 197.

Firminger, W. K., *Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna*, p. 2.

24. Husain, Ghulam, *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin*, p. 39.

25. Firminger, W. K., *Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna*, p. 3.

26. Husain, Ghulam, *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin*, p. 357.

27. Holwell, J. Z., *Interesting Historical Events relative to the province of Bengal and the Empire of Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 169.

After the brutal murder of Zainuddin, the unfortunate city came under the Afghan rule. The city was a prey to all atrocities. The Afghan usurpation of Patna for full three months brought untold miseries on her people.²⁸ The city was subjected to indiscriminate plundering and the people had to pass their days and nights in extreme agony and fear. The normal life of the citizen was disturbed. Mr. Firmingar in his book "*Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna*" draws a very pathetic picture of the place. He writes: "The pictures drawn of 1748 in that awful year of 1748" recall to memory "that terrible description of our own motherland in the days of king Stephan when men said openly that Christ and his saints slept". "These Rohilla Afghans sacked the city, and its suburbs, looted treasures, dishonoured women and children and desolated a whole world",²⁹ writes the author of *Riyaz-u-Salatin*.

The Afghans got immense wealth on account of the murder of Zainuddin. Haji Ahmad had buried his treasure beneath the stone of the Prophet's footprint and the whole wealth was excavated by the Afghans. They got near about 70 lacs³⁰ of rupees besides jewellery from the house of Haji Ahmad. In addition to this huge amount, the Afghans got three lakhs of rupees from Zainuddin's house. They plundered the city for three days and they committed every sort of ravage. They dishonoured³¹ the people of Patna to an unspeakable extent. They surrounded the houses of the great men of the city and robbed them. "Plunder and sack by the Ruhelas raged in the city and its environs, the life, property and family honour of multitudes were destroyed, and the sight of Doomsday appeared".³²

Thus the Afghans succeeded in their aims of establishing their control over Patna, though for a temporary period. The tactlessness of Zainuddin was fully responsible for the success of the

28. Husain, Ghulam, *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin*, p. 40.

29. Salim, Gulam Husain, *Riyazu-us-Salatin*, p. 353.

30. Khan, Yusuf Ali, *Tarikh-i-Mahabat Jang*, F. 49.

31. Husain, Ghulam, *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin*, p. 40.

32. Sarkar, J. N., *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 142.

Afghans, who ruled over Patna for full three months. The people of Patna did not like the rule of the Afghans. Alivardi was perturbed at this turn of events and he started from Murshidabad. He defeated the Afghans near Patna at the battle of Rani Sarai in 1748. The Afghans were defeated in this battle and they left Patna. In this way Patna came under the control of Alivardi and the people of this place heaved a sigh of relief.

The British Rule and The Practice of Sati in Gujarat

BY

M. J. MEHTA, *Ahmedabad*

One of the major social issues that confronted the British rule in India was the practice of Sati. In Gujarat, as in other parts of India, this practice had a long established convention and the sanction of orthodox Brahmanism. The British found themselves in a dilemma in the matter of Sati, for on the one hand they knew that the religious sentiments of the Hindus were involved, and on the other hand they wanted to abolish this practice on humanitarian grounds. Sati was glorified in Hindu tradition and the people commemorated the event by erecting a monument in the sacred memory of a woman who performed Sati. Colonel Walker saw many Sati monuments "bearing suitable inscription and a figure of a woman's hand and arm".¹ He was struck by the fact that in Gujarat people used to worship the Sati monuments with great faith. The British knew this fact well and this made them very cautious in their attitude towards this practice.

The termination of the Maratha power in 1818 made the English the sovereign authority in Western India. This event strengthened their hands in dealing with the social matters such as Sati, female infanticide and widow remarriage. But unfortunately the new rulers continued their traditional neutral policy even after 1818. The Government did not take any strong measure to stop Sati, though it was left to the discretion of individual officers to prohibit the custom by persuasion. As shrewd statesmen they could perceive from the past history of India that any interference in the religious sphere of the native people would

1. Colonel Walker, *Reports on Kathiawar*, Vol. I, 283. Many Sati monuments still exist in various parts of Gujarat. The well known monuments are those of Shivkorbai, a Nagar Brahman woman at Surat; Sati Divali at Broach; Sati Dhankorbai at the Borsad subdivision of Kaira, and Sati Rajbai at Viramgam. See *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. IX, Part I, Government Printing Press, Bombay, 1910, 358.

affect and endanger their own colonial interests in India. This explains why the Government of the day thought that in order to maintain its own stability in India, it would not only be prudent to recognize the religious practices of the Hindus but also to support and patronise them. For example Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, declared in his Minute dated 30th June, 1825 that whenever the incident of Sati occurred "the presence of the Magistrate was proper where the occurrence was rare and the means to be employed uncertain".² However he felt sorry that the presence of a Magistrate or an official would mean that the British sanctioned this practice, as the presence of such an official would "give more dignity to the ceremony".³ James Forbes who came to India during the latter part of the eighteenth century (1765-1784) in the capacity of a civil servant did not try to stop the wife of Hiroo Nund, a Minister of Baroda, when she performed Sati. On the contrary he felt unhappy that he could not visit "so extraordinary an immolation which took place only within twelve miles of my residence on the bank of the river Vishvamitri in Brodera".⁴

As early as 1793 the Governor-General in Council had promised to "preserve the laws of the Shaster and the Coran and protect the natives of India in the free exercise of their religion".⁵ It was hoped that the custom would gradually disappear with the growth of public opinion enlightened by their liberal influence. The Government was severely criticised for its inaction both by the Christian missionaries and officials who acted in their individual capacity. It should be said to the credit of the Christian missionaries like James Piggs and the officials like Kirkland, the Collector of Broach, that while the Government of the East India company remained inactive regarding Sati, they raised their loud protest against this evil and cultivated public opinion against this inhuman practice. In the Bombay Presidency the missionaries were pioneers in this respect. They enjoyed an advantageous position in the sense that unlike the Government officials they could pursue their policy

2. Judicial Department, Vol. 17/101 of 1825, 281.

3. *Ibid.*, 281.

4. James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, II Vol., London, 1834, I.

5. (Ed.) *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. VI, Cambridge University Press, 1932, 132.

independently. Sometimes they worked in co-operation with individual officials in order to save the life of the unfortunate victims. Let us take two concrete illustrations to explain how the efforts of the officials and the missionaries in their private capacity were made and with what result.

On 22nd April, 1828 a woman named Divali, wife of Daulatrai Desai performed Sati in Broach. The Senior Assistant and the Criminal Judge of Broach, Mr. Kirkland, tried his best to save her life by ordering that she should not burn herself within the British territory. When the Sati requested her relatives to take her beyond the British territory by crossing the river, Mr. Kirkland ordered the boatmen not to take the Sati and the other participants to the other side of the river. But she managed to cross the river and performed the sacrifice. Kirkland writes:—

".... As a last resort I proceeded in person to the woman's house for the purpose of trying how far persuasions would avail to induce her to forgo her intention. Every argument that suggested itself, both as related to herself and the interests of her family, was made use of, in the hope of shaking her resolution. But I regret to say.....without effect.....A suspicion of the woman being pregnant having arisen, whilst she was going through the preliminary preparation, I even temporarily ascertained, but on its being unfounded I had no further plea for delay, and things were allowed to take course".⁶ Such honest intentions on the part of the British officials hardly succeeded for want of any legal ban on this practice.

James Piggs, a British missionary was successful in preventing a woman from burning herself with her husband. He writes:

"In that instance I proceeded to her house, and as she appeared firm in her resolution, I could only persuade her to delay the ceremony for a few days. If she persisted in her wish, she should meet with no hindrance. As might be expected twenty-four hours produced a total change! Instead of the hysterical grief with which she was affected, tears came to her relief, and she declared her resolution not to burn".⁷

6. Judicial Department, Vol. 20/167 of 1828, 188-90.

7. James Piggs, *India's Cries to British Humanity*, London, 1834, 10.

The history of Sati in British India gives us an impression that the authorities of the East India Company put more emphasis on moral persuasion than putting a legal ban on such a cruel practice. It should be noted that Sati was not a normal feature of Indian society and at least in Gujarat such incidents rarely occurred.⁸ The Government would have saved the lives of at least some of the unfortunate victims by putting a legal ban in the areas which were less susceptible to rouse any religious sentiments of the people. The attitude of the Bombay Government was rather more rigid regarding the prohibition of Sati. When Francis Warden proposed to the Bombay Government to issue "the most positive prohibition for its abolition" in Surat, Mountstuart Elphinstone replied that "our interference will not provide that object".⁹ Elphinstone was convinced that any prohibition would excite the sentiments of the people and the publicity of this issue would do more harm than good in the areas which were comparatively free from this evil. The subsequent events proved that the opinion of the Governor was rather exaggerated. It seems highly probable that the Bombay Government by legal action would have stopped the incidents without incurring much opposition from the people of Gujarat. When the Bombay Government actually put a legal ban on this practice in 1830, the people remained silent. The policy of the Bombay Government shows that it preferred to adopt the safer and more cautious attitude of appealing to the reason and the moral conscience of the people. It was hoped by the Government "that the more general dissemination of knowledge among the better informed Hindus themselves might be expected to prepare gradually the minds of the natives for such a measure".¹⁰ But considering the fact that the incidents of Sati in Gujarat occurred rarely, it seems that the Government would have saved the lives of at least a few women by making the practice illegal. The Government would have stopped the stray incidents of Sati without arousing the sentiments of the people. The policy of waiting for the gradual "dissemination of knowledge" among the people and delaying any legislative action, though it sounds more democratic, was not a

8. For comparison of the incidents of Sati in Western India and Bengal see the appendix at the end of this article.

9. Minute by Mountstuart Elphinstone dated 30th June 1825. Judicial Department Vol. 17/101 of 1825, 285.

10. Parliamentary Papers, 1825, Vol. XXIV, 153-4.

very prudent one. The Bengal Government was cautious in taking any legal measure because there were conservative elements which strongly favoured the Sati. In 1817 the number of the Satis in Bengal had gone to a shocking figure of 700. This was not the case in Western India and the Government would have stopped the practice by legal measure even before 1829 and set a precedent for the Bengal Government.

But unfortunately the Bombay Government remained inactive. Instead, it went to the extent of legalizing Sati by declaring that assistance to a woman for self-immolation was not a crime.¹¹ Even after the Bengal Government passed the resolution XVII of 1829 prohibiting Sati legally, the Bombay Government remained conservative in its attitude. It was unfortunate that the legal measure of the Bengal Government was not applied to the Bombay Presidency, an area where the proportion of the crime was comparatively much less. Even after 1829 the Bombay Government went to the extent of ordering the Magistrate "not to use any force but to render the most respectable natives, instruments in effecting the abolition of Suttee".¹² For this purpose the Government formed village panchayats and gave them the powers to decide whether or not the widow of the deceased should perform sacrifice. Sir John Malcolm who succeeded Elphinstone as the Governor of Bombay declared on 11th January 1830 that "if the panchayat decides that there should not be a Suttee, it should not be permitted and under no circumstances, natives in public employ and those who desired to see or maintain an intercourse by visits with European officers, should be prohibited from attending Suttees".¹³ But this timid policy was severely criticised both by the individual officials and the newspapers. It was funny that the practice of Sati which was publicly proclaimed by the Government of Bengal and Madras to be illegal was tolerated by the Bombay Government. It was sad that instead of proclaiming Sati to be illegal, the Bombay Government gave powers to the panchayats and depended upon their decision. The *India Gazette* of February 1830 commented upon the panchayat clause of the Bombay Government by declaring that

11. *Cambridge History of India* (Ed.), Vol. VI, Cambridge University Press, 1932, 133.

12. Judicial Department, Vol. 20/213 of 1830, 116.

13. *Ibid.*, 118.

"no one can suppose that the verdict of the native panchayat against the unfortunate widow will exonerate British rulers from the moral guilt of being accessories to the sacrifice, or from a stigma which it attaches to their political government of the country".¹⁴

Severely criticised by the Christian missionaries and enlightened public opinion of the Indians mainly through the press, the Bombay Government at last gave in. It put a legal ban on the Sati in November 1830. The Asiatic Society contains the following "motion of thanks to Sir John Malcolm, from the Bombay Missionary Union". The motion states that the Union was grateful to Sir John Malcolm "for his honourable exertions in the abolition of Suttee".¹⁵ The law prohibiting Sati applied only to the British Indian territory. It did not include the princely states. The result was that in some cases the widows went to the territories of the native princes and performed the sacrifice there. For example one Deshastha Brahman woman, originally an inhabitant of Ratnagiri, burnt herself with her husband in Baroda in 1839.¹⁶ Mr. Sutherland, the then Resident of Baroda criticised the inaction of the Maharaja of Baroda and demanded an explanation for his passive attitude. He warned the Maharaja that "persons have already suffered under the application of this law".¹⁷

Now that the Bombay Government had passed the law prohibiting Sati, the officials could take severe measures and punish those who violated the law. The Bombay Government now entered into engagements with the native princes of Western India to make this law effective. The Gaekwad of Baroda issued a proclamation on 13th April 1840 that anyone who would participate in such a crime would be severely punished under the regulations of the Bombay Government. Similarly the chiefs of the smaller states like Ahmadnagar, Rewakantha, Lunawada and Palanpur entered into engagements with the Bombay Government to prohibit the practice of Sati in their states.¹⁸ The Government got

14. Quoted by James Piggs, 261-2. Also refer to the Asiatic Journal, August 1830, 206.

15. Quoted by James Piggs, 266.

16. Political Department, Vol. 109/885 of 1837-9, 30.

17. Baroda Political Correspondence, 1840, 293-5.

18. Appendix II shows the various chiefs of the native states who entered into engagements with the Government.

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the Sati Act translated into Gujarati and Marathi and also issued a number of proclamations in order to acquaint the people with the Government's views on this topic. Sometimes the stray cases of Sati did occur in the territories of the native chiefs. But the Government now took severe measures against the participants. As late as 1862 a case of Sati occurred in the state of Sirohi, and the participants in this act were heavily fined and imprisoned.

APPENDIX I

Table showing the number of Satis in Bengal Presidency.¹⁹

Districts	Years			
Calcutta Division	1823	1824	1825	1826
Burdwan ..	45	56	63	45
Hoogly ..	81	91	104	98
Jessore ..	14	30	16	3
Midnapore ..	15	22	22	15
Nuddea ..	59	79	60	44
Subdivisions of Calcutta ..	46	34	48	35
24 Parganas ..	21	22	26	20
Barasut ..	1	4	20	8
Cuttack ..	19	11	14	10
Khoorda ..	11	13	16	35
Poore ..	—	—	—	—
Balasore ..	1	—	—	—
Total ..	313	362	389	313

Table showing the number of Satis in the Bombay Presidency.²⁰

Districts	1824	1825	1826	1827	Total
Concan Northern	1	1	1	—	3
Concan Southern	27	32	28	27	114
Kaira	—	1**	—	—	1
Surat	—	1	—	—	1
Ahmedabad	—	—	—	—	—
Poona	—	6	3	2	11
Ahmadnagar	—	1	—	—	1
Candeish	1	1	2	6	10
Dharwar	8	4	1	4	17
Total	37	47	35	39	158

19. Judicial Department Vol. 20/167 of 1828, 213.

20. *Ibid.*

APPENDIX II

The following table indicates the dates of the engagements entered into by the native princes with the British Indian Government.²¹

NATIVE STATE	CHIEF'S NAME	DATE OF PROCLAMATION
Baroda	His Highness the late Sayajirao Gaekwar	Proclamation issued by His Highness on the 13th April 1840
Ahmednuggur in the Mahee Kanta	Maharaja Prittsingjee Kurrusingjee	Engagement entered into by the Raja of Ahmednuggur on the 18th February 1836
Deoghur Barreea	Maharawul Preethirajjee	Engagement and Proclamation dated 28th April 1840
Loonawara	Maharajah Futtehsingjee	Proclamation and Engagement dated 15th April 1840
Badwrrwah	Thakor Jhalimsingjee	Proclamation and Engagement dated 9th April 1840
Wankeer	Thakor Sardarsingjee	Proclamation and Engagement dated 9th May 1840
Rajpeepla	Maharajah Veerusaljee	Proclamation issued by the Raja on 9th May 1840
Mahee Kanta		Proclamation issued by Government on 21st September 1843 prohibiting right of Suttee
Palanpur		Proclamation issued by Government 21st February 1848 prohibiting the right of Suttee

21. Political Department Vol. 81/2087 of 1848.

Surgery in Ancient India

BY

K. KRISHNA MURTHY, M.A.

(*Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur*)

Surgery in India has a hoary past and perhaps finds its incipience in the Vedic period itself. The earliest mention of it¹ we find in the *R̥k Samhita* wherein it is stated that Āsvins were adepts in the surgical art and that they mended the leg of Vispala when it was cut off in a battle, by supplanting it with an iron one. Later, the Jain and the Buddhist works also make sundry references to surgery as practised in their times.

According to the Jain texts Dhanvantari² was an expert in the science of medicine (*Tegicchaya* or *Āyuvveya*). He mastered the eight branches of the medical science namely, *Kumārabbicca* (pediatrics), *Salāga* (surgery and mid-wifery), *Sallahattha* (the treatment of eye, ear, nose and throat), *Kāyatigicchā* (the treatment of bodily diseases), *Jangola* (toxicology), *Bhūya-vijja* (demonology), *Rasāyana* (the science and art of restoring health in old age) and *Vājīkaraṇa* or *Khāratanta* (sexual rejuvenation).³ The surgeons of the period were so efficient that they even undertook the task of opening the veins (*Sirāveha*). They knew cutting (*Tacchana*), scraping (*Pacchana*),⁴ etc. Interestingly the *Nisita Curni*⁵ enumerates the prevalent surgical instruments. They included *Angulisatthaya*, *Sirāvehasatthaya*, *Pacchana*, *Kappana*, *Lohakantiyā*, *Sandasā*, *Anuvehasalāgā*, *Vūmuha* and *Sūimuha*.

1. Majumdar and Pusalkar, *Vedic India*, p. 395.
2. *Thānanga*, 9.678; *Nisicū*, 15, p. 944; cf. *Milindapañha*, p. 272; Also *Ayoghara Jataka* (no. 510). IV, pp. 496, 498.
3. *Vivāgasūya*, 7. p. 41. Pali Text Society.
4. *Ibid.*, 1, p. 8.
5. *Nisī cū*, 11, p. 701.

In those days the ethics of medical code was very rigid and physicians and surgeons who were negligent of their jobs were subjected to severe disciplinary action. It would appear that a physician who did not treat a Queen properly was put to death.⁶ In another case a doctor who was a gambler remained indifferent to his work and his book of medicine was stolen and his surgical instruments got rusted; when this fact was brought to the notice of the King he stopped the payment of the doctor's salary⁷ with immediate effect.

Frequent references to hospitals (*Tigiccha-sāla*) are found in Jain literature. The *Nāyādhammakaha*⁸ informs us that the hospitals were generally built on hundred pillars and were highly capacious and airy. There were many physicians and surgeons attending upon the patients. They cured the sores by proper bandaging and stitching. In the battle-fields the doctors carried well-equipped medical kitbags which invariably consisted of surgical instruments of high order.⁹ The surgical operations were attended to with great skill. But still there were failures at times. On one occasion when a fish-bone (*Maccha-kantaka*) stuck into the throat of a fisherman, the surgeons were called upon for medical help. Though they tried to remove the bone with the instrument (*Salla*) and made use of other means as well they could not succeed.¹⁰

Besides, the Buddhist literature also profusely speaks of surgery and surgical operations. The knowledge of the general constitution of the body is of course essential before any surgical operation is undertaken; and the *Digha Nikāya*¹¹ furnishes the required information. The mode of dissection of the body is discussed distinctly in *Samyutta*. While dissecting the body the surgeons cut the skin (*Chavi*), under-skin (*Camma*), flesh (*Mamsa*), tendons (*Nahāru*) and then bones (*Atthi*) and marrow (*Atthiminjam*).

6. *Brh. Bhā*, Pi. 376.

7. *Vya. Bhā*, 5.21.

8. *Ibid.*, 13. p. 143.

9. *Ibid.*, 5. 100-103; cf. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 397.

10. *Vivā*, 8, p. 48; also *Br. Bhā*. 1051. (Ed.) Pali Text Society.

11. *Digha Nikāya*, ii, 293.

The surgeons (*Sallakatta*) could even extract foreign matter, especially arrow-head, from the body. Presumably, in those days of arrow-fighting, the surgeons derived their name from the word, *salla*.¹² After cutting through the external wound and probing the barb, they extracted it and then dressed the external wound with medical embers.¹³ The surgical instrument, lancet, (*Lona-akkarika*) was used for cutting the wounds.¹⁴ Salves and compresses (*Kahalika*) were applied to wounds and fine bandages used for tying them up.¹⁵

That surgery was fairly developed and in a high state of efficiency in Buddhist period is evident from the stories of Jivaka, recounted in *Vinayavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda*.¹⁶ Jivaka Komārabhacca was the master surgeon and physician in the court of Bimbisāra. He learnt surgery under the reputed teacher, Ātrēya for seven years.¹⁷ His mastery in surgery was superb. He used to undertake even the most arduous operation of the intestines which, in the modern surgical terminology, would be called intussusception. On one occasion he was called upon to perform an operation on the son of a well-known merchant who was suffering from the disease called *Antaganthā bādha*, as a result of turning somersaults. Jivaka cut open the belly and after disentangling the intestines stitched the skin and applied a salve on the wound for its quick healing.¹⁸

On another occasion an intricate case was brought to Jivaka. A person was ailing from some disease in his head for a long time and he had been declared to be incurable by other competent doctors. Jivaka examined the patient and asked him to be in the bed for seven weeks. The patient was tied to the bed in order to keep his head in position. And then the skin of his head was dissected, the flesh was drawn apart and two worms which would

12. *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 216; I. 429.

13. *Sutta Nipāta*, 562, M. ii. 216.

14. *Vin. I*, 206.

15. *Ibid.*, 205.

16. pp. 27-43.

17. *Vinaya Pitaka*: 1. pp. 270; Rockhill: *Life of Gautama*, (ed. 1907) p. 65.

18. *Vin. I*, pp. 275-76.

(Ed. Pali Text Society)

have precipitated his death were pulled out. The wound was closed and stitched and a salve applied. The patient was made to lie on the bed for some days and was cured completely.¹⁹ Likewise Jivaka was credited with many other surgical operations also. He charged exorbitantly for his treatment. It is stated that for intestinal operations he exacted sixteen thousand *kahapanas*. In a particular case he asked the patient to pay one hundred thousand *Kahapanas* to him and another hundred to the King under whom he was employed.²⁰

The people of the Jātaka period were familiar with innumerable delicate surgical operations. The surgeons of those days could fix a false tip to a man's nose, accidentally cut by the edge of a sword. They painted it so nicely that it exactly resembled a real nose.²¹ Jivaka's eye-operation on King Sivi in this connection is worth mentioning. "The King Sivi wanted to give away his eyes to a Brahmana who begged for them. With great pain and hesitation, Sivaka the surgeon, set to his work: He pounded a number of simples, rubbed a blue lotus with the powder, and brushed it over the right eye: round rolled the eye, and there was great pain.... Again he rubbed in the powder and brushed it over the eye: the eye started from the socket, the pain was worse than before.... A third time he smeared a sharper powder and applied it: by the drug's powder went the eye, out came from the socket and hung dangling at the end of the tendon.... The pain was extreme, blood was trickling, the King's garments were stained with the blood. Then Sivaka, with his left hand grasping the eye-ball, took a knife in his right and severing the tendon, laid the eye in the King's hand. In the same way the left eye was also taken out and both the eyes were then placed in the eye-sockets of the Brahmana who then began to see."²²

Kālidāsa in his *Kāvya*s makes sparse references to the surgery known to his period. Referring to *Rasaratnāvalī*, he mentions

19. Vin. I, 27; *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 1. 18-22.

20. Vin. 1, p. 275.

21. J. I., p. 455; *Vejje datvānāsikakoṭṭim phāsukam Kārāpetvā lākhāya paṭināsikam kāretvā*.

22. R. N. Mehta: *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 309-10; J., IV. pp. 407 ff.

amputation, burning or passing out the blood from the wound caused by bite as a possible cure.²³

Suśruta Saṁhita, the basic text book of Indian medicine of the 4th century A.D., deals with surgery in much detail. The surgeons of the *Suśruta* school even declared that "surgery is the first and best of the medical sciences less liable than any other to the fallacies of conjectural and inferential practices, pure in itself, perpetual in its applicability, the worthy produce of heavens, and certain source of fame."²⁴ The term for surgery is '*Salya*' or the art of extracting the alien matter from the body, particularly an arrow. The word appears to have had its origin in warfare and in the accidents of out-door work like agriculture or hunting.²⁵ The surgeons of the day were so proficient that they knew lithotomy, extraction of the dead foetus, and removal of external matter accidentally inducted into the body, like iron piece, stone, bones etc. They were familiar with paracentesis, thorax and affections of the abdomen and treated different kinds of inflammation and abscesses. Adroitness in cutting and healing ulcers and setting bones and the use of escharotics were the *forte* of a section of medical men. The dissection of the human body and venesection were common things in medieval India. The doctors of the *Suśruta* School opined that for correct knowledge of the internal structure of the body, dissection was necessary as it gave them a consummate knowledge of the diseases to which the body is susceptible. It also guided them in their surgical operation to avoid the radical parts of the body, besides giving them an accurate knowledge of the human anatomy.²⁶

In fact the notability of *Suśruta Saṁhita* lies in surgery. It explicitly recounts the mode of surgery practised in those times. It speaks of oleation (*Snēha karma*), amputation (*Chēdya karma*), incision (*Bhēdya karma*), venesection or perforation (*Vēdya karma*), probing (*Ēṣya karma*), extraction (*Āhārya*

23. Mal. p. 70: Similar remedies are given by Vāgbhata VI.

24. Wise: *Commentary on the Hindu System of Medicine*, Calcutta, 1825.

25. Sarkar, B. K.: *Hindu Achievements in Exact Sciences—A study in the History of Scientific Development*, p. 53.

26. See Hoernle: *Medicine of Ancient India*, Oxford, 1907.

'karma), draining or evacuation (*Visrāvya karma*), stitching or sewing (*Sīvya karma*) bandaging or ligaturing (*Bandhana karma*), plastic surgery of ear (*Karṇa sandhibandha karma*), cauterizing (*Agnikṣāra karma*), inserting catheter into the bladder (*Nētra prañidānavasti karma*), and inserting tube into an ulcerated channel (*vraṇavasti pīḍana karma*). *Suśruta Saṁhita* states that the man proficient in the aforesaid works would not commit mistakes in his surgical operations. It prescribes further that the student of surgery should be taught oleation and amputation only after he became well-versed in other branches of medical science.²⁷ According to *Suśruta Saṁhita* the students were to be taught amputation on the fruits like *Ālābu*, *Kāḷindika*, *trapusa*, *ervāruka*, etc., for all laboratory practices. The incision was to be learnt on leather bags filled with water or soft mud. *Lekhya karma* would be made in regard to skin having hair. The venesection or perforation was taught by taking the vein of a dead animal. The student would learn probing from hollow bamboo or bottle gourd. Extraction was learnt by removing seeds from *Panasa*, or *Bilva* or by removing the teeth of a dead animal. Draining or evacuation would be taught on *Sālmali* table coated with wax. Stitching was to be learnt on smooth skins or thick clothes. Bandaging or ligaturing was taught only on the flexible model of the human body, while plastic surgery of the ear was taught on smooth skin or vein or flesh. Caustics were inculcated on smooth flesh.²⁸ *Nētraprañidānavastī karma* and *Vraṇavasti pīḍana karma* were made to be learnt on *Purīghaṭa* filled with water. It was said that nobody can be proficient in venesection as the veins are difficult to control on account of their flexibility²⁹ and hence it should be learnt with care.

Suśruta speaks profusely of surgical wards. They should be capacious and airy and were to be constructed in accordance with *vāstu*. Nurses with kindness, forbearance, winning manners and

27. Adhigata sarvaśāstrārthamapi śiṣyaṁ योग्यां कृत्यैत
Snehādiṣu chēdyādiṣu ca karma pathamupadiśēt
Bahuśrutōpi akṛtāyōgya karmasvayōgyo bhavati

28. Wilson: "Essays on Sanskrit Literature", Vol. I, London, 1864.

29. Sirāsu śikṣitō nāsti calāhyēṭah svabhāvatah
Matsya vat parivartante tasmādyatnēna tāḍayet (Su. sam. sū., 8/20).

robust health were employed particularly in surgical wards. The beds in the surgical wards were to be absolutely cosy. The injured persons would be taken into these surgical wards and made to lie on the beds with their heads on the north side.³⁰

Further *Suśruta Samhita* insisted that all the surgical wards should be provided with *Yantra*, *Śāstra*, *Śāra*, *Agni*, *Śalāka* (probes), *Śṛṅga*, *Jalauka*, *Ālābu* (sucking gourd), *Jāmbauṣṭa*, *Picu* (swab), *Protā*, *Sūtra* (thread), *Patrā patta* (bandage), *Madhu*, *Dhṛta*, *Vasa*, *Apaya*, *Taila*, *Tarpaṇa*, *Kasāya* (lotion), *Ālēpana* (ointment), *Kalka* (paste), *Vyajana*, cold and hot water and basins.

Innumerable surgical instruments have been mentioned in *Suśruta Samhita*. They include *Svastika yantra*, *Samdamśa yantra* (forceps), *Tāla yantra*, *Nāḍī yantra* and *Śalākā yantra*. *Svastika yantra*, in twenty-four varieties, was used for removing bones; *Samdamśa yantra* sixteen inches in length, was used to remove *Tavaca*, *Māmsa*, *Sirāsnāyī*. The *Tāla yantra*, fifteen inches in length, was utilised to remove the bones of ears and nose. *Nāḍī yantra* with its two faces was used in several ways. The *Śalākā yantra* of which there were twenty-seven varieties was used for *Gaṇḍūpada*, *Sarpaphaṇa*, *Sarapuṅkha* etc.

Besides *Śastravicāranīya*,³¹ a chapter in *Suśruta Samhita*, enlists surgical instruments such as circular or round knife (*Maṇḍalāgra*), saw (*Karapatra*), scalpel (*Vṛddhipatra*), abscess knife (*Prayatāgra*) nail pairs (*Nakhaśāstra*), lance (*Utpala patra*), single-edged knife (*Ardhadhāra*), needle (*Sūcī*) bistoury (*Kuśapatra*), *Atīmukha*, *Sarārimukha*, curved bistoury (*Antarmukha*), *trikūrcaka*, *kuṭhārika*, *trocar* (*Vṛhimukha*), owl-like knife (*Ārāpatra*) narrow bladed knife (*Vetasapatra*), hooks (*Baḍiśa*), *Dantasauṅku* and sharp probes (*Ēṣanī*). The measurements of the

30. "Tasmin śayana masambādham svāstirṇaṁ manōjṇam prākśiraskaṁ saśastram ca kurvita".

31. Vimśathihi śāstrāṇi tadyathā-maṇḍalāgra karapatra vṛddhipatra nakhaśāstra mudrikōtpalapatrakārdhadhāra sūcī kuśapatrātimukha śarārimukhāntarmukha trikūrcaka kuṭhārika vṛhimukharāvētasapatraka baḍiśa danta sankvēṣanya iti.

instruments are also given. Among these *Nakhaśāstra* and *Ēṣaṇi* should each be eight inches in length. 'Mudrika' would be of *Pradeśinī* measurement. The *Sarārimukha śāstras* should each be ten inches long while the rest should each be six inches long. According to *Suśruta* these instruments have eight usages. All these surgical instruments are to be made of good metal and should be handy with sharp edges.

Besides a number of *Upayantras* (minor surgical instruments) are also mentioned. They include *Rajju*, *Vēnika*, *Patta*, *Carmanṭa*, *Valkalata*, *Vastra*, *Aṣṭilāṣma*, *Mudgara*, *Pāṇitala*, *Pādātala*, *Angulī*, *jihva Danta nakhamukha*, *Asvakataka*, *Śāka*, *Sīṭvana*, *Pravahana*, *Harṣa*, *Ayaskāntmayakṣara* and *Agnibhēṣaja yantra*.

Interestingly sundry *Sūtras* are referred to in *Suśruta* in regard to the stitching of the wounds which was done in four ways namely, *Villita*, *Gophanika*, *Tunnasivani*, *Rjugranthi*. Three kinds of needles are mentioned—a round needle two inches long to stitch in places where there was little of flesh or to stitch corners, a triangular needle three inches long to stitch fleshy or fatty places and a bow shaped needle to stitch abdomen or private parts. After stitching, the wound would be dressed with cotton or silk cloth.

Much is said about bandages in *Suśruta saṁhita*. It says that wounds or injuries can be saved from further damage by bandaging. For bandaging a wound materials like *Kṣauma*, *Karpāsa*, *Āvika*, *Dukūla*, *Kausūya*, *Paṭrórṇa*, *Carma*, *Bhūrjapaṭra* are to be used. In fact *Suśruta Saṁhita* mentions fourteen varieties of bandages with reference to their proper use.

The surgeons of the day had an important role to play when the King was on military expeditions. A separate chapter '*yuktē-siniya*' in *Suśruta Saṁhita* is set apart to deal with the role of the surgeons and physicians in military camps. In times of war, the doctors had to protect the King and his army from all unhygienic and food-poisoning articles. In encampments the surgeons lived next to the King's tent. A flag was hoisted over the surgeons' tent for its easy identification. People in ailment had free access to this tent.

Thus *Suśruta Samhita* throws lucid light on surgery as known at that time. As evident from the aforesaid account, surgery in ancient India was so much evolved and exemplary that in the later periods also its principles were followed. In the words of A. L. Basham 'In this respect Indian surgery remained ahead of European until 18th century, when the surgeons of the East India Company were not ashamed to learn the art of rhinoplasty from the Indians.'³² In surgery Indians were probably superior to any of their oriental neighbours.³³

32. Basham: '*The Wonder that was India*', p. 500.

33. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 15, p. 197.

A Medieval Invasion of Nagarkot (1363 A.D.)

BY

DR. R. C. JAUHRI, M.A., PH.D.

Kurukshetra University

The Katoch dynasty¹ of Kangra² was one of the oldest Hindu ruling families of India and traced its genealogy to a mythical progenitor, Bhuma Chand, supposed to have sprung from the perspiration of the brow of a goddess. The scions of this family claim to have *Somavamshi* descent, and their *vamshavali*³ (pedigree) contains nearly five hundred names from Bhuma Chand onwards. The first two hundred and thirty three names are legendary, and nothing historical is known about them. The first historical figure of the dynasty was Susharman Chandra, the two hundred and thirty fourth from the founder. He ruled over Multan and is credited with having fought in the Mahabharata War as an ally of the Kauravas. After their defeat he retired to Jalandhar which became the capital of his kingdom and he also built a second capital at Nagarkot. Thus he was the real founder of Nagarkot. The kingdom of Jalandhar or Trigarta at the time

1. *Panjab Gaz.*, Vol. I, p. 355.

2. Nagarkot, writes Abul Fazl, is a city situated on a hill and its fort is called Kangra. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 317. Kot Kangra stands over a lofty ridge south of and above the town of Nagarkot. The fort is surrounded on three sides by inaccessible cliffs. *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 397. Literally Kangra means a fortification or fortress. Fanciful derivations have been attached to the word. For example, one meaning of Kangra is said to be the fort of the ear. Legend has it that it stands over the ear of the demon Jalandhar. *J.P.H.S.*, Vol. VIII, 1920, p. 18.

The fort of Kangra occupies a long narrow strip of land on the fort between the Manjhi and the Banganga rivers. Its walls are upwards of two miles in circuit, but its strength does not lie in its walls but in its precipice overhanging the two rivers. (A. Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, Vol. V, p. 162-63). It is also called Susharmanpur after the name of Susharman Chandra. (Jonraj's *Rajatarangini.*, Eng., Tr., Vol. III, p. 39).

3. William Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 145.

of its greatest expansion comprised almost all the country between the Sutlej and the Ravi in the outer hills except Kulu and also the Jalandhar Doab in the plains. After the Muhammadan invasions the territory on the plains was lost and Nagarkot became the chief capital of Katoch kings.⁴ After the plundering raids of Mahmud of Ghazni, Muhammad bin Tughluq was the first Sultan of Delhi to invade Nagarkot in 1337 A.D.⁵

The Raja of Nagarkot during the reign of Firoz Shah Tughluq was Rup Chand.⁶ The court historians of Firoz hold him guilty of contumacy but do not give any details. Firishta records an accident which throws light on his conduct. He says that the Raja of Nagarkot set out with his army on a raiding expedition and plundered the plains upto Delhi. While returning laden with booty, he was encountered by Sultan Shahabuddin of Kashmir near Sutlej and was defeated. He surrendered the spoils to the Kashmiri Sultan and swore fealty to him.⁷ Firoz was offended and provoked by this intrusion and plundering raid, and undertook the invasion of Nagarkot to punish Rup Chand.⁸ He personally led the army to Nagarkot and besieged the fort by erecting *manjaniks* and *arradas*. The Raja of Nagarkot entrenched himself

4. J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of Kangra State*: JPHS, Vol. VIII, 1920, pp. 12-21.

A Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 138.

5. *Qasida-i-Badr Chach.*, N. K. Press, ed., pp. 28-29.

Barani, Isami and Ibn Batuta do not record Muhammad's victory over Nagarkot. Obviously Muhammad's invasion was not very effective and the fort was left in the possession of its Raja.

6. Sirat (p. 83) wrongly gives the name of the Rai of Nagarkot as Sansar Chand. Sansar Chand was a later ruler of Kangra who ruled from 1430 to 1450 A.D. (J.P.H.S., Vol. VIII, p. 39). A Sanskrit inscription of this ruler dated 1430 A.D. and dedicated to the goddess of Jwala Mukhi was found in the cupola of Devi Brijeshwari during the earthquake of 1905. *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 397.

7. T. F. Briggs' Translation, Vol. IV, pp. 458-59.

Jonraj's *Rajatarangini*, Eng. Tr. Vol. III, p. 39, also alludes to this incident.

8. Contemporary writers do not give any date of the invasion of Nagarkot. Aff says that on his return from the second expedition of Bengal, (June-July, 1361), Firoz spent nearly four years before he invaded Sindh. We know that Firoz attempted conquest of Daulatabad and returned from Bayana. This must have taken him approximately a year and on his return

within the fort and organised his defence. The fort was famous for its impregnability and defied all attempts of Firoz to capture it. The Raja of Nagarkot exhibited unusual endurance, and the siege lingered on for six months. Afif narrates a fanciful and incredible account of the manner of the Rai's submission. He writes that one day while Firoz was personally directing the siege operations, he noticed the Rai standing on the top of the fort, stretching his hands in humility and submission. The Sultan in response to these submissive gestures of the Rai waved his handkerchief and directed him to descend. Accordingly the Raja along with the members of his family and chiefs came down. He offered valuable presents and submitted. Firoz accepted the submission and patted the back of the Rai, and also awarded him a robe and a red canopy.⁹ The author of *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi*, another contemporary, merely says that the Rai of Nagarkot hard-pressed by the siege met the Sultan along with his relatives and sought forgiveness which the Sultan was gracious enough to accord.¹⁰ The native poetical chronicle, *Dharam Chand Natak* written in 1563 A.D. by Manik Chand, a bard of Raja Dharam Chand of Kangra, also records that Rup Chand went forth to meet the Sultan of Delhi and bowed very low down to his feet. The Sultan put his hand on Rup Chand's back.¹¹ These contemporary accounts make it clear that Firoz Tughluq was not in a position to conquer Nagarkot and found a pretext to accept the Raja's submission and made peace with him. This is confirmed by later but authentic accounts such as the *Memoirs* of Jahangir and *Shash Fath* of Kangra. Jahangir writes that Sultan Firoz Shah himself went with a powerful force to conquer Nagarkot, and besieged it for a long time. Victory over it being unattainable, he became content with the coming of the Raja to pay his respects to him. The Raja entertained the Sultan and accompanied him for some stages and then

from Bayana he spent nearly seven months in the vicinity of Sarhind and then marched to Nagarkot, hence at least two years must have elapsed between his return from Bengal and the invasion of Nagarkot.

9. T.F.S.A., pp. 188-189.

Firishta, (Vol. I, p. 147) says that Nagarkot was named Muhammadbad as a memorial to the late Sultan.

10. Strat, p. 84.

11. *Rup Chandra barhkar Charho Dileshwar Surtan. Bahut helkar pag paro peeth kuth le san.* J.P.H.S., Vol. VIII, p. 35.

obtained leave to return.¹² The *Shash Fath* of Kangra also records that Firoz once laid siege to the fort of Nagarkot, and baffled in his efforts, he was contented with having an interview with its Raja and was obliged to return unsuccessful.¹³ No doubt the Raja of Nagarkot met the Sultan personally and offered presents to him. The court chroniclers of Firoz have magnified the nominal submission of the Raja as a victory.

*Visit to Jwala Mukhi*¹⁴

After the submission of the Raja of Nagarkot, Firoz intent upon desecrating the idol¹⁵ and demolishing the temple which also

12. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng., Tr., A. Rodgers, Vol. II, p. 184.

13. *Shash Fath* of Kangra., HIED., Vol. VI, p. 526.

14. The ancient site in the Dera Gopipur Tahsil of Kangra District, on the road from Kangra town to Nandaun at the foot of a precipitous range of hills. It is famous for the temple of the goddess Jwala Mukhi, 'She of the flaming mouth.'

Panjab Gaz., Vol. I, p. 387. The famous temple is built over a fissure at the base of a high range of hills, 20 miles to the south east of Kangra, from which an inflammable gas has continued to issue from time immemorial. The present temple of Jwala Mukhi is built against the sides of a ravine just over the cleft from which the gas escapes. It is plain outside in modern Muhammadan style of plaster and paint with a gilt dome and gilt pinnacle. The roof is also gilt inside, but the gilding is obscured by smoke. By far the finest part of the building is the splendid folding doors of silver plates. The interior of the temple consists of a square pit about 3 feet deep with a pathway all round. In the middle, the rock is slightly hollowed out about the principal fissure and on applying light the gas bursts into a flame. There is no idol of any kind, the flaming fissure being considered as the fiery mouth of the goddess whose headless body is said to be in the temple of Bhawan.

A Cunningham, A.S.R., Vol. V, pp. 169-70.

15. The author of *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi* records a tradition which was subsequently incorporated by later historians, Badauni (Vol. I, p. 249), Nizamuddin Ahmed (T.A. p. 117) and Firishta (T.F. Vol. I, p. 148). According to the tradition, the people of Nagarkot are reported to have told Firoz that the idol worshipped by the Hindus was the image of Noshaba whom they connected with the visit of Alexander to this place. Hindus took fancy for Noshaba and erected her stone idol and began her worship.

Briggs, *Rise of Mohammedan Power*, Vol. I, p. 454, identifies Noshaba as the wife of Alexander and says that the great conqueror had left the idol with the Hindus. Ranking (M.T. Vol. I, p. 331) opines that if Noshaba represents in reality the wife of Alexander, then it must be his first wife

contained a rich collection of one thousand three hundred books on various subjects marched to Jwala Mukhi. All the books of the temple library were seized, and later on some of those on astronomy and other useful sciences were translated into Persian. The famous writer of the age, Izza uddin Khalid Khani, translated into Persian verse one of the books on the rising and setting of the seven planets, their good and evil import, auguries and omens. The translation was named after the Sultan and called *Dalail-i-Firoz Shahi*. Badauni read it in 1591-92 (1000-A. H.) at Lahore, and was moderately impressed. He saw some other translations also dealing with subjects like *Pingal* (Prosody) *Akhara* called *Paturbaji* (Singing and dancing) and regarded them unprofitable and trivial. After the seizure of the books, the Sultan summoned the Rai, the Ranas, Zamindars, and Brahmans of the place and addressed them in these words: "O fools, what is the use of praying to and worshipping this stone? Our Holy Law tells us that those who oppose the decrees of our religion will go to Hell".¹⁷ After this admonition he ordered the demolition of the temple. The author of *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi* writes that the Rana of Nagarkot requested Firoz that since he had submitted to His Majesty the order of the demolition of the temple which was sacred to his subjects might be withdrawn. He said that the late Sultan,

Raxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, whom he married in 327 B.C. Ranking's identification is erroneous. Noshaba in fact was the queen of Bard whom Alexander is credited with having taken away in rapine. The relevant passage in *Sikandar Namah* by Shaikh Nizami, pp. 239-40, reads:—

*Agāhi Sikandar as tākht Roos-Bar mulk Burda wa burdan Noshabarū
Hamā mulk Burda bar andākhhtand-Yeki shahar pur ganj pardākhhtand
Batāraj Burdand Noshaba rā- Shikastand bar sang qurāba ra.*

The Hindu mythology does not have a goddess, named Noshaba. Moreover Alexandar never visited Jwala Mukhi. He had received the submission of the ruler on the bank of Beas and did not go beyond Gurdaspur (C.H.I., Vol. I, p. 334). The tradition recorded by Muslim writers is therefore a mere myth. Hindus worship goddess Jwala as an incarnation of Volcano. The goddess Jwala Mukhi was also called Maha Maya, a manifestation of divinity. In Hindu mythology she is regarded as the wife of Mahadev (Shiva), Ahul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 316. Sujan Rai, a much later writer, says the goddess of Jwala Mukhi was also called Bhawani (*Khulasa ut Tawarikh*, p. 248.)

16. M.T., Vol. I., p. 249.

17. T.F.S.A., p. 187.

Muhammad bin Tughluq, had also spared the temple. Firoz in deference to and imitating his deceased patron, withdrew the order.¹⁸ Affif, on the other hand, refers to a rumour spread by the Hindus that Firoz went to see the Jwala Mukhi temple and presented a golden canopy to be hung over the idol. He adds that this imputation against the Sultan was false and concocted by the Hindus to slander and malign the Sultan who was a pious, true and God-fearing Muslim and held the idol in deep detestation, and subjected it to indignity.¹⁹ The later writers, Nizamuddin Ahmed and Badauni, do not say a word about the demolition of the Jwala Mukhi temple. Firishtha's version that the Sultan broke the idols of Jwala Mukhi, mixed their fragments with the flesh of cows and hung them in bags round the necks of Brahmans, who were paraded through the camp and sent the principal idol as a trophy to Medina has no foundation in the contemporary histories and seems to be a later interpolation.²⁰ The fact that Firoz had failed to conquer Nagarkot and the candid confession of the author of *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi* that he exhibited great patience, and also the widely current rumour about the Hindus recorded by Affif, lead one to conclude that conscious of the strength of the Raja of Nagarkot, Firoz, contrary to his earnest desire, could not desecrate the temple of Jwala Mukhi.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. J.P.H.S.—*Journal of Panjab Historical Society*.
2. *Sirat*—*Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi*, references are to J. N. Sarkar MS.
3. Imp. Gaz.—*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New Series.
4. T.F.—*Tarikh-i-Firishtha*, N.K. Press text.
5. T.F.S.A.—*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Affif, Calcutta text.
6. A.S.R.—*Archaeological Survey Reports*.
7. M.T.—*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Badayuni, Calcutta text.
8. HIED—*History of India as told by its own Historians*—Elliot & Dowson.
9. C.H.I.—*Cambridge History of India*.
10. T.A.—*Tabqat-i-Akbari*.

18. *Sirat*, p. 85.

19. T.F.S.A., pp. 186-187.

20. T.F., Vol. I, p. 148, says that:—It is to be hoped for the honour of this great and liberal prince that this story is the invention of some bigoted historian who had recorded it for the sake of adding to his glory. Briggs, Vol. I, p. 454.

Controversy over Gwalior and Gohud

BY

UPENDRA NARAYAN CHAKRAVORTY, *Howrah*

The 31st of December, 1802 is a black day in the history of the Marathas. They lost their hold on their possessions on that day. The Peshwa, their head, concluded with the British a treaty at Bassein. With British help he was no doubt reinstated on the *musnud*, which he had lost six months earlier; but the treaty really marked the end of the Maratha independence and the establishment of the British supremacy. The Peshwa, of course, got what he wanted, for he was restored to his seat, but the treaty did not restore him to the dignity and authority of his old position. He could not control the foreign policy of his state. He lost his hold over other Maratha States as well. Dr. P. C. Gupta rightly observes: "But the restoration of the Peshwa was not a restoration of the old regime Sindhia would dominate no longer nor would Holkar march again to Poona, but at the same time, he had lost his hold on the army and foreign policy of his State. The new Peshwa directed by British opinion and backed by British bayonets, presented a sight hitherto unknown. He had secured what he wanted, freedom from his own chieftain but at what price he had yet to discover".¹

The news of the Peshwa's treaty exasperated Sindhia, Bhonsle and Holkar. They would not acknowledge the British supremacy without a struggle. But as ill luck would have it mutual animosities between Sindhia and Holkar ran so high that they could not put up a united front against the British at this hour of crisis. The attempts made by both to lay aside their differences came to nothing. They (Sindhia and Bhonsle) were now engaged in a war with the British. The Maratha armies were swiftly defeated at Assaye, Argaon and Gavilgad and at the same time Sindhia's Northern

1. Dr. P. C. Gupta—*Baji Rao II and East India Company*.

command was shattered at Agra and Laswari. Dr. P. M. Joshi says, "The gunshots were only announcing the beginning of the end of Maratha power and independence". Malcolm was now despatched by General Wellesley to the court of Sindhia for concluding the subsidiary treaty with the latter. The negotiations proceeded slowly. Malcolm, however, was finally able to conclude a subsidiary alliance with Sindhia. But new troubles arose on the question of the restoration of the fort of Gwalior and the territory of Gohud to Sindhia. The Maratha mind was closely associated with the famous fortress of Gwalior, the home and capital of Sindhia's family. The question was a controversial one. Even General Wellesley could not solve this problem to his own or to others' satisfaction and he adopted a policy of vacillation. But Malcolm was firm in his opinion that justice and policy alike demanded the restoration of the fort and Gohud to Sindhia.² On the contrary according to the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, "Sound policy imperatively called upon the Government to keep it out of Sindhia's hands".³

Let us have a review of the historical facts on the disputed question. On the fall of the Mughal Empire, Gwalior had fallen into the hands of a petty Prince, known as the Rana of Gohud. In 1780 Captain Popham wrested it from the Marathas after an assault. He handed it over again to the Rana. But the latter was not faithful to the British. He was, therefore, left to his fate. Mahadaji Sindhia, soon after the withdrawal of the British force, laid siege to it, bribed the garrison and marched into it in 1784. Since then it had been held by Sindhia. Sometime before the outbreak of the second Anglo-Maratha War, Daulat Rao Sindhia appointed Ambaji Inglia as Governor of the place.

The controversy, mentioned earlier, arose out of the ignorance of General Wellesley. Both Malcolm and General Wellesley were thoroughly unacquainted with the affairs of the different States of the Northern and Southern parts of the country. When Malcolm went to Sindhia's court the treaty with the Rana had not been made. He knew nothing and General Wellesley too knew very

2. Kaye—*Life and Correspondence of Malcolm*, Vol. I.

3. Foreign, Secret, 7th June 1804.

little of what was going on in Upper India. At that time there was no such State as that of Gohud. It was not within Malcolm's knowledge that negotiations on the part of the British Government were going on at the same time in the Northern part of the country. Malcolm concluded the treaty under the impression that General Wellesley who was fully authorised to negotiate the treaty out of which the Gwalior controversy arose, would approve of his action. He had already committed himself to the support of Sindhia's views before the opinion and wishes of the Governor-General were transmitted to him. The controversy arose out of the interpretation of the second and ninth articles of the treaty. According to the second article "Such countries formerly in the possession of the Maharajah situated between Jaypoor and Joudhpur and to the Southward of the former, are to belong to the Maharajah". The ninth article declared, "certain treaties have been made by the British Government with the Rajahs and others, heretofore feudatories of the Maharajah. These treaties are to be confirmed and the Maharajah hereby renounces all claims upon the persons with whom such treaties have been made, declares them independent of his Government and authority, provided that none of the territories belonging to the Southward of those of the Rajahs of Jaypoor and Joudhpur and the Rana of Gohud have been granted away by those treaties." In the course of discussion at Sindhia's *darbar*, the Ministers told Malcolm that General Wellesley, in concluding the treaty, had assured them that Sindhia would not lose Gwalior and its adjoining territory; even the ninth article would not adversely affect him. Malcolm in his letter to General Wellesley on 7th March, 1804, drew his attention to the fact. General Wellesley referred the case to the Governor-General and advised Malcolm to wait till he would receive the Governor-General's instructions.

Daulat Rao Sindhia, in his letter to General Wellesley on 3rd May, 1804, wanted to elicit his opinion about this question.⁴ General Wellesley in his reply wanted to remove the misconception of the Maharajah about it. According to him, everything belonging to the Northward of Jodhpur, Jaipur and Gohud should belong to the Company. "Those Khas Seranjame really belonging to you,

4. Foreign, Secret, 21st June 1804.

to the Southward of Joudhpur, Jaypur and Gohud were to continue in your possession, and the present state of Joudhpur, Jaypur, Gohud, Gwalior was to depend upon the nature of the treaties made by General Lake".⁵ But General Wellesley wanted to avoid the controversy. He was eager to restore Gwalior to Sindhia. In his letter to Malcolm on 29th January, 1804, he clearly expressed his desire. "If Gwalior belonged to Scindhia, it must be given up, and I acknowledge that whether it did or did not I should be inclined to give it to him. I declare that when I view the treaty of peace and its consequences, I am afraid it will be imagined that the moderation of the British Government in India has a strong resemblance to the ambition of other Governments".⁶ He held that Gwalior stood upon two grounds: (1) the British Government's right under the ninth article of the treaty of peace, a treaty having been made with the Rana of Gohud and (2) the British Government's right under the same article, a treaty having been made with Ambaji Ingliia. He then raised the question. "Supposing that the Rana of Gohud is to have the territory, the question is, whether Gwalior is included in that territory? I have not got a translation of the treaty with that chief, but I am informed that it does not notice Gwalior. The Governor-General claims that on the other ground, the treaty with Ambajee, therefore the ground on which I, who made the treaty of peace, considered that we should get possession of the fort of Gwalior, entirely fails".⁷

In the same letter General Wellesley acknowledged his ignorance of the real state of affairs in Hindusthan. He did not support the argument of the Governor-General because it "will be too ingenious and too much abstracted from all the circumstances of the case". For maintaining good faith he was ready to give up everything in favour of Sindhia. "I would sacrifice", he wrote, "Gwalior or every frontier of India, ten times over, in order to preserve our credit for scrupulous good faith; and the advantages and honour we gained by the late war and the peace; and we must not fritter them away in arguments, drawn from the overstrained principles of the Laws of Nations which are not under-

5. Foreign, Secret, Gen. Wellesley's letter to Sindhia on 20th May, 1804.

6. Wellington's Despatches, Vol. 3.

7. Wellington's Despatches, Vol. 3, letter to Malcolm, 29th January, 1804.

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stood in this country. What brought me through many difficulties, in the war and the negotiations for peace? The British good faith and nothing else."⁸

Malcolm was clear in his arguments. He laid emphasis on "mutual confidence".⁹ Everything should be discussed freely without any condition. He thought that good feeling would enable him to overcome all difficulties. Neither Sindhia nor his Ministers could think of the loss of Gwalior and Gohud. The Ministers had given the Maharajah an assurance about it at the time of making the treaty and subsequent to it. The *Munshi* Kavel Nyne (who was vested with full powers on behalf of Sindhia to conclude treaties with Malcolm) said that their claims upon these possessions were based upon justice and British generosity. In the course of Malcolm's discussion with the *Munshi* he came to learn that Gwalior was the chief cause of Sindhia's dissatisfaction. To Gohud neither Sindhia nor his Ministers did attach much importance, it would be of equal value to any other State. But the loss of Gwalior would affect the dignity of the State. Malcolm pointed out in his letter (3rd April, 1804) that Sindhia's honour was involved in the retention of this fortress.¹⁰ It would be difficult to reconcile the Maharajah to its alienation. Malcolm could quash the claim of Sindhia by inadmissible arguments. But he was not a man to shape his diplomatic conduct in this way. He emphasised the "spirit and not the 'letter' of the engagement."¹¹ According to him where doubt existed, the interpretation should be liberal. He was in favour of the restoration of the fort of Gwalior to Sindhia. In his letter to Mereer he wrote "These people do not understand the Laws of Nations and it is impossible to make them comprehend a thousand refinements which are understood and practised in Europe. They will never be reconciled to the idea that a treaty should be negotiated upon one principle and fulfilled upon another. The plain fact is this—General Wellesley was wholly ignorant about Gohud and Gwalior, he thought that

8. Wellington's Despatches, Vol. 3, letter to Malcolm, 29th January, 1804.

9. Foreign, Secret, 21st June, 1804.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Kaye—*Life and Correspondence of Malcolm*, Vol. I

the Rana's was a State to be maintained instead of being one that it was meant to restore".¹² Malcolm thought that the Jamuna should be the frontier. According to him if the British Government were to adopt a liberal and conciliatory policy towards Sindhia, they would have a good friend in the person of Daulat Rao Sindhia.¹³

Lord Wellesley in his letters to Malcolm clearly upheld the obligation of the British Government to support the case of the Rana of Gohud. He mentioned that though the fortress of Gwalior and the territory of Gohud, according to the ninth article, were included in the territory of Sindhia, the separate and distinct reference to the territory of the Rana of Gohud would forfeit Sindhia's claim on that territory. He clearly maintained that Gohud could not be considered to have been ceded to Sindhia by the terms of the second article. According to him, the Rana being the lineal descendant of the ancient Ranas, had a claim upon Gohud. During the last campaign under the promise of an ample provision, the Rana raised a considerable body of troops and opposed Ambaji's troops. He had fully co-operated with the British troops during the whole course of war. So the British Government concluded legitimate engagements with the Rana. The *Munshi Kavel Nyne* stated that the recognition of the title of the Rana would alienate the territory of Gohud and the fortress of Gwalior from Sindhia. According to Lord Wellesley, the Rana was the legal heir, though according to Sindhia's Ministers General Wellesley had given them assurances that Gwalior and Gohud would be restored to Sindhia. But on a reference to the minutes of the conference the Governor-General replied that no such assurances were given to the Ministers by General Wellesley. In his letter to Malcolm he also pointed out that these Ministers had deceived their master and Malcolm should expose clearly the situation to Sindhia. The ninth article, according to him, had been framed in such terms as should exclude its operation. The objection of Sindhia's Ministers, therefore, was a fraud, he stated.¹⁴ Like Sindhia, the Governor-General also attached importance to

12. Quoted from *Kaye's Life and Correspondence of Malcolm*, Vol. I.

13. *Foreign, Secret*, 7th June, 1804.

14. *Ibid.*

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Gwalior. He clearly laid down that without the full command of Gwalior, the British Government would not be able to discharge their responsibilities for the security of the district of Gohud.¹⁵ The possession of Gwalior formed the most important of the Governor-General's comprehensive political arrangement. The retention of the fort was highly important to the British Government from a military as well as from a political point of view. He wrote that the British Government was bound to support the claim of the Rana on those possessions. The British Government also pledged to maintain the obligation of their engagements with that chieftain. Now the whole thing depended upon the Rana whether he would be willing to give up the claim or would violate his faith. The Governor-General thought that the British Government was under paramount necessity to fulfil their engagement with the Rana. If the Government was now to act to the contrary, the Rana would have no public faith in the British.

The controversy between the Governor-General and Malcolm now reached its climax. The Governor-General considered that Malcolm favoured the pretensions of Sindhia to Gwalior and Gohud. His Secretary wrote to Malcolm pointing out the Governor-General's displeasure with his arguments. He charged him with having listened to the fabricated claims put forth by Sindhia's Ministers. According to the Governor-General, Malcolm gave too much indulgence to their claims. Malcolm, on his part, was guided by the maxim — "public interest". Lord Wellesley wrote, "Mr. Malcolm's duty is to obey my orders and to enforce my instructions. I will look after public interests". The Governor-General charged him with disobedience. This saddened Malcolm too much. He had looked upon Lord Wellesley not merely as an official superior, but also as a beloved and a venerated friend. Self-reproach marred his conscience. The Governor-General thought that he was fighting in the ranks of his master's enemies. But his friend, General Wellesley, tried to soothe Malcolm by writing "You did not deserve such treatment positively....".

"Even a volcano subsides after eruption".¹⁶ The Governor-General on 14th June, 1804 sent Malcolm his forgiveness. The

15. Foreign, Secret, 7th June, 1804.

16. Thompson—*Making of the Indian Princes*.

Gwalior controversy was at an end for the time being. Malcolm also expressed his sense of gratitude while replying to the letter. "The extra-ordinary kindness", he wrote, "with which Your Lordship has condescended to explain the causes which led to your displeasure has filled my mind with sentiments of the warmest gratitude and most devoted attachment.....The whole tenor of my future conduct shall be regulated in the strictest conformity to your desire and I shall be proud in every opportunity, I may hereafter have, of showing that I am not unworthy of the favour and condescension with which I have been treated".

The Appointment of Abu Zafar (Later Bahadur Shah II) as the Heir Apparent

BY

K. N. PANIKKAR, M.A., PH.D., *New Delhi*

In the chequered history of Delhi, its capture and occupation by the East India Company's forces in 1803 is a significant landmark. It marks the end of an era and the beginning of another. When Lord Lake, the British Commander-in-Chief, entered Delhi, he saw the Emperor, Shah Alam II, in a most miserable condition. He was a blind, decrepit old man, sitting under a tattered canopy, virtually as an apologia of the past glory and grandeur of the Timurids. He unconditionally accepted the protection of the Company's Government. The arrangements subsequently made relegated him to the position of a pensioner. The Mughal Emperor no more ranked as the Emperor of Hindustan. He became, for all intents and purposes, a non-entity in Indian politics.

Shah Alam died on 19th November 1806 and his son, Akbar Shah II, succeeded to the throne on the same day. Though mild and docile by temperament, he strongly felt that his father had been unceremoniously treated by the British. His feelings were strengthened by the influence of Mumtaz Mahal, his favourite wife, who possessed an uncanny passion for power and unique capacity for intrigue. She collected a group of people around the Emperor, mostly her relatives and sycophants, who unswervingly persuaded him to exert full regal power and authority. Under their influence, Akbar Shah saw before him the vision of a possible opportunity to resuscitate the past splendour and glory of his ancestors.

The question of 'Wallee Uhdi' (appointment of the heir apparent) was the first point of disagreement between the Emperor and the East India Company. According to the law of primogeniture which the Company's Government upheld, Abu Zafar (later Bahadur Shah II), the eldest son, was the natural choice. But the Emperor entertained totally different ideas on this question. He wanted Mirza Jahangir, son of Mumtaz Mahal, to be his successor.

He, therefore, bestowed certain decorations on Mirza which traditionally belonged to the office of the heir-apparent. He did not anticipate any opposition from the Company's Government to this measure as the appointment of the heir apparent, in his view, was purely an internal affair in which he had complete jurisdiction.¹

But the attitude of the Company was not in conformity with his wishes. A sacred regard for the hereditary right of primogeniture; as the Governor-General put it, prompted him to oppose this move which, if sanctioned, could have disastrous implications. It could give rise to intrigues and mutual jealousies and also could destroy the cordiality among the princes, thereby creating the possibility of internecine feuds, notorious in the annals of the Mughals. The Company's Government conceived it as its bounden duty to forestall such a possibility and therefore proclaimed itself in favour of Abu Zafar. The Governor-General consequently refused to recognize as the heir-apparent any other than "the prince on whom that station and dignity devolved by right."² But the Mohammedan law of succession extends no recognition to the right of primogeniture. What the Emperor wanted was to exercise his right of selecting his successor, one of the four pre-requisites for succession in a Muslim State.³ He, understandably, resented the Company's attempt to interfere in a matter which, to his mind, was purely a family affair.

These divergent attitudes considerably strained the relation between the Company's Government and Akbar Shah. All his representations and entreaties in this respect were turned down in a manner which convinced him and the palace junto about the futility of similar endeavours. They now started vigorous manoeuvring to discredit Abu Zafar in the eyes of the Company's Government and remove him from the run, by means fair or foul. The first objection presented by the Emperor against Abu Zafar was that he had seduced one of his step-mothers during the time of

1. National Archives of India: Secret Consultation, 8 January 1807, No. 14.

2. Secret Consultation, 8 January 1807, No. 15.

3. The other three are the right of inheritance, the right of might and election by nobles.

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Shah Alam.⁴ The British Resident at Delhi was non-plussed to hear of so foul and odious an accusation preferred by a father against his son. He, therefore, insisted that the Emperor should make a thorough investigation, as it was improper to condemn one without clear evidence of the guilt. The Emperor was not prepared to concede this demand, thereby betraying the hollowness of the charge. But the Resident made an enquiry on his own and was convinced beyond any shadow of doubt that the accusation was nothing but a product of the pernicious machinations of the palace intriguers. Abu Zafar, it was generally known, had illicit intimacy with one of the female attendants of Mumtaz Mahal. That apart, he was easily the best among the royal children, amiable and well-behaved as he was.

On the failure of this move, the junto began to adopt more dubious methods. Abu Zafar was pressurised to make a declaration to the effect that "in consideration of the King's preference for Jahangir, he voluntarily and cheerfully resigned his claims to be the heir-apparent."⁵ By this, the Emperor hoped to overcome all the objections of the Company's Government. But it was not to be. The Resident could correctly judge that the "voluntary and cheerful resignation" of Abu Zafar was neither "voluntary" nor "cheerful". After a few days Abu Zafar himself wrote to the Resident detailing the circumstances under which the deed of relinquishment had been executed, which justified the apprehensions of the Company's representative. The Government now suggested to the Emperor that he might consider Mirza Buland Bakht, the second son, for choice as the heir apparent in case Abu Zafar was not desirous of being considered for the office. The reaction of the Emperor to this proposal was more derogatory to himself than to the person whom it was meant to vilify. According to his statement, Buland Bakht was an illegitimate child, his mother having been pregnant even before she became a constant resident of the palace.⁶ It was sickening that the Emperor should be defam-

4. Secret Consultation, 9 February 1807, No. 25.

5. *Ibid.*, 9 April 1807, No. 1.

6. *Ibid.*

ing his children, thereby exposing his own character. Convinced about the decided opposition of the Company's Government, Akbar Shah now cast aside all his pretensions and openly declared his intention to carry out his wishes immediately, without any reference to the acquiescence of the Company. The Company considered this step of the Emperor as incompatible with his real situation and it was necessary in its own interest to check his pretension to assume latitude of independent action and imperial authority. The appointment of an heir apparent at this stage when the Emperor was in perfect health was deemed unnecessary and inconsistent with the usages of the Mughal House. The Emperor's action in this respect was, therefore, openly and decidedly opposed by the Resident. Akbar Shah had neither the means nor the courage to thwart the wishes of the Company's Government. His declaration and the ultimatum, therefore, died out within the palace walls.

But the energy and intrigue of Mumtaz Mahal was irresistible. When direct methods failed, she could easily evolve indirect ones, for which there could be no paucity in an Indian court. What she planned was to make the appointment of Jahangir as heir-apparent a *fait accompli* by providing him a rank and status much higher than that of any of his brothers. Mirza was given huge amounts of money from the private coffers of the Begum. He used it to his advantage and employed a considerable number of troopers as his personal guards and masqueraded with them inside and outside the palace as an *infant terror*, humiliating his elders and intimidating the females and the servants. Abu Zafar had no source of income and could hardly eke out a decent livelihood. He had practically no followers and his existence was almost unknown in the palace.

Against this background, the idea of Mumtaz Mahal was to play up the importance of Jahangir by bringing him to the limelight whenever possible. On the occasion of the adoption of the Resident as her son, the Begum so cleverly managed the situation as to make it possible for Jahangir to impersonate for the Emperor who was originally intended to perform the ceremony. This was immediately followed up by the presentation of *Aftabi*,

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Tuppak and *Nalki-Sai-bunder*⁷ which were considered to be the highest honour generally enjoyed by the Emperor or by the heir apparent. The occasion and the manner of the presentation of these honours were very cleverly chosen. The *Aftabi* was presented in the presence of the Resident on the day of *Ed-ul-Fiter* when the court had the largest attendance. This made it possible to attach to it the apparent concurrence of the Company's Government and to give it the maximum possible publicity.

The Company's Government received this piece of information with a sense of infinite regret and acted vigorously to countermand these steps and nullify the effects produced by them on the minds of the people. Two courses were open to the Company — the conferment of similar honours on other princes or their withdrawal from Jahangir. The former alternative could not obviate the impression already created about the precedence of Jahangir and therefore the Emperor was persuaded to adopt the latter. The Emperor had apparently done things on the persuasion of Mumtaz Mahal and was now all repentance for his past deeds.⁸ He agreed to the suggestion of the Company's Government and the honours conferred on Mirza Jahangir were withdrawn without any serious objection from him.⁹

This incident was a serious jolt to the palace junto. They were now convinced about the impossibility of a successful culmination of their endeavours. Soon after this, occurred the rebellion

7. The *aftabi* was a portable screen or guard against the sun. Its form resembles that of a large leaf affixed to the end of a pole. *Tuppak* was a form of cushion or cloth of state covered with velvet or satin which used to be placed on the throne for the King and on the ground for the heir-apparent. *Nalki-Sai-bunder* was a state palanquin, the use of which was not allowed to the royal children.

8. The British Resident wrote to the Secretary to the Government at Calcutta: "I have learned from unquestionable authority that on his (the Emperor's) return to private apartments he was extremely irritated against Mumtaz Mahal. He told her that upon two occasions he had suffered her advice and entreaty to overcome his own conviction and that in both the issue had been unfortunate, adding these strong words—'You will be the ruin of my family'."

9. Political Consultation, 25 April 1808, No. 41.

of Mirza Jahangir against the occupation of the palace gates by the British and he was subsequently removed to Allahabad. This ruined his chances once for all and Mumtaz Mahal was left with no other alternative but to be content with her fate.

Freed from the petticoat influence, the Emperor agreed to the suggestions of the British and elevated Abu Zafar to the dignity of the heir apparent on 16 June, 1810.¹⁰ On the death of Akbar Shah in September 1837, Abu Zafar ascended the throne, assuming the name, Bahadur Shah II, and lived long enough to be the central figure of the ill-fated mutiny of 1857.

10. Political Consultation, 6 February 1810, No. 4.

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Reviews

LAND SYSTEM AND FEUDALISM IN ANCIENT INDIA: Edited by D. C. Sircar, Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, pp. 140, 1966. Price Rs. 7.50.

Among the problems facing the historian of the economic history of ancient India that of land system and feudalism is one of considerable interest and importance, not only because this is a less explored field but also because of the fact that even the few scholars who have worked on this hold varying views on the subject. The Centre for Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University of Calcutta has therefore to be congratulated and thanked for having chosen the subject of Land System and Feudalism in Ancient India for a seminar on the subject. This handy volume contains the proceedings of the seminar which was led by Prof. R. S. Sharma of the Patna University in 1965.

The book is divided into two parts, the first one dealing with land system in ancient India and containing three papers and the second dealing with feudalism and containing seven papers. In the first paper Dr. D. C. Sircar, who is also the Editor of the book examines the nature of land system in ancient India on the basis of literary and epigraphical evidence and argues for the existence of free holdings created by earlier rulers and respected by subsequent Kings. Sarva Daman Singh of the Lucknow University examines in a paper the evidence for royal ownership of land in the Vedic period and feels that "royal ownership of land did not mean the negation of the people's right in land. It was a gradation of ownership; the rights of King were superimposed over those of the people without undue hindrance to their right to till, to sow and reap their harvest, to inherit and to partition their land" (p. 31). P. N. Pattabhirama Sastri examines the literary data bearing on the subject.

Among the seven papers in Part II of the Volume the first is on Feudalism in Ancient India by S. K. Mitra. He shows that

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feudalism was anticipated even in the pre-Gupta period in North India, though he explains that Indian feudalism was different from the European feudalism in its nature. Dr. D. C. Sircar points out in another paper that 'feudalism' is a misnomer in the early Indian context and argues that it has been very much confused with landlordism. B. P. Mazumdar examines the place of the merchants and landed aristocracy in the feudal economy of North India in the middle ages and shows how the institution of landed nobility with feudal appendages developed during the period. B. N. S. Yadava considers in his paper how secular land grants of the post-Gupta period bear out the development of feudal complex in Northern India. His description of the system of "Eighty Four" is informative. Haran Chandra Neogi discusses the origin of feudalism and traces it back to very ancient times. He feels that Buddhism played its part in weakening slavery and strengthening feudalistic factors, apart from the fact that impetus to feudalism came from the Bactrian Greeks who had assimilated the Persian and Seleucid feudalistic systems and brought them to India. While comparing ancient Indian landed economy with medieval European feudalism and manorialism S. K. Maity feels that one can only correlate the major groups of phenomena in ancient India if one accepts landlordism or quasi-feudal structure due to some modifications (p. 105). B. D. Chatterjee's paper on 'Some aspects of politico-economic history of ancient India' discusses among others questions like whether the Western Kshatrapas were a suzerain power, the place of gold in international trade in ancient India and the question whether there was pressure on land and growth in population in the post-Gupta-period.

On the whole the volume gives in one compass different views held by scholars about land system and feudalism in ancient India. One thing may be said. To explain the term feudalism in one particular way may be difficult. Feudal ideas have varied from time to time and place to place. And Indian feudal ideas and institutions were different from European ones and the feudal element as we know it in Europe seems to have been thin and weak in the Indian socio-economic set up. The papers on the whole bear evidence of much scholarly output based on literary and epigraphical evidence from North India. There are thousands of inscriptions and many literary works of the medieval period in the

Deccan and South India which could have been usefully pressed into service in the examination of the problem. The South Indian evidence has not been touched upon by any of the scholars who have contributed to the volume except Dr. D. C. Sircar who alone makes reference to the conditions in South India in the Vijayanagar period.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

EXCAVATIONS AT LANGHNAJ, 1944-63, Part I, ARCHAEOLOGY: By H. D. Sankalia. Published by the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, pp. 102. Price Rs. 35.

This volume is a good scientific report on the excavations conducted at Langhnaj, a microlithic site in Northern Gujarat. Langhnaj is situated at a distance of 59 km. from Ahmedabad. Excavations were conducted at this site for seven seasons in the years between 1942 and 1963 by a number of scholars including Dr. H. D. Sankalia and many leading experts in field archaeology and allied sciences, took part in each one of them. The report gives a fairly good idea of how the different layers exposed in the course of the excavations were closely observed and properly identified after mechanical and chemical analysis of the soil.

The site yielded hundreds of microliths besides pottery, stone and metal objects. The association of pottery with the Microlithic culture in this site has proved beyond doubt that its invention preceded the abandonment of the hunting-gathering way of life, a fact which has been already well established in many regions in Europe, Africa and South-East Asia. The report also contains a descriptive account on the potsherds collected from the excavations. They have been subjected to various methods of scientific analysis such as magascopic and microscopic as also surface and core examinations. They reveal that the pottery is hand made barring a few exceptions. Though it is very badly baked it bears a slip, incised decorative patterns and burnishing effect. Yet another point is that a few sherds show the application of inverted firing technique.

Though evidence for the absolute dating of the site is not available "on circumstantial evidence the initial phase of Langhnaj or North Gujarat microlithic culture might be dated to a period before 2500 B. C. and its later phase to about 2000 B.C." (p. 9).

The report is provided with a number of useful charts and illustrative diagrams and photographs and a register (Appendix IV) of finds collected from the microlithic sites of Langhnaj, Akhaj and Valasna which are all situated in the Northern Gujarat region.

This publication forms a welcome addition to the growing volume of literature on methods of excavation as also the study of stone age cultures of Western India.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

A CATALOGUE OF YADAVA COINS IN THE ANDHRĀ PRADESH STATE MUSEUM, HYDERABAD: By Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, General Editor: Md. Abdul Waheed Khan; Andhra Pradesh Government Museum Series No. 9. Published by the Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, pp. 22 + pl. VI. Price Rs. 4.

If numismatics has not been of as much help to the historian of South India as to the historian of North India it is not so much due to the paucity of material as to our failure to properly use them. Coins in abundance of all the major dynasties in all their varieties and types are available in Museums and private collections awaiting scientific study by competent scholars; and without the results of such study a full history of South India cannot be written. This bulletin under review by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, who is known for his excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, is a venture in this direction, its purpose being cataloguing the Yādava coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad, and describing them with reference to their types, weights, size and the symbols on them.

Seventy six gold coins have been dealt with in this bulletin and they belong to four Yādava rulers, Singhana, Kanha, Mahādeva and Rāmadeva. Except one coin the find spot of which is not known, the rest are reported to have been discovered in the districts of Karimnagar, Medak and Mahbubnagar—regions which

were under Kākatiya hegemony. This discovery of the Yādava coins in the Kākatiya area confirms that the Kākatiya Queen Rudramahādevi triumphed over the Yādava King Mahādeva. The coins under study obviously formed part of the booty collected by the former from the conquered. Interestingly they bear the Kākatiya *lāñchana*, *varāha*, which was probably struck to commemorate the victory. The author points out that the coins under study should be called *gadyānas* and not *padmaṭankas*, as they are supposed to be. The symbols on the coins consist of the *padma*, *śankha*, volute and *Śrī*. The discovery of the coin of the Yādava ruler Rāma in the Mahbubnagar district is explained by the author as probably on account of its possession by a private collector.

All the coins are described with details of their weight and size. There are six plates showing the obverse and reverse of all of them. The varieties of the symbols depicted are shown in a separate plate. There is also a map of Andhra Pradesh indicating the find spots of the coins. The bulletin is a welcome and useful addition to the slender literature on South Indian numismatics.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

ARCHITECTURE OF THE EARLY HINDU TEMPLES OF ANDHRA PRADESH: By K. V. Soundara Rajan, General Editor: Md. Abdul Waheed Khan; Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeology Series No. 21. Published by the Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1965, pp. 31 + pl. XII + fig. 10. Price Rs. 6-50.

This small bulletin is devoted to a study of the evolution and development of the architectural styles of the early Hindu temples in Andhra Pradesh, both rock-cut and structural. The region chosen for study is one of the richest in India from the point of view of the different stylistic patterns. Mr. K. V. Soundara Rajan who has already shown evidence of his good knowledge of Indian art by his numerous writings has chosen for study in this monograph the most representative and important of the temples constructed during a period when Agamic injunctions had not been codified.

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The author shows at the beginning that the names Nāgara and Drāviḍa 'were not the names given on the basis of region but only on their possible formal and cultural import and could be independent of the geographical fixation' (p. 4). The brick temples of Nāgarjunakoṇḍa which are of the *Ayatasra*, *Chaturasra* and *Vṛttāyata* types with all their ritualistic features, had according to Mr. Soundara Rajan the germs of the characteristics of many later temples. In the next or the 'adult' stage we find a proper consolidation of the typical Dravidian style, the temples consisting of such units as the *garbhagrha*, *antarāla*, *gūḍhamandapa*, *agra mandapa*, *pradakṣiṇapatha* etc., and pilasters, *pañjaras*, *Kūṭas* and *caityas* on the exterior walls. The introduction of the *Vidyādhara* motif and carved rafter ends at suitable places as in the Alampur temples is indicative of the amalgam of the Cālukyan and the Gupta-Pratihara art-motifs with those of the Telugu country. Similarly a happy blending of the Cōla, Cālukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa genres is reflected in the temples of the Nolambas. An architectural affiliation to the Orissan style is seen in the East Ganga art centre of Mukhalingam.

Regarding the rock-cut media Mr. Soundara Rajan, after a detailed examination of several factors, feels that 'the authorship of the Mogalrājapuram, Uṇḍavalli and Bhairavakoṇḍa caves would tend more and more to be of non-Pallava origin, although the Pallava idiom, as a familiar regional genre had been incorporated in the first and the last mentioned above' (p. 13). Though the authorship of these cannot be definitely attributed to any line of rulers, the Vengi Cālukyas appear to have greater claim than the Viṣṇukundins and the Telugu Codas for the same.

The discussion on the stylistic patterns of the early structural and rock-cut shrines is followed by a detailed consideration of a group of chosen temples including the Puṣpabhadrasvami and other early Brahmanical temples of Nāgarjunakoṇḍa, Kapoteśvara temple at Chezarla, the different caves at Vijayawada, Uṇḍavalli and Bhairavakoṇḍa and the Alampur, Pāpanāśanam, Mukhalingam temples etc. The author shows, convincingly enough, that it is difficult to characterise the Alampur temples as essentially *vesara* or as of the *Southern vesara* order and by a study of the architectural devices employed proves that they are derivatives

from the Cālukya architectural heritage to which the traditions of the Guptas and Rāṣṭrakuṭas were also added.

The bulletin is provided with a short bibliography, useful plates and figures which add to its value. As a whole it is an immensely useful publication detailing the strands of the architectural styles and their mixture at different stages of their evolution and development and will be welcomed by all interested in the subject which is one of absorbing interest.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

SAIVITE DEITIES OF ĀNDRADĒSA. By M. Rama Rao, M.A., Ph.D., Pp. 94, Plates XX, published by Sri Venkatesvara University, Tirupati, 1966, Price Rs. 6/-.

The study of Hindu sculpture in its aesthetic and iconographic aspects is a field of absorbing interest. It deals with the changing pattern of Indian art motives and norms and the evolving and crystalizing concepts of iconography in all their variety. The scope of the subject is vast and the available sources yet remain fully untapped. It may not be possible for a single scholar to deal with it covering the whole of India in an equal degree. Hence the need for works of this kind with restricted concentration on selected regions.

In this work Dr. Rama Rao deals with some of the Saivite deities of Āndhradēsa. This is largely a short description of some Saiva sculptures in a few select temples in Āndhradēsa and not a study of the cults of the deities as the title of the book obviously implies. The sculptures dealt with belong to different periods from the 6th to the 16th centuries and are illustrative of the artistic activities under several dynasties that ruled over Andhra like the Viṣṇukunḍins, Cālukyas, Pallavas, Eastern Gaṅgas, Cōlas and the Vijayanagar rulers. The chosen deities are Śiva, Gaṇapati, Kumāra and Dēvi that are found in the temples at Mogalrājapuram, Alampūr, Mahānandi, Satyavolu, Guḍimallam, Bikkavolu, Drākṣārāma, Cālukyabhimavaram, Palakollu, Cēbrolu, Panagal, Mukhalingam, Kālahasti, Jōgimallavaram, Tirupati, Srisailam Tadpatri, Lēpākṣi etc. The work has the merit of having brought

under a single compass deities that are identical or similar in their iconographic delineations and hence usefully supplements museum catalogues. The author has given in a tabular chart at the end the varying iconographic traits which helps one to easily discern the variations in features. The work is illustrated with twenty well-chosen plates and is provided with a useful glossary of iconographic terms.

Though the numerous forms of Śiva including his *Lingōd-bhava* form have been brought to light in the Āndhradēsa the author does not deal with the aniconic *linga* aspect and the famous and controversial *linga* at Guḍimallam. In the enumeration of sculptures of Dēvīs Dr. Rama Rao has restricted himself to Pārvaṭī, Durga and Maḥiṣāsūramardani. None the less this work will be of considerable interest and value to students of Indian art and iconography. One wishes that similar and more detailed studies of both the Śiva and Vaiṣṇava deities in different regions in India are brought out to enable one to have a good idea of Hindu icons in all their regional variations.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

AN INTRODUCTION TO ARCHAEOLOGY. By Dr. H. D. Sankalia, Pp. X 31, published by the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1965; Price Rs. 3/-.

This booklet by Dr. H. D. Sankalia is the first in the "History of Man" series being brought out by the Department of Archaeology, University of Poona and the Deccan College, Post-Graduate and Research Institute, to impart new knowledge acquired with the help of Archaeology and other allied sciences to schools and colleges. Written in very simple language the booklet deals with the definition and scope of Archaeology and its importance in the study of the history of man. Dr. Sankalia describes in it how archaeological explorations and excavations are conducted and how antiquities like pottery, terracotta figures, tools and weapons found in the course of such field work are studied to interpret the cultural changes in a society and day-to-day life of the people in the past.

The booklet is provided with a number of illustrations and a chart to show the relationship of Archaeology to other allied sciences and humanities. It is certainly a welcome addition to libraries in schools and colleges and other institutions. Similar publications on other subjects of the kind will be useful.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

STUDIES IN PREHISTORY. Edited by D. Sen and A. K. Ghosh, Pp. VIII 194, published by K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1966; Price Rs. 35/-.

This is a book of essays and studies in Prehistory contributed by experts in the field from different parts of the world and is brought out in commemoration of Robert Bruce Foote, the pioneer in the field of Indian Prehistory. It contains seventeen good articles devoted to the study of various aspects of world Prehistory in the light of information made available from fresh discovery and field investigation.

The first article by the late R. B. Foote himself 'On the Occurrence of Stone Implements in Lateritic Formations in Various Parts of the Madras and North Arcot Districts' has been reprinted from the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*. The second one written by G. H. R. Von Koenigswald, 'Asia and the Evolution of Man', deals with the geological evidence of the antiquity of man. The author feels "the picture of human evolution is far from complete and much more complicated" (p. 26). Every stage of human progress shows a surprising parallelism in Asia and Africa, the latter of which, in the opinion of the author, must probably be the homeland of the hand-axe culture, the earliest known culture in the world. The third topic on "Some Reflections on the Pleistocene Megafauna" contains very interesting information about the cause for the extinction of megafauna of the Pleistocene period. The author, Olaf H. Prufer, holds the view that prehistoric man was responsible for the destruction of these animals. In this connection, he vividly brings out some of the day-to-day activities of Stone Age man and the environmental conditions that favoured such activities. In the fourth topic

D. A. E. Garrod gives a short account of the excavations conducted at Abri Sumoffen in South Lebanon and provides valuable information about the characteristic features of stone implements like pebbles and blades made respectively of chert and flint obtained from the site. In the fifth one F. H. Bordes deals with the provenance, significance and general features of Acheulean cultures in South-West France. F. R. Alchin, in the sixth one, describes with proper illustrations, the popular pottery head rests obtained from Nārasipur Samgam. He makes an attempt to compare these head-rests with those found in Egypt of the predynastic times. In the seventh essay B. D. Malan gives an account of the comprehensive system of legislation laid down in the Republic of South Africa to protect archaeological and palaeontological sites as also to promote research in such fields of study. The eighth article on 'Prehistory Pakistan' by A. H. Dani deals with the excavation and exploration work undertaken in Pakistan and the light they throw on the prehistory of the country. H. D. Sankalia in the ninth topic clearly describes some of the features of Early Stone Age Cultures in Poona. The tenth one bearing the title 'Microlithic Bearing Deposits of Adamgarh Rock-shelters' by R. V. Joshi and M. D. Ichare provides a short account of the excavations conducted at the microlithic sites in Central India, particularly in Adamgarh near Hoshangabad. The excavations at this site have brought to light thousands of microliths of multi-varied size and shape, a careful scrutiny and study of which would certainly help scholars to have a fairly good idea of the microlithic industry in that part of the country. It is also interesting to note that a large number of animal bones have been recovered from the excavations which would widen our knowledge of fauna of the microlithic period in the area as also to ascertain the climatic conditions of the times. The eleventh topic centres around the problem of origin and evolution of Hand-Axe Culture in the Narmada Valley. The problem has been well tackled by A. P. Khatri in the light of fresh data obtained from the Narmada Valley. V. N. Misra in his contribution 'Stone Age Research in Rajasthan', the twelfth article in the volume, has briefly dealt with the history of Stone Age Cultures in the region. The thirteenth topic on 'Environments as reflected in the River Deposits around Poona' by G. G. Majumdar and S. N. Rajaguru gives an idea of the intensive study of local geology, geography and soils in addi-

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tion to the river deposits made by the authors in and around Poona district. The chronology of Harappan Culture has been re-examined by D. P. Agarwal in the fourteenth article with the availability of a number of radio carbon dates worked out from Harappan and allied sites. In three separate sections he discusses the problem exhaustively. In the first section are summarised briefly the results of the analysis of the radio carbon dates, in the second, the available archaeological evidence which has been used for the reconstruction of Harappan chronology and in the last the conclusion. The fifteenth article by A. K. Ghosh deals with the question of lateristic formation in India particularly in states like Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa. He discusses briefly the meaning of the term 'Laterite' and enumerates the different theories regarding its origin and formation.

The most interesting problem of Indian Prehistory namely the Megalithic Culture has been dealt with in the sixteenth article by N. R. Banerjee. According to him the problem is seven-fold which he discusses in detail. He has also given a list of recently excavated sites which yielded new finds and added substantial information on the subject. However the author feels that it "is one of the unsolved problems of Archaeology" (p. 163). The last topic on "The Kitchen-Middens of the Andaman Archipelago" by P. C. Dutta gives an idea of the salient features of the Kitchen-Midden Mounds and their contents which were found scattered all over the coast of the Andamans. Some of the mounds were excavated and as the author says "they are now supposed to be the only source of document for making at least a sketchy cultural-historical reconstruction of the Archipelago". (p. 184).

Thus on the whole this volume is a welcome publication of much value and interest to those engaged in the study of the Prehistoric Civilizations. The fact that the volume has been prepared with the co-operation of eminent scholars from the U.S.A., Europe, India, Pakistan and other Asian countries who are well known for their scholarship in the respective fields of study on which they have contributed papers adds to the value of the publication.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

SELECT KĀKATĪYA TEMPLES. By M. Rama Rao, M.A., Ph.D.,
Pp. 111, Plates XLI, published by Sri Venkatesvara University, Tirupati 1966; Price Rs. 5/-.

Among the numerous temples and monuments that dominate the Āndhra landscape, those built during the period of the Kākatīyas of Wārangal constitute a class by themselves, both on account of their numbers and their distinct architectural features. Like the Cōlas, the Kākatīyas were pious builders and more than fifty monuments stand today proclaiming Kākatīya patronage to them. Of these many are clearly datable and hence of unique value in tracing chronologically the history of the evolution of the Kākatīya style of art and architecture.

Dr. M. Rama Rao who has specialised in the history of the Kākatīyas of Wārangal attempts in the present work a study of Kākatīya temples. The temples chosen are those of Manumakonda, Wārangal, Pālampēta, Ghanapūr, Kaṭāchpūr, Jākāram, Panagal, Tripurāntakam and Pillalamarri. Besides giving adequate architectural descriptions of the temples, the author has made, in the book, a general study of the inscriptions in the monuments and the traditions associated with them. The book contains also necessary plans and photographic illustrations of the shrines. A tabular chart at the end furnishes a list of Kākatīya temples with details of their date, builders etc.

The most interesting part of the work is the short description of the architectural features of the Kākatīya temples as exemplified by the studied examples. The types of the temples and details of their base, walls, roof, pillars, *vimānas*, carved entrances, subsidiary shrines etc., have all been well described. The author feels that the plank shelves in the walls of the main sanctum and finely carved canopies above the *vēdī* containing the *liṅga* are features not found in the temples of other dynasties. However a full and complete picture of the Kākatīya architecture will emerge only when all the extant monuments have been comprehensively surveyed and studied.

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EARLY MODERN CHINESE HISTORY: BOOKS AND PROBLEMS by Diptendra M. Banerjee, published by the University of Burdwan. Price Rs. 10/-.

This is an interesting book written on a new pattern. More than half of the book is devoted to an assessment of the numerous publications in the English language on Early Modern Chinese History. The author rightly thinks that the modern period opened in China with the beginning of the Western penetration into the country, i.e. about 1840.

His reviews of the books and papers on the subject are incisive and vigorous. But occasionally his judgments seem to be too sweeping, as can be seen, for instance, from his observations on Michael Edwards' "Asia in the European Age" (p. 26).

The author has an up-to-date knowledge of the publications in the field, and the reader is bound to derive valuable guidance for the study of the period. Indian Universities have not been much interested in Chinese history. The author is just when he complains that "there is as yet hardly any substantial Indian work on the countries of Asia, not even for the sake of comparative history." (Preface, p. x).

It is not possible to comment on the reviews of all the books, periodicals and essays surveyed by him. However, it is obvious that the range of his survey is wide and comprehensive; it covers political, religious, social, economic and artistic aspects of modern Chinese history.

Books on Chinese social history are particularly interesting, as can be seen, for instance, from the writings of Karl A. Wittfogel and Ebenhard. More numerous are the works on the "Penetration of Foreign Powers into China." Finally come those on 'Revolt against Authority', because, throughout the 19th and early 20th century, the ruling class in China was being continually threatened by popular risings. However, it is notable that 'no definite history of the Revolution of 1911 in China has been written so far'. Some of the publications are not upto the mark. It is to be hoped that scholarly works utilising the compilations of Chinese historians would be published in the near future.

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His reviews generally reveal that the writings of most Westerners smack of the 'kiplingesque theme of the white man's mission to rule'. One is struck by the deafening chorus of the West's cultural superiority and the dismal picture of Chinese barbarism. Fortunately modern Chinese and Japanese works are appearing in large numbers, and historians of the English-speaking areas are now increasingly appreciating the worth of these writings.

The real contribution of the author of this book is found in the second part where he discusses three problems connected with the modern history of China. The first is concerned with an examination as to how far China formed a typical 'Oriental Society'. The author's analysis of Marx's concept of the 'Asiatic Society' is a timely warning to the pseudo-Marxist tendency of describing Asiatic Society in terms of Europe's historical experience. No doubt Europe was, and is, great; but to harp on the song 'T is the West that explains the East' is to distort the character of the Asiatic socio-economic formations. D. M. Banerjee registers a plea for a fresh examination and assessment of the Chinese social history.

The second problem dealt with is 'The Concept and Role of Imperialism'. This is a very controversial problem; for it is associated with one of the most burning questions of the day. He discusses whether the West has 'developed' Asia, including China, and if so, whether the result has been for the good of Asia. Vehemently he protests that 'even today commentators would attempt, in the name of objective history, to magnify the development role of Imperialism in China without mentioning the costs'. He urges that one has to explain in what ways and to what extent foreign capital and foreign enterprise distorted the pattern and stifled the growth of China's entire national economy. He concludes that the financial advantages reaped by the foreigners and the consequent enfeeblement of the Chinese are ultimately responsible for their rejection of the Western path of capitalism.

The last problem he discusses is China's modernization in contrast with that of Japan. It is important to remember that Japan was not tied to the bootstrap of any colonial power; it profited immensely from its independence. On the other hand the visible as well as the hidden tentacles that fettered China's sove-

reignty are now fully recognised. Secondly, the internal political equilibrium was comparatively favourable for Japan's development. In China the bureaucratic deadweight upon modernisation projects and the tale of corruption and inefficiency are well known. It is also notable that unlike China, Japan depended more upon private enterprise than on State aid. Finally the availability of gold and silver hoarded in the past, the silkworm disease in the 1870's in Europe which stimulated export of raw silk from Japan, and above all the innate vigour of the Japanese people explain the contrast between the modern Chinese and Japanese economic histories.

The book is a product of patient study and critical analysis. Similar studies of the various countries of Asia are needed.

K. K. PILLAY

THE AFTERMATH OF REVOLT. INDIA 1857-70 by Thomas R. Metcalf, publishers: Princeton University Press, price 45 s Net.

This book seeks to examine the influence of the Mutiny on the outlook, policy and activities of the British in India during the decade which followed the suppression of the rising. British Liberalism had made itself felt in the epoch prior to the Revolt, particularly beginning from the time of Lord William Bentinck. Education of the Western type was introduced with enthusiasm, though some like Lord Ellenborough had an aristocratic distaste for popular education, influenced by a conviction that the British Empire provided the best possible government for the Indians of the day. No doubt, reforms like the remarriage of widows, suppression of Sati and infanticide were undertaken.

Were these and other changes, introduced with the best of intentions, responsible for the outbreak of the Revolt? The assessment of the real causes of the Revolt appears to have been an endless problem. But now almost every balanced writer holds that though it was not the product of a widespread conspiracy, some irrational panic on the subject of caste and traditional cus-

toms made the grievances of the Sepoys burst into a conflagration. Really, 'it was something more than a Sepoy Mutiny, but something less than a national revolt' (p. 60).

However, the Mutiny witnessed a set-back to the reformist enthusiasm of the British administrators. Projects of social reform were not directly undertaken; but the educational development did not witness a check. In fact, the impact of the Mutiny on the diffusion of education was much less pronounced than in the case of social reform. Fortunately the Missionaries, whatever their ulterior motive, contributed a great deal to the advancement of education.

The influence of the Revolt on the princes, landlords, tenants, and civil servants are all examined in a dispassionate manner. The changed attitude was reflected in almost every sphere of governmental activity. It must be noticed that subsequent to the Mutiny there was a great concentration on improving the technique of administration and thereby providing increased well-being of the people. The result was that the latter half of the 19th century witnessed the golden age of the bureaucracy. But it is undeniable that there appeared an air of distrust of Indians on the part of the British authorities. At the same time there was a submerged belief in the British racial superiority which militated against a faith in the possibility of self-government by Indians. Many of the policy-makers as well as the administrators sincerely felt that "India did not contain the clay out of which self-government could be modelled" (p. 280). Despite this conviction the continued patronage of education indicates the triumph of the 19th century British liberalism.

Though the book covers a well-trodden ground, the author's treatment of the subject is at once balanced and interesting. He commands a lucid style. He bases his views and conclusions on the official records of the Indian Government and on the private papers of various Viceroys and Secretaries of State. The bibliography and the bibliographical notes are quite useful. The book is well produced.

K. K. PILLAY

THE MUTINY AND BRITISH LAND POLICY IN NORTH INDIA (1856-1868): by Jagadish Raj, Ph.D., pp. xvi + 192. 192. Asia Publishing House, 1965. Price Rs. 20.

This is an interesting and intensive study of the gradual evolution of the British land policy in Oudh and its effect on the tenants which persists upto this day. It begins with a short account of the revenue systems under the Nawabs of Oudh. The author observes that the system was 'ill-contrived and shockingly administered' and agriculture was in a miserable state when in February, 1856, Wajid Ali Shah was deposed and Oudh was annexed to British India. Unfortunately the author does not seek to explore whether the misery was due entirely to the incapacity and/or wickedness and indolence of the rulers or to some extent at least to the stranglehold of the British over the unfortunate Nawabs. Kaye, the author of the "*History of the Sepoy War in India*", had the candour to admit that the Nawab alone could not be blamed for the misrule in Avadh. "Whether the British or the Oude Government were more responsible for it was somewhat doubtful to every clear understanding and every unprejudiced mind". When we speak of the oppression of the Taluqdars of Oudh we should not forget that sometimes revenues of some districts were farmed to Englishmen, ex-officers of the Company, who imposed what was virtually a martial law for extorting as much as possible from the people. This aspect of the question should be thoroughly examined before fixing the responsibility for the evils, that undoubtedly existed in Oudh, upon its ruler alone.

When the British took over the Government of Oudh the greater part of the province was held by Taluqdars whose position was somewhat akin to that of the Zamindars of Bengal. But already there was a reaction against the Zamindari system in Bengal which reached its climax under R. M. Bird and J. Thomson. According to the new school of which they became the exponents, there should be no intermediate class between the peasantry and the Government. This system worked successfully in the newly annexed Punjab since 1849 and so Dalhousie decided to do away with the Taluqdari System and adopt that of collection directly from the cultivators. The process of this transfor-

mation had actually begun when the whole scheme was upset by the outbreak of 1857.

The author has discussed with great skill the reasons why the British Government reverted to the Taluqdari System after the great outbreak. His analysis of the causes is thorough and just. The disaffection of the Taluqdars towards, and their activity against, the British could be easily explained by the loss they had suffered. What was utterly inexplicable to the British was that the people for whose benefit they had antagonised the Taluqdars should join with them and rise in rebellion against the Government. The general annoyance of the British statesman at this turn of affair found its expression in the following sarcastic criticism of Dalhousie's revenue policy in Oudh by Ellenborough: "Its chivalry was that of Robin Hood, who is said to have robbed the wealthy and to have given to the poor. Robin Hood, however, managed to secure the favour of those to whom he gave his loot. We managed to make them as hostile as those we plundered". The author's observation on it seems to be very sound: "But, in reality, the village communities had no other course left open to them. The taluqdars were powerful, had their own militia, possessed guns and forts, and the village communities could not resist them. Force compelled them to take part on the side of the taluqdars. Nor could one expect the members of the village communities to fight against their own brothers who formed the greater part of the Bengal army which had revolted against the East India Company. Again, the rule of the Company was but newly introduced in Oudh and British contact with the villagers was just over one year old; how then could the British expect the villagers to side with them?" I quote this passage at length because it makes a fair estimate of the causes that led to the revolt of the civil population in Oudh and does not look upon them as joining a national struggle for freedom of India — an idea which was quite unfamiliar to them.

Anyway the conduct of the cultivators alienated from them the sympathy of the British Raj. To this was added a wholesome dread or recognition of the power of the Taluqdar. So there was a complete reversal of the policy initiated by Dalhousie. The Taluqdars had to be placated at any cost and the interest of the cultivators was sacrificed in order to win over their landlords.

The rest of the book demonstrates the process of this change stage by stage, in spite of occasional opposition, both from officials in India and Britain. Charles Wood, Secretary of State for India, was critical of the policy in 1859, at least in private correspondence, while Lord Lawrence, who became Governor-General in 1864, sought to modify the policy by a formal recognition of the rights of the subordinate tenants. But there were reactionaries like Sir Charles Wingfield, the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, who defied even the Governor-General, not to speak of other liberal-minded officials, and the views of the former prevailed in the long run.

But though the Rent Acts of 1868 and 1883 gave some relief to the suffering cultivators the author has demonstrated by wealth of details how the poor cultivators of Oudh had to pay the penalty of their alliance with the Taluqdars upto the very end of the British rule. The decisions on the land revenue policy between 1856 and 1868 are directly responsible for the outbreak of the cultivators in Oudh against their landlords in 1920.

The book has thrown fresh light on the land revenue policy in Oudh and its baneful effect in spite of occasional attempts to remedy them during those eventful years.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

HINDU CULTURE AND PERSONALITY, A PSYCHO-ANALYTIC STUDY, by P. Spratt, P. C. Manaktala and Sons Private Limited, PP. viii + 400. Bombay, 1966. Price Rs. 32.

The author starts with the thesis that the culture of a people is largely determined by some common and characteristic psychological traits which distinguished most of the infants in a society, generation after generation. The book is an attempt to explain the principal elements of Hindu culture on the basis of this theory. The growth and development of Hindu culture, as a whole, may, in his opinion be traced to a single well-observed fact, viz., that the "Hindu parents treat their male children with extreme indulgence." From this fact he makes "the reasonable assumption that the average Hindu male will grow up with (1) a fixation at

the state of primary narcissism, the characteristic of the first few months of life; (2) a fixation at the stage of exclusive love for the mother, which follows in the next few months; and (3) a relatively weak repression of the anal erotism of about the same period. On these three linked assumptions it is possible to erect a theory of the Hindu personality type which is fairly true to experience of the type as it exists now, and embraces most of the outstanding peculiarities of Hindu culture and civilisation." (p. 1). The object of the author is to show that the 'outstanding peculiarities of the Hindu personality type and Hindu civilisation can be accounted for on the assumption that it is distinguished by the above three related factors' (pp. 352, 355).

Narcissism is a term used in psycho-analysis to denote tendency to self-worship, or absorption in one's own personal perfections. The greater part of the book is devoted to it because, according to the author, some of the most important and distinctive elements in Indian personality and culture—Yoga, prajñā, pratibhā, jīvanmukti, karmayoga, samādhi, Buddhism, Jainism, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, caste system, etc.,—are the outcome of narcissism. Of the three *guṇas*, *satva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, one endowed with the first or the second conforms, respectively, to the model of the higher and lower type of narcissist. Another outcome of narcissism is the high place given to body in Hindu culture, (pp. 14-5).

It is difficult to accept the view that *Satvaguna* is compatible with self-adulation, or that the Hindus value the body more than other known civilised peoples. The opposite assumptions would be nearer to historical truth, and these two assumptions are striking illustrations of the error and danger of psycho-analytic interpretation of culture in utter disregard or ignorance of historical facts. The book abounds in many statements and inferences of this type.

Some of the views dogmatically expressed by the author are not only far from carrying immediate conviction, but seem to be almost fantastic. In this category belong the declarations: (1) The Vedantic doctrine of the identity of individual soul with the universal spirit "is the clearest possible expression of the narcissistic attitude" (p. 42); (2) the theory of narcissism and the resulting semen complex supplies a more satisfactory explanation of

caste than has been derived from any other set of assumptions hitherto (p. 137); and (3) the actions and teachings of the Buddha, as we have them in the earliest literature, conform closely to the narcissistic pattern (p. 292).

The second element in determining the personality and culture is the 'mother fixation' when an infant, after the first few months, turns his love besides self to mother. According to the author the worship of the goddesses, and more particularly of mother goddesses, is to be attributed to the mother fixation. It is however conveniently forgotten that in the earliest form of Hindu religion, depicted in the R̥gveda, the gods far out-number the goddesses who hardly count as an important factor in religion. The 'mother fixation', according to the author, explains "the unique veneration accorded to the cow in Hinduism" and Hindu's veneration for rivers, lakes and the sea (p. 194). Here again, it is forgotten that the veneration of cow was a later growth in Hinduism and the slaughter of cows for food is testified to in the R̥gveda. It is also not easy to understand why the 'mother fixation' leads to veneration of cows alone and not to the other female animal species. Hindu's fondness for rivers, lakes, sea, etc., is a natural thing noticed all over the world, and it is not necessary to look for such an abstruse explanation as is offered by the author, viz., that "water symbolises the amniotic fluid, the womb, and the mother". (194)

What has been said above gives a fair idea of the contents of the book. It is a striking example of the errors and dangers that follow almost every step when a scientific process like psycho-analysis is diverted from its proper field of study, viz., the individual, to a big community or nation of which one possesses very little accurate information that can be relied upon. A more pertinent question must be asked. Is it not a fact that many of the characteristics of Hindu culture dealt with by the author are also to be found in other cultures and therefore should be attributed to narcissism? If this is admitted, the three factors mentioned by the author cannot be looked upon as the basis of Hindu culture any more than that of any other culture.

The whole book consists mostly of fantastic explanations and interpretations of Hindu culture unsupported by any positive evidence.

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One would be anxious to know whether similar psycho-analytic studies of other cultures, specially of Europe and America, have been undertaken by the author, and if so, what were his fundamental assumptions like the three factors on which he has relied for the interpretation of Hindu culture.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

GUNTUR DISTRICT (1788-1848), by R. E. Frykenberg, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965, pp. vii + 294. Price Rs. 36.

This book is a critical study of the British administration of Guntur District in Madras from 1788 to 1848. Guntur was ceded to the British by the Nizam in 1788 as the price of military assistance. Here, as elsewhere in India, the British found the administration in a hopelessly disordered condition. As they had not sufficient knowledge or experience they had to carry on the administration with the help of Indian officials, and at the beginning, on the traditional lines. The troubles of the British during their early years came from four sources: namely, from village leaders, Zamindars, *Dubashis*, and corrupted British officers. A small but compact elite of Maratha Brahmans (*Desasthas*) had long held the upper levels of local administration when the British came to Guntur. A number of these Brahmans soon attached themselves as private agents to the new rulers; and with success, their numbers grew. Finally, the Provincial Council at Masulipatam, which administered Guntur, was hopelessly corrupt and inefficient. The chief difficulty was caused by the absence of any suitable system for the collection of revenue. Both the Zamindari and Ryotwari systems were adopted as policy, but in practical operations "were severely qualified and limited by each local situation" (p. 67). The building up of an administrative organisation was also faced with similar difficulties and inefficiency and corruption prevailed to an alarming extent. At last in 1844 Walter Elliot, a member of the Board of Revenue, was sent as Commissioner to enquire into the state of administration at Guntur. At this, the district officers under the leadership of the *Sheristadar* and the *Desastha* elite in the *Huzur Cutcherry*, took alarm. Acting as a group they made every effort to stifle the investigation and to counteract the work of the Commissioner.

Elliot recommended eight reforms which were accepted, and steps were taken to break the power and influence of the *Desas* *tha* Brahmins.

As the book deals only with the affairs of a small district it is not likely to arouse any general interest. But it gives an insight into the manifold difficulties which the British had to overcome in order to build up an efficient machinery of administration which is (or rather was) perhaps one of their most important legacies to India. The author has given evidence of patient industry and ability to handle a mass of documentary evidence. Unfortunately his treatment of the subject is rather discursive and lacks both method and precision. He does not follow a logical system but often rambles into unrelated topics, making it difficult for the reader to pursue the main thread of his narrative.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

CONTRIBUTION OF UPASANI BABA TO INDIAN CULTURE

by Dr. S. N. Tipnis, Shri Upasani Kanya Kumari Sthan, Sakuri, 1966. Pp. 241. Price Rs. 10.

This is a doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Poona on the life and work of Upasani Baba, a saint who lived in Maharashtra from 1870 to 1941. The author sets out to examine the impact of the political and religious conditions of Maharashtra on the teachings of Upasani Baba. He also seeks to throw light on the various aspects of Baba's philosophy and to evaluate the work done by him for the cultural revival of Maharashtra.

This work is based on contemporary records but the discussion of Upasani Baba's teachings on various subjects such as education, family planning, religion, ethics, metaphysics, politics, etc. does not serve to bring out the originality in his views which appear to be repetitions of the teachings propagated by other great leaders. Excepting a vivid description of the *ashrams* established by him, not much information is available on Upasani Baba as such in this book. The author mostly discusses the teachings of other religious leaders in India, Upasani Baba being relegated to the background. For instance, when he discusses the subject of

family planning he has to say more about the views expressed by Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Sushila Naiyar and many others than about the ideas of Upasani Baba. Such examples can easily be multiplied but this hardly gives us any idea about the contribution of Upasani Baba to Indian culture.

Few scholars would agree with the author in considering Upasani Baba as a 'pioneer for the cultural awakening of women' as far as he was vehemently opposed to widow re-marriage and did not favour the idea of women receiving any kind of education. Naturally therefore he was also opposed to their getting employment because according to him this would eventually ruin them and cause the degradation of society. In the modern age no one is likely to regard Upasani Baba to be 'far in advance of his times' as is contended by the author.

The author's thesis has many discrepancies. For example, on page 1 he writes that 'efforts were made.....to arouse, the political consciousness of the people' but on page 129 he contradicts this statement by saying that 'there was already a great political awakening among the people of India'. Again on page 29 he says that 'after completing the mission of his life, leaving his body on the 24th December 1941, Upasani Baba entered into Mahasamadhi'. This way of describing Baba's death is rather strange; 'after death no one can enter into Mahasamadhi. Mahasamadhi itself means the 'death of an illumined person'.

The concluding chapter of the book on the 'Evaluation of the work and teachings of Upasani Baba' is in reality a compilation of opinions of no less than 75 persons. These opinions which are reproduced *verbatim* in 31 pages could easily have been condensed in a few paragraphs to avoid repetition and dull reading.

The author has not corroborated his assessment of Upasani Baba as 'a great moral philosopher and a religious teacher' by any satisfactory presentation of facts. On the contrary in 1934-35 the latter was charged with the commission of some serious offences and since the judicial decisions were not always clearly in his favour his greatness cannot be said to stand unchallenged.

In fact, Upasani Baba's contribution to Indian culture has not been discussed at all in this book. The author, perhaps subcon-

sciously, appears to be aware of it as he himself says that 'Upasani Baba....inherited the cultural heritage of his predecessors and imparted their teachings'. That explains why we do not find a clear and detailed exposition of his teachings in this book. It seems that either the author has not carefully tapped all the original sources or has failed to appraise properly those which were available to him.

The book, on the whole, is not very well written. Its get-up and expression is poor and there are scores of typographical mistakes. The system of giving foot-notes is defective and confusing. The author has not maintained uniformity in the Bibliography while quoting the name of the publisher, the date, year and place of publication. There is neither any Index nor Glossary of Hindi and Sanskrit words which occur in the book. There is also some avoidable disproportion in the planning of the chapters. The length of the first five chapters, for example, comes to 60 pages while the remaining two chapters occupy 134 pages.

Dr. Tipnis's work adds little of value to the growing literature on the development of Indian culture.

Y. B. MATHUR

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SANSKRIT WORKS ON ASTRONOMY
AND MATHEMATICS, PART I: by S. N. Sen. Published by
The National Institute of Sciences of India, New Delhi, 1966.
Price Rs. 20/- inland (\$5 or 35 sh. foreign).

Sri S. N. Sen, with the research assistance of Sri A. K. Bag and Sri S. R. Sarma, has offered to the serious students of the cultural history of India a carefully prepared and well-printed Bibliography of Sanskrit Works on Astronomy and Mathematics. This is the second publication brought out by the two units established by the National Institute of Sciences in India with a view to preparing lists of source material for the compilation of the history of the various sciences studied in ancient and medieval India. The difficulty inherent in an enterprise of this kind, as stressed by the distinguished writer of the Foreword, Prof. R. C. Majumdar, is that its success presupposes two kinds of attain-

ments on the part of its authors, viz; a good knowledge of Sanskrit, and a grasp of the related subjects of Mathematics and Astronomy. Judged by the result offered in this volume it is obvious that no pains have been spared to supply information on widely scattered material, all scientifically arranged and duly furnished with cross references, etc., to yield maximum advantage to research students and scholars.

The plan followed in the preparation of this Bibliography may be highlighted. The entries in regard to authors as well as titles have been alphabetically arranged. Under each author his works also are shown alphabetically. The main particulars about the contents of the work, manuscript references, including catalogue number, folios, script, etc., commentators and even anonymous commentaries, printed text, translation, and studies have been given wherever practicable. In the case of anonymous works all this information, of course, is given under the titles themselves. Noteworthy is the fact that the titles of works of which the authors are known and which are mentioned under them have also been separately entered in the alphabetical sequence to facilitate reference. The present work has been compiled after consulting 79 catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts so that, naturally, information outside these would not be found in the text. The fear that the catalogues consulted may not have been exhaustively exploited seems to be well-founded. For instance, a celebrated commentary on the *Brhajjātaka* of Varāhamihira, named the *Daśādhyāyī* of Govindabhaṭṭa of Talakkulam, finds no mention in the text anywhere. Even more difficult to account for is the omission from this Bibliography of works like the ancient *Sulvasūtras* and the comparatively recent *Jyotiṛvidābharaṇa*. Omissions, it is true, are unavoidable when the field sought to be covered is so vast and obscure. While eagerly looking forward to the remaining volumes in the series, the interested consultants of this valuable Bibliography have good reasons to be thankful to the author for making available to them a reliable record of nearly 660 titles by about 480 authors as well as of 320 anonymous works.

The book has been carefully printed and strongly and neatly bound.

A. G. KRISHNA WARRIER.

KṚDANTARŪPAMĀLĀ, by Pandit S. Ramasubba Sastri. Published by The Sanskrit Education Society, 14, East Mada Street, Mylapore, Madras-4, 1965.

The Sanskrit Education Society, Madras, has given yet another proof, in the work under review, of its determination to promote the serious study of Sanskrit amidst circumstances which threaten its future all over India. In the *Kṛdantarūpamālā* (=KRM) Vol. I, prepared by Pt. S. Ramasubba Sastri, "the foremost Vaiyākaraṇa of South India" (p. iv), we see the partial execution of one of the research projects which the Society included in its programme of activities, along with the compilation of an *Avyayakośa*, and the publication of the Śivāgama texts and other Śāstra works. Dr. V. Raghavan, under whose supervision the research and publication activities of the Society are conducted, informs us in his Preface that the present work is the result of a plan cherished by him for a long time to get a comprehensive compilation of "all primary derivatives of all roots drawn up so that it may serve as an indispensable book of reference". The Sanskrit Education Society may congratulate itself on the success that has crowned its endeavour to produce such a book, into the preparation of which has gone the most exacting labour in the patient working out of recondite forms, in the assembling of appropriate authorities, and in the exhibiting of illustrations culled from a wide variety of literary and Śāstraic texts.

A fair appreciation of the scholarly labour involved in the preparation of such a work as the KRM is possible only when it is realized that what is attempted here is the ordered exhibition, with reference to each of 2,000 Sanskrit roots, of forms evolved by the addition of at least 20 essential Kṛt suffixes. At least 20, for sometimes, as in the case of the root *Kṛñ* (pp. 234 ff) the number of derivative suffixes far exceeds twenty. The roots are serially arranged here, alphabetically, each being followed by its meaning or meanings and an indication of the group to which it belongs, the number attached to it in the *Dhātupāṭha*, whether it is transitive or reflexive, *seṭ*, *veṭ*, or *aniṭ*, etc. Wherever possible the sub-group to which the root in question belongs, and the way it has been commented upon by the grammatical work *Daiva* have also been indicated. Below these particulars are set forth

the forms derived from the root on account of the addition of the primary suffixes, *ṇvul*, *ṭṛc*, *śatr*, *śānac*, *kvip*, *niṣṭhā*, *ac*, etc.; *tavyat*, *anīyar*, *ṇyaṭ* or *yat*, *kahl*, *yak*, *ghañ*, *tumn*, *ktin*, *lyuṭ*, *ktvā*, *lyap*, *namul*, etc. The bulk of the *KRM* and its value as a reference book are considerably enhanced by the fact that *kṛdanta* forms of the causatives and desideratives also are exhibited in the text under each root. Besides, occasionally, words formed with the addition of *uṇādi* suffixes also are set forth.

In view of the fact that the size of work would have become unmanageable, it is explained (p. viii) that the primary formations from roots like *kyajantas*, etc., have been left out. As regards the order of the suffixes followed in the text, a deviation has been effected from that found in Pāṇini. The explanation is that the scope of the suffixes denoting agent, according to the *Sūtrā Kartari kṛt* (2-4-67) is far wider than that of others like *tavyat*, etc.; denoting object, act, etc.

An important feature of this work which raises it to the status of an authority in Grammar is the scrupulous validation of the forms exhibited in the main text by a series of precise references to the *Sūtras* justifying them or literary passages illustrating their usage. There is no doubt that earnest students of Sanskrit will hail the *KRM* as an invaluable guide in their endeavours to master the little explored section of Sanskrit Grammar which deals with primary suffixes. This is only the first volume of a series that is planned, dealing with 250 roots out of a total of 2,600 and the interested public will be eagerly looking forward to the publication of the subsequent volumes in the series. In view of the undoubted utility of this reference book, the advance price of Rs. 50 for the full set may not be deemed too high.

A. G. KRISHNA WARRIER.

A HISTORY OF SOUTH INDIA: By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, published by Oxford University Press, Madras, etc., 3rd edition, 1966; pages 520 with 20 plates and 7 maps; price Rs. 15-00.

The work under review is the third revised edition of the most popular book on the subject, its first and second editions having

been published respectively in the years 1955 and 1958. The great merit of the book, written by one of our most respected front-rank Indologists, is that it gives a lucid, readable and fairly exhaustive account of the political and cultural history of South India from the earliest times down to the collapse of the Vijayanagara empire, which is expected to be intelligible to an ordinary student of history. Certain sections of the present edition have been revised in the light of recent discoveries and researches.

While going through the book, however, a University teacher of the subject cannot help doubting whether it is possible to write a quite satisfactory book on early Indian history on the model of text-books on the history of Great Britain or of ancient Greece or Rome. This is because we have innumerable controversial points on which the author, strictly avoiding references and controversies, can only give a partial and one-sided, if not inaccurate, picture, and the reader remains in the dark as to what the author has to say on well-known arguments against the views adopted by him. The book under review, like most other text-books on early Indian history, suffers from this limitation. The usefulness of such books, to an advanced student of the subject, may possibly be enhanced if V. A. Smith's *Early History of India* is followed as a model at least to some extent.

The difficulty* of the writer of this review, especially, is that, on many of the controversial points, he disagrees with the celebrated author of the book. Thus the reviewer considers it impossible to assign Nahapāna and Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi to the latter half of the first century A.D. on the basis of Nahapāna's identification with Mambarus mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (cf. p. 95). Our objection to the theory rests mainly on the fact that Mambarus who had his capital at Minnagara at a distance from Broach must be different from Nahapāna who is known, from Jinadāsa's commentary on Bhadrabāhu's *Āvaśyakanirgukṭi*, to have had his capital at Broach itself (cf. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, ed. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 279), while Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was not only the contemporary of Śaka Nahapāna (years 41-46 in the dates of whose records must be referred to the Śaka era so as to yield 119-24 A.D.), but was also the earlier contemporary of Rudradāman according to the Junagadh inscription (150 A.D.). It is

unnecessary to mention the numerous other cases of disagreement of the above type.

The printing and get up of the book are satisfactory and its price reasonable.

D. C. SIRCAR

ANCIENT HISTORIANS OF INDIA — A Study in Historical Biographies, by Dr. Vishwambhar Sharan Pathak, with a Foreword by Prof. A. L. Basham; published by Asia Publishing House, Bombay, etc., 1966; pp. 172 + 12 (bibliography and index); price Rs. 15.00.

In the work under review, Dr. V. S. Pathak has critically examined the historical value of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, Someśvara's *Vikramāṅkābhyudaya* and Jayāṇaka's *Prthvīrājaviṣaya* in chapters II-V with an introductory discussion on the beginnings of historical traditions (Chapter I) and a concluding section (Chapter VI) entitled 'History in Historical Narratives' which has two appendices (I. Under the Shadow of a Symbolist, and II. The Agnikula Legend — The Modern and the Medieval Myths). The author's approach to the subject is intelligent and his study is interesting, even though it suffers from an inadequate treatment of the material, the subject having a much wider scope. It seems that some of the author's generalisations would have been modified if he would take into consideration works like *Pulakeśi-praśasti* of Ravikīrti, the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandin, the *Ballālacarita* of Ānandabhaṭṭa, the *Kalīngatūparāṇi* of Jayaṅkoṇḍan, Ballāla's *Bhojaprabandha*, Jayasīma's *Kumārapālābhūpālacaritra*, etc. There are many misprints, but no errata.

In Chapter I, the author emphasises the contribution of the Sūtas and Bhṛgvāṅgirasa Brāhmaṇas in the development of the Indian historical tradition in both the ancient and medieval periods. It seems however to be an over-emphasis on their contribution even in respect of ancient India when they appear to have fabricated some fables on the basis of old *gāthās*. Indeed, when we find that Yayāti's five sons bear the names of five distinct tribes often mentioned in the Vedic literature, what value should we attach to the Yayāti story concocted by such upholders of

historical traditions? On the other hand, it reminds us of the story of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga, Puṇḍra and Suhma, which are really the names of certain Non-Aryan tribes of Eastern India* but are represented as the sons of the sage Dīrghatamas begotten on the queen of the childless king Bali. More important for the history of ancient India appear to be the genealogies of the royal and priestly families, to which the contribution of the Sūtas and Bhṛgvāṅgirasas seems to be dubious.

There are numerous minor points on which we are inclined to differ from the author. Thus he says, "Probably because of their containing this royal genealogy, inscriptions are sometimes called *pūrvā*" (p. 20). But there are epigraphic records which are referred to as *pūrvā* but offer no genealogy; cf. the Mandasor stone pillar inscription mentioning Kumāragupta and Bandhuvārman (Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, 1965 ed., pp. 299 ff.). *Pūrvā* is really an adjective meaning 'the above' with the word *prāśasti* or *tithi* understood (*ibid.*, p. 307, note 2).

Often Dr. Pathak's interpretation of the data smacks of theorising. Thus his lengthy study of the Agnikula legend associated with the sage Vasiṣṭha, which he traces to a Central Asian culture complex, is based on an inadequate collection of data, since the legend is known to have been sometimes associated with the sages Agastya and Kaśyapa as well, and an Agnikula king is known from early Tamil literature. (See Sircar, *The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā*, pp. 17-23).

In spite of what has been said above, the book has to be regarded as an important addition to the meagre literature on Indian historiography.

D. C. SIRCAR

EXCAVATION AT DEVNIMORI—(M. S. University Archaeology Series No. 8), by R. N. Mehta and S. N. Chowdhary; published by the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, M. S. University, Baroda, 1966; pages 197 with 48 Plates and 49 Illustrations; price Rs. 45.00.

The work under review embodies the report on the excavations at Devnimori (Bhiloda Taluka, Sabarkantha District,

Gujarat State) conducted principally by Drs. Mehta and Chowdhary from 1960 to 1963, and the authors and publishers must be congratulated for its speedy publication. We often hear of archaeological excavations conducted at various sites by the Departments of Archaeology of the Union and State Governments as well as by the Universities and other agencies; but exhaustive reports on them appear after long years or do not appear at all. The importance of the Devnimori site and its antiquities was formerly known from a few articles appearing in different periodicals, and now we have this exhaustive report. The idea of writing *Devanīmori* in the title of the book in Middle Brāhmī characters is interesting, though *Devnīmori* is a modern name unsuitable for the age of the script and *va* has been written with a wrong shape.

The report contains seven chapters and several appendices, of which Dr. Mehta has written the major part, i.e. Chapter I (Introduction: Geographical position of the site and other connected problems), Chapters III-IV (Chronology and Architecture) and Chapter VII (Conclusion) besides portions of a few other Chapters. Chapter IV has a small but interesting Appendix (pp. 67-68). In Chapter V dealing with the antiquities excavated, pottery, terracotta and stone objects and beads have been dealt with by Dr. Mehta, metal objects by Mehta and B. R. Subramanyam, glass objects by Dr. M. G. Dikshit, coins by Dr. Chowdhary and bricks, caskets and inscriptions by Mehta and Chowdhary. The accounts are readable and the Plates and illustrations useful in most cases.

An unfortunate feature of the book is that no diacritical marks have been used in the spelling of Indian words and names written in Roman characters. This fact coupled with the inefficiency of the author has rendered the section on coins (pp. 104-16) worthless. We are sorry to face such absurdities in the legends on certain Western Kṣatrapa coins quoted in the book as *Rajna-ha kshatrapasa* (No. 3), *Ragna Mahakshatra* (No. 6), *Ma-ksha-kshatrapasa-Vishvasenasa* (No. 20), *Ragno kshatra* (No. 22), *Bhartrudamaputrasa Ragnya* (No. 25), *Rajnya Kshatrapasa* (No. 27), *Ragnyo Kshatrapasa* (No. 28), *Svami Jvadamaputra-Rajnya* (No. 30), *Ragnya Kshatrapasa* (No. 32), *Rajnyah Kshatrapasa* (No. 34), *Rajnya . . . Rajnya Yashodamana* (No. 35), *Rajnya Mahaksharapasa* (Nos. 36-40), etc. As regards the

Kṣatrapa coins, p. 182, note 1 gives Śaka 319 = 397 A.D. as the latest known date on them on the authority of *The Classical Age*, p. 19. This is due to misunderstanding.

The section on the three inscriptions is even worse although two out of the epigraphic records are of considerable importance. It is a pity that the word *praccaya* (Sanskrit *pratyaya*) occurring eleven times in one of the records, which is a well-known Buddhist text (engraved on the lid of Casket II), has been read in all the cases as *puccaya* while the passage *avijjā-praccayā saṅkakhārā* (Sanskrit *avidyā-pratyayāḥ saṃskārāḥ*) has been read as *suviijjā puccayā saṅkakhārā*. Other wrong readings include *hy=avadat* read as *āvahā* (on the steatite seal) and *viśruta* as *viśṛta* and *kuṭṭimaka (kr) tū* as *kuṭṭimakato* (on the body of Casket II).

The learned editors will do well in getting such defective sections of the book revised by a competent scholar when they get an opportunity of revising the work for a second edition.

The book is a welcome addition to the literature on Indian archaeology.

D. C. SIRCAR

LALA LAJPAT RAI, Writings and Speeches, Vol. I (1888-1919), LXIII + 423, pp. and Vol. II (1920-28) VI + 511 pp. Edited by Vijaya Chandra Joshi. University Publishers, Railway Road, Jullundur; Mori Gate, Delhi-6. First Edition, 1966; price Rs. 25 each volume.

Born in January, 1865, Lala Lajpat Rai was associated with the Brahmo Samaj for some time as well as with the Arya Samaj. He chose Hissar and later Lahore as the centre of his activities. His connections with the Indian National Congress began in 1888. His visit to England in 1905 made him question the efficacy of Congress agitation there and stress on self-reliance. Deported to Burma in 1907, he was able to re-enter the Congress in 1912; again as a political exile during the period of the first World War he came into touch with the intellectuals in the United States of America. On return to India in February, 1920 he found "an awakened, self-conscious and defiant India". He presided over

the session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta. He was put in prison in course of the non-co-operation movement and elected subsequently to the Central Legislative Assembly in 1925. After founding the Nationalist Party, he left for Europe in 1927. The psychological, much more than physiological, shock of his assault by the police, while he was leading demonstrations against the Simon Commission, was too much for him; it unfortunately hastened his demise that took place in November 1928.

This publication of a representative collection of Lala Lajpat Rai's speeches and writings, in full and in chronological order, was undertaken on the initiative of, and with financial assistance from, Lajpat Rai Centenary Committee. It has come at a time when the present generation, in particular, has almost lost sight of the grandeur of that tall tree in the Congress garden. It must have been a very difficult task to collect the speeches and writings from various archives, libraries and newspaper offices, in different parts of India, London and New York. The Foreword written by the late Lal Bahadur Shastri, of revered memory, has a tragic touch about it as it was written a week before his departure for Tashkent. He refers to the "undaunted courage" and "extreme self-reliance" of the great leader, apart from his unique personality unaffected by adversity and challenges, his great vision, strong resolve, large heart and dignity. Lala Lajpat Rai was a realist and as he himself pointed out, "..... even when my body was pulsating with the wine of youth I was never carried away by mere theories, slogans and dreams". The rich legacy that he left made Gandhiji remark, "Men like Lalaji cannot die as long as the sun shines in the Indian sky".

Vol. I gives us a clear picture of his views on religion, *swadcschi* and economic development, depressed classes, national system of education and social and constitutional reforms, which were the burning issues prior to 1920. Vol. II deals with the period after 1920, characterised by the inauguration of the Montford reforms, the non-co-operation movement, the rise of the Swaraj Party and the issue of Council entry, the organisation of the Nationalist Party and the nation-wide campaign against the Simon Commission and it brings out his views on contemporary problems and developments at different stages.

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Lala Lajpat Rai's open letters addressed to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, after the latter's attack on the Congress, contrasting his "former loftiness" with the "present lowness of your position" and his series of articles published in the *Tribune* and other papers in 1924 give out his views on Hindu-Muslim unity and constitute a fine study of the problem from social, economic and psychological aspects. He pleaded for the avoidance of measures "which may be calculated to create an impassable gulf between the Hindus and the Mahomedans, because to me it seems that goodwill between the two communities is even more valuable than seats on the Legislative Councils". He asked his countrymen to distinguish between essentials and non-essentials in religion, to remember that absolute right was a non-existent concept, to purge politics of religion, to rationalise religion and to remove the artificial barriers in society. He could not put up with insult to any religion.

In regard to his political opinions, he was against the Prussian conception of government and firmly clung to the view that the "despotism of a democracy is . . . more fatal for subject people than that of an absolute monarch". "Let Government remember", he warned, "that people, once awakened and awakened rightly, cannot be put down". In a healthy body-politic the Government and its subjects are one and inter-changeable, with correlative duties and rights. He believed that nations "are never benevolent or just" but self-interest guides inter-national relations; and that chaos is preferable to foreign rule which is a curse.

The English, he stated, would not part with power unless India produced sufficient sanction behind it to compel them to do so. He called upon his countrymen "to work in the open, with absolute frankness, discarding secret methods and all methods of violence". He recognised that non-violent non-co-operation with foreign rulers "is the only road that will lead us to our goal" and that boycott alone would have a telling effect on Lancashire. He had no faith in non-violence as a creed but he accepted it as the best policy under the circumstances. He was critical of Gandhiji's "impossible principles" which are "out of place in political campaign".

The "first socialist" of India, Lala Lajpat Rai presided over the first meeting of the All-India Trade Union Congress held at

Bombay in 1920. He "had a social and economic outlook which was rare among Indian leaders of his generation". "Militarism and Imperialism", he said, "are twin children of capitalism. They are one in three and three in one". He demanded "political power in order to raise the intellectual and political status of our masses", and he did "not want to bolster up the classes. Our goal is real liberty, equality and opportunity for all". Political freedom conveyed no meaning to him unless it was accompanied by social justice and the uplift of the masses. He could not organise the socialist party however.

Lala Lajpat Rai stressed the need for a national system of education, very much dependent on a national government. "Boys and girls should have every opportunity of seeing life, moving in life, experiencing the shocks and reactions of life". "Parents and teachers must learn to respect the child and to have a feeling of reverence for it". To strengthen Indian economy education, on modern lines and yet consistent with the ancient heritage, would be necessary.

With very wide interests and a "genius for constructive work", Lala Lajpat Rai used to express his views on contemporary issues, political, social, economic, religious and educational, forcefully and with disarming frankness and courage of convictions. Mr. Vijaya Chandra Joshi is to be heartily congratulated on his careful and comprehensive collection of the great leader's writings and speeches; and his short biographical account throws light on the various factors that had shaped Lala Lajpat Rai's ideas and ideals. Through the speeches and writings of this intrepid man of action, one is enabled to have a peep into a phase of nationalist activity of the past, with its own throes and sacrifices, with which the present generation may unfortunately be quite unfamiliar. These two volumes constitute indeed a welcome addition to the available literature on India's freedom struggle so far as they have restored to us ideas that remained hitherto hidden in different archives and libraries. Apart from making an objective assessment of Lala Lajpat Rai's personality and constructive achievements possible, the two volumes also throw light on the stormy stages through which India's national movement evolved until four decades ago.

They are bound to prove highly useful for historical research and act as a perennial source of inspiration because

— A time like this demands

Great hearts, strong minds, true faith and willing hands;

Men whom the lust of office cannot kill;

Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;

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Men who have honour

P. K. K. MENON

SOUTH EAST ASIA—PAST AND PRESENT, by Nicholas Tarling. Published by F. W. Cheshire Pty. Ltd., 338 Little Collins Street, Melbourne, 1966, \$ 5.55.

Australasia, a convenient term for Australia and New Zealand, remained across the centuries, isolated from the mainland neighbours, having forged substantial links rather with the West. But with the decline of colonialism, Australasia actively began to develop political and economic relationship with South-east Asia in course of the twentieth century. Australasians are making efforts to bridge the "emotional gulf" that separates them from the Asians and "to comprehend societies quite different from an urban democratic norm". They find the task somewhat difficult, in view of the rapid changes to which the Asian states are being subjected and their enormous religious, linguistic and cultural variety. Southeast Asia is taken to represent Vietnam, North and South, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. This wide region is indeed complex, for here we find populations at different levels of civilization, and diversities in economic, social and political organisation. The battlefield of conflicting ideologies of the powers that really count, Southeast Asia has the interest of the world focussed on it today.

It is on this background that Dr. Tarling, Associate Professor of History, University of Auckland, and author of three works connected with Malay Peninsula in modern period, attempts to present the history of this region without doing violence to the

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"validity of the past", for the benefit of the general reader and Australasians, in particular, who yearn for new contacts and in whom are raised fresh hopes regarding the future. Tackling the problems in regard to terminology, chronology, and scanty material on the early period as best as he can, he concentrates, in the major part of the book, on the important developments in South-east Asia in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries so that the interested reader may be enabled to assess the "patterns" of recent history.

The book is divided into three parts, the years 1760 and 1942 being, more or less, the dividing lines.

The first part makes a geographical survey, treating the region as a whole, and deals with the early states and population movements, trade and society, Indian and Chinese cultural influences and the penetration of Islam. An account is next given, of the decline of the Portuguese power, the spurt in missionary activity and the ascendancy of the Dutch.

The second part deals with the period extending from 1760 to 1942. It saw major socio-economic changes in Southeast Asia, caused primarily by the great Industrial Revolution. The gold-rushes, the railway boom, the demand for tin and food products and the improvement in transport and communications caused rapid changes in agriculture, industry and traditional crafts. Western imperialism held the region in tight grip. With the overthrow of colonialism a re-distribution of power was bound to take place. The collapse of the British supremacy very much affected Australia and New Zealand as it used to protect them from the major European powers and later from the industrial Japan.

The period since 1942, dealt with in the third part, saw Japan, with its concept of co-prosperity sphere, fill the vacuum caused by the withdrawal of the imperial powers. Japan was mobilising resources for its war effort and trying to create political barriers against the possible return of the colonial powers.

As Australasia later realised the gravity of the Chinese threat, the importance of sea power was progressively recognised and closer contact and alliance established with the United States of America, the major power in the Pacific. The importance of

the mainland countries of Southeast Asia was equally recognised in the context of regional security. As a result of the increasing contacts with diverse cultures Australasia has been able to make some contributions to the Southeast Asian countries, in turn being compelled to modify the traditional "uniformities" and "rigidities".

The treatment of the subject is brief, yet comprehensive, and the book will be much useful to the general reader interested in the developments in Southeast Asia, especially in the last three centuries.

P. K. K. MENON

DEVATĀDHYĀYA — SAMHITOPANIṢAD — VAMŚA —
BRĀHMAṆAS WITH COMMENTARIES: Edited by Dr.
B. R. Sharma. Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati 1965.
Pages 40, 64, 123, 36. Price Rs. 12.

Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, recently started by the Government of India at Tirupati, has launched on a scheme to bring out critical editions of the minor Brāhmaṇas of the Sāma Veda together with the available commentaries. The Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa with the commentaries of Bharatasvāmin and Sāyaṇa was published in 1964 as No. 1 in the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha Series. Three more minor Brāhmaṇas are now critically edited and published in a single volume as Nos. 2-4 of the Series:

(1) Devatādhyāya, 'dealing with the deities of the Sāmagānas, the colour and etymology of the musical metrics' is edited on the basis of seven manuscripts and three earlier editions; the commentary ascribed to Sāyaṇa, the later portion of which is clearly an interpolation, is edited on the basis of 6 manuscripts and the three printed editions.

(2) Samhitopaniṣad deals with the Sāmagānas or 'verse-chant which is sung without break in accordance with the rules of melodization; it is in five chapters and explains the criteria for the division of the Samhitā into various categories, mentions 'the reward, good or bad, that a chanter of the respective Samhitās

would be entitled and 'the scientific aspects of melodization of Sāmians in different Svaras in harmony and elaborated with Stobha and such other devices' and speaks of the gifts to be offered to the teacher after the completion of one's education, and the duties of the Brahmacārin. Besides the commentary ascribed to Sāyaṇa available for chapter I alone, this critical edition contains the commentary by Viṣṇusūnu (son of Viṣṇu) who is referred to as Dvijarājabhṭṭa here. The editor Dr. Sharma has correctly pointed out that we are not sure about the real name of the commentator; neither the colophons nor the introductory and concluding verses lend support to the view that his proper name was Dvijarājabhṭṭa. For the critical edition Dr. Sharma has used two manuscripts of Sāyanabhāṣya, two manuscripts of the commentary by Viṣṇusūnu, five manuscripts of the text and two earlier editions of the text and commentaries.

(3) *Varṇsa Brāhmaṇa*, edited here on the basis of six manuscripts and two earlier editions, deals with the lineage of sages through whom the learning and tradition of the Sāma Veda came down.

Besides the variant readings given as footnotes, Dr. Sharma has added detailed critical notes discussing textual problems. The Introduction is fairly exhaustive and deals with questions about the texts, commentaries, their value etc. Dr. Sharma suggests that the commentaries on the minor Brāhmaṇas of the Sāma Veda ascribed to Sāyaṇa may not have been actually written by that great Vedic commentator; however it may be noted that the tradition is fairly old, for Peṭṭasāstrin, in his commentary on the Nidānasūtra, (Manuscript available in Adyar Library) quotes a passage saying that it is from Vidyāraṇya's commentary on Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda.

Word indices of the texts and various Appendices given add to the usefulness of the work. Dr. Sharma deserves full praise for bringing out such excellent critical editions of the minor Brāhmaṇas of the Sāma Veda.

K. KUNJUNNI RAJA

KUKA MOVEMENT: By Fauja Singh Bajwa, Reader in History, Delhi University. Published by Kuka Research Centre, Delhi, 1965. Available from Motilal Banarsidass, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi-6. Pp. xvi, 236; Price Rs. 20.

The main thesis of the book is that "the principal aim with which the Kuka Movement was initiated was political, though great weight was attached to religious and social regeneration, which was thought most necessary for the attainment of the chosen political aim" (p. 190, 192). For this the author has played a strong and a spirited advocate and has built up his case gradually and systematically, depending, at times, for his argument, on the fictional literature produced by Kuka writers during recent times.

A look at the Bibliography given at the end would show that there is hardly any source material in English and Punjabi, available in the National Archives of India, the Punjab State Archives or in private possession, that he has left untapped. Like a trained historian he has invariably quoted his authorities to authenticate his statements.

In the first chapter of the book the author tells us that the "founder of this remarkable movement was Baba Ram Singh" (p. 4). But the Kukas trace their origin from Baba Balak Singh of Hazro whom they call the Eleventh Guru, Ram Singh being the twelfth. He, however, admits that Ram Singh met Balak Singh at Hazro in 1841 and adopted him "as his spiritual master" (p. 6). He has not given Balak Singh his rightful place and due importance, perhaps, on the ground that as a purely religious reformer he does not fit in the plan of his thesis which stresses the political motives. This, to history, is not a strong ground for ignoring the originator of a movement though it might have developed some of its important traits long after his life.

The Kuka Movement was not the first reformist movement among the Sikhs. It was in fact the Nirankari Movement, the founder of which Baba Dayal, was born in 1783, sixteen years before the birth of Baba Balak Singh, the father of the Namdhari (Kuka) Movement.

Baba Ram Singh, the chief leader of the movement, was born at Bhaini Araiyan in February, 1816. At the age of twenty he

joined the Sikh army and served for about ten years. "The tradition has it that when the First Anglo-Sikh War broke out in 1845, he threw his musket into the Sutlej and went home" (p. 7). For some five years he worked as a carpenter and then opened a grocer's shop which continued upto 1872, when he was arrested and deported to Burma.

Baba Ram Singh was a saintly person more devoted to socio-religious reforms than politics. He soon gathered a large following. This created suspicions in the minds of district officers and they started watching his activities through the local police. For some time his movements were restricted to his own village. But as nothing seditious could be found against him, the restrictions were removed and he was free to hold congregations of his followers and visit religious places in their company. In their over-flowing puritanic zeal some of his followers desecrated and demolished a number of Hindu places of worship and Muslim tombs and were punished by law courts. But their murderous attacks on the butchers at Amritsar and Raikot in the summer of 1871, with 8 killed and 12 wounded, had serious repercussions. Seven Kukas were hanged and two imprisoned for life.

The situation, however, assumed serious proportions in the second week of January 1872. About five hundred Kukas (nearly 1000 according to another estimate) collected at Bhaini for the *Maghi* fair on January 13. On the conclusion of the formal ceremonies most of them left for their homes, but a batch of about a hundred of them stayed behind. They had, evidently, been worked up into a dangerous ferment by the spirited ballads sung at the meetings and by the prayers recited on the conclusion exciting them in the name of *dharma* and *go-rakkhia* (religion and cow-protection) to wreak their vengeance upon the cow-killing butchers and their supporters for the execution of the Kukas, particularly of Giani Rattan Singh whom they believed to have been innocent. They were bent upon 'doing something', and in spite of the remonstrances and appeals of Baba Ram Singh, they set out for Malerkotla which they thought they could easily attack to secure arms.

On their way they attacked and insulted, on the night of the 14th, a Sikh Sardar, Badan Singh of Malaud, but it cost them two

lives, with three wounded, for 3 swords, one double-barrelled gun and three horses. Early in the morning of the 15th they attacked Malerkotla. But, as ill luck would have it, the first almirah they fell upon contained office-files and not arms. In the fight that followed, the Kukas lost seven lives against eight lost by Malerkotla. Frustrated, they left Malerkotla and moved to Rar in Patiala territory. Here they were all disarmed and arrested by *Naib Nazim Sayyad Niaz Ali* of Patiala service.

On January 17, 1872, the arrested Kukas, 68 in number, including two women, were removed in bullock carts to Malerkotla. The women were handed over to the Patiala State and 65 Kukas were lashed to the guns and blown away in batches of 49 and 16 by Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, and Douglas Forsyth, Commissioner of the Ambala, respectively on the 17th and 18th. One of them, who rushed upon Mr. Cowan and tried to throttle him to death, was killed by sword. In this, the two British officers took law into their own hands and assumed powers which did not belong to them. In spite of all the arguments advanced by them in their defence and by the Provincial Government in their support, the Government of India disapproved of their illegal action and punished Cowan with dismissal from service and Forsyth with removal from Commissionership of Ambala with orders that he would in future be given a position "in which he will not have to superintend the judicial proceedings of any native state" (pp. 78-120). These punishments were considered to be too lenient.

Baba Ram Singh and his immediate lieutenants, called *Soobas*, were exiled from the Punjab as being the head and leaders of the Kukas who had indulged in the murder of innocent butchers plying their trade.

Chapters VII, VIII and IX are devoted to prove his main thesis and the author feels that he has succeeded in it. But the knowledgeable reader has strong doubts about the reliability of a good deal of his basic source material produced by interested propagandists in very recent years.

The early reports of the British officers during the eighties were written under a fear-complex engendered by the events of the Mutiny of 1857-58, and, at times, they made moun-

tains out of mole-hills and saw politics even in most innocent religious-social reform movements of the Kukas, the Arya Samaj, etc. These reports, therefore, are not very reliable as source material for history. Nor can the reports, memoranda and letters written immediately after January, 1872, by Cowan, Forsyth and their supporters, be taken as dependable historical documents as they had, not unintentionally, put a political construction upon the cow-protecting and butcher-killing activities of a few over-zealous (*Mastana*) Kukas.

The story of the hoisting of a flag by the Kukas on the *Baisakhi* day (April 11th) of 1857 is a myth, pure and simple, not known even to the Kukas for over seventy years after that date. It was manufactured only after some of our political leaders began calling the Mutiny of 1857 Indian War of Independence. One can easily guess the purpose underlying it.

To say that the Kukas had set up independent postal and judicial services is not borne out by facts. The truth is that the Government postal service in those days was not extensive and elaborate enough to cover the rural areas where the Kukas lived. The state of affairs continued upto nineteen-twenties, when a large number of villages were served once a week or once in ten days, with the result that messages of the *Singh Sabha* meetings in the villages had to be sent through special messengers. This does not mean that the Kukas or the leaders of the *Singh Sabha* had established any independent postal service of their own. As regards the judicial services, there was nothing new done by the Kukas. The village panchayats had existed in the Panjab for centuries and had not as yet, in eighteen-sixties and seventies, been completely replaced by the law courts set up by the British Government.

The author rightly says that "we have no definite evidence" for the Kuka claim of their boycott of British-manufactured cloth (p. 183). The country-made *khadar* was then commonly worn by almost all people in the villages.

The Kuka Movement cannot "rightly be said to have paved the way for the subsequent *Singh Sabha* movement" the leaders of which actually denounced it as schismatic in setting up a new line of Gurus, against the common Sikh belief, in promoting the

Brahminical *havan* at their ceremonies as against the puritanic reform introduced by the Nirankaris and in behaving sacrilegiously in the presence of the *Guru Granth Sahib* by dancing bareheaded with dishevelled hair. It was in fact the Nirankari Movement (as mentioned before) which may be said to have been the precursor of the Singh Sabha movement.

In spite of these few points which needed to be mentioned, it must be said to the credit of the author that he has tried to make a serious study of the subject and put a new interpretation on the movement although many of his readers may not agree with his conclusions. The appendices on Maharaja Dalip Singh and Some Pro-Government Representations and the Bibliography are very useful.

GANDA SINGH

1. THE ECONOMIC TRANSITION IN THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY (1793-1833) by H. R. Goshal (Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay) Calcutta, Second edition 1966, pp. 322.
2. MANCHESTERMEN AND INDIAN COTTON 1847-1872 by Arthur W. Silver, Manchester University Press 1966, pp. 349, 56 sh.

About two centuries ago, India had some flourishing industries and had close trade relations with countries of the Far East as well as of the West. In a relatively short period of about four decades, these industries lost their importance and foreign trade declined, with the result that at the close of the 19th century the country became economically very backward and industrialization had to start all over again but along new lines. The causes for this decline form the subject matter of Dr. Goshal's study. This book, originally a doctoral dissertation, was first published in 1950. In the present edition the author has added some new material and in the light of his later researches modified some of his earlier conclusions.

Prof. Goshal examines at length the progress and decay of some of the major industries in the Bengal Presidency—the cottage industry, sericulture and silk weaving, sugar, indigo planta-

tions, salt, opium, saltpetre and also a few minor industries at the turn of the 18th century. Also, he reviews the changes that took place in internal and external trade, agriculture, currency and banking and points out that the economic trends in the Bengal Presidency were typical of the transition that came over the entire economy of India in the period, 1793-1833. He feels that the loss of the handicraft industries and the resultant poverty of the people were not due so much to the indifferent attitude of the East India Company or the British Government as to the industrial revolution in England. In the face of keen competition from the West, the adverse effect of which was considerably sharpened by the adoption of *laissez faire* policy, the Indian handicrafts perished. The Indian economy did not have the means and resources for building the industries anew, nor did the Government show any great interest in it.

Thus the economic transition dealt with in this study is not the change from an industrial economy of the old type to the modern type, but a decline from a state of prosperity to that of an impoverished economy characterised by large scale unemployment, mass poverty, famines and misery.

Dr. Goshal's study is based on a careful and laborious research into original records and official papers and is well documented. His narrative is scholarly but if the contents are depressive reading, the fault is certainly not the author's. One would very much wish that this review is followed up by the learned author with a study of the transition that has come over the economy in much later years involving the rebuilding of some of the industries of the 18th Century and the emergence of new industries along modern lines.

In a sense, Prof. A. W. Silver's book, "Manchester Men and Indian Cotton" is a sequel to Dr. Goshal's review of the decay of Indian industries in the earlier part of the 19th century. Dr. Silver, investigates one important aspect of the economic transition of India in the latter half of the 19th century—the transition from an exporter of cotton manufactured goods to an exporter of raw cotton and importer of manufactured products. He focusses attention on the activities of the Manchester businessmen but in so doing he touches upon important trends in the economic history of the U.S.A. and India as well.

The middle years of the 19th century mark the heyday of *laissez faire* economics in England. British manufacture and trade flourished under the principles of free trade and competition and nonintervention by the State. The free play of the law of supply and demand established a pattern of trade and business, which, in respect of the cotton textile industry, involved the concentration of the industry in Manchester and the importation of raw cotton from America. But the shortage in the supply of American cotton, on account of seasonal factors and the outbreak of civil war in that country compelled the British manufacturers to turn their eyes elsewhere for procuring a regular supply of the raw materials. They struck upon India as a good supplementary source. But in order to ensure a regular supply of this precious raw material, steps had to be taken by the Government for promoting the growing of cotton, for improving its variety, for developing transport and means of communication and for redrawing the tariff policy. And in order to persuade the Government to take up an active interest in agricultural production, it had first to be weaned from the policy of *laissez faire*. This was achieved by the Manchester businessmen through their able political leaders, the press and the Parliament in which they had considerable influence. Dr. Silver's study is a record of their problems and difficulties. The author feels that although what these businessmen accomplished had nothing very spectacular about it, yet, out of their efforts emerged an efficient administrative organization which was necessary for implementing the ambitious agricultural programmes of the Government during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty (1899-1905) and contributed to a better development of India's resources at a later period.

Since the major concern of the author is to examine the problems and difficulties of the British manufacturers, the fact that much attention has not been devoted to the repercussions of their activities on the Indian economy cannot be considered as a serious gap in his analysis. Dr. Silver's book is an authoritative study on the subject. The facts and figures presented in his study have been collected from Government records, official correspondence, Parliamentary Proceedings, newspaper reports and also from the unpublished papers of Sir Charles Wood, the Minister responsible for Indian affairs during 1853-55, and 1859-66. The comprehensive

bibliography appended to the book and the detailed index add to its value.

D. BRIGHT SINGH

SUBASH CHANDRA BOSE AS I KNEW HIM: By Kitty Kurti
(Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta) 1966.

In this booklet are collected together vivid recollections of conversations of an admiring German friend of Subash Chandra Bose in Berlin in 1933. Mrs. Kitty Kurti who is now settled in the U.S.A. considers Bose as 'a fascinating person and a remarkably intelligent and deep man' and writes, in beautiful style, her appreciation of Bose, the man, and some of his ideas. These recollections also try to re-capture the spirit of the period between 1930 and 1940.

Bose emerges not only a politician but also a philosopher as a result of her assessment. He was interested in the problems of humanity and various branches of knowledge, more particularly psychology. He was critical of Gandhiji, his conservatism, his methods and ideas. Though he was appreciative of the civil disobedience movement as a technique for achieving independence, his criticism was that it did not go far, it did not menace the very existence of the Government. He said: "As long as people do not actively menace the Government and their supporters, either with arms or through an effective economic blockade, the present Government can continue to exist for an indefinite period, in spite of our non-cooperation and civil disobedience." He could not appreciate ideas as making an appeal to 'the inner light' of the opponents.

He also emphasized the importance of international propaganda which, he believed, was neglected by the Congress. He believed in socialism and visualised a true economic, social and political democracy in a free India. He wanted that the Soviet system might be adopted in free India. He was thinking of a new party which would be called *Samya Vadi Sangha*. About Jawahar Lal Nehru, Bose's view was that 'his head pulled him to the left but his heart to the right, that is to Gandhi'. He considers Nehru as both a radical and a conservative. Bose wanted the young to be

united and to overthrow the leadership of the old. Mrs. Kurti's impression was that he had a deep contempt for the Nazis, a feeling which he did not attempt to conceal from her. He was a lover of Indian culture and believed that the Western culture had arrived at a dangerous point because of its complete spiritual bankruptcy. He found that in Europe people had no peace of soul and many of them suffered from neurasthenia—the whole atmosphere was full of selfishness.

The book is a welcome addition to the literature on Subash Chandra Bose.

AMBA PRASAD

TREE SYMBOL WORSHIP IN INDIA: Edited by Sankar Sen Gupta. Indian Publications, Calcutta—I, 1965. Price Rs. 20.

After the publication of Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship* a number of scholars have been collecting and publishing data on tree and serpent lore. A great deal of the myths may be popular phantasies with no deep significance, but the symbolic depth of the tree of enlightenment concept of Buddhism or of the lotus in Hindu mythology is of fascinating interest when handled by scholars of the calibre of Ananda Coomaraswami. The book under review is a collection of essays on plant lore by fifteen authors with an unstructured Introduction by the editor. The title of the book is somewhat misleading for there is little discussion on tree as a religious symbol though there are references, here and there, to this topic. Dr. S. K. Jain contributes an excellent paper on the "Role of a Botanist in Folklore Research" in which he gives hints on how the collector of folklore about plants should do his job. He refers to ethno-botany, an interesting discipline which deals with the relation of plants to peoples and cultures, a field in botanical research which has been useful to archaeologists and ethnologists. Dr. Jain also indicates how plant lore which to some people might seem to be an idle hobby may be of use to medicine and to agricultural scientists. Eight of the papers deal with tree cult and plant lore in the various linguistic regions of India. Maity starts writing on an interesting concept of the association between tree spirits and serpents but the effort fizzles out.

The editor is an enthusiastic folklorist and as interest in folklore is declining and few understand the value of salvaging our wealth of folklore, the reviewer and others interested in the subject should feel grateful to him for the trouble he has taken to publish these essays. It is our hope that more data will be collected and more of analytical studies undertaken and that the editor would receive the financial and other support he richly deserves for his labour of love.

A. AIYAPPAN

A GUIDE TO FIELD STUDY: Edited by Sankar Sen Gupta. Indian Publications, Calcutta, I, 1965. Price Rs. 11-50 for Student Edition, Rs. 16-50 for Royal Edition.

There are five short papers here on field methods in anthropology, three papers of hints on the collection of folklore, one on field methods in archaeology, one on "Prospects of Social Research in India," another on field studies in economics, a paper on a discrimination study in psychology, another on evaluation of field work and the last one on the importance of museums in education. No one who has some familiarity with any of these subjects will gain much from these essays. As most of the papers are too brief or touch only some selected aspects of the various subjects, the beginner too is not likely to derive much benefit from this odd collection of papers. The days of any one trying to do research worth the name with the help of a few hints are no longer there now. The editor obviously has not considered his possible audience.

A. AIYAPPAN

AURANGABAD SCULPTURES: By Amita Ray, pp. 1-49, 25 figures (9½ in. × 7½ in.). Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay and Co., 6/1A, Banchharam Akruru Lane, Calcutta-12, 1964. Price Rs. 30.

This book is indeed a very beautifully published book and for this the publisher viz., Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay and Co., deserves all praise because so far in many of the Indian publications, the printing of the blocks has been deplorable. However, if this

book is intended to popularise Aurangabad sculptures, then I think the object will not be fulfilled because, for a small book no doubt with 25 illustrations, the price is certainly prohibitive for an average Indian reader.

The same thing has got to be said about the text specially written by Dr. (Miss) Amita Ray. The descriptions are brief no doubt; but they are too technical for a sightseer and too little for a scholarly publication. Hence, I think the book falls between two stools. But the charm of the publication remains, particularly the "orchestral" dance reproduced on figures 18 and 19 where a lady in the centre is flanked by 3 players on the *veena* etc. I think this is one of the finest sculptures in the whole range of art and certainly needs to be seen by as many scholars and laymen as possible.

H. D. SANKALIA

THE KINGDOM OF AHMADNAGAR: By Radhey Shyam, xvii-435 pp.; Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi; 1966; Rs. 20/-.

It is a matter of satisfaction that historians and scholars are realising the importance of the kingdoms of the Deccan and are finding out that it is not merely the States which arose in the Aryavarta region that matter in the formation of what we call Indian culture. Dr. Radhey Shyam should be heartily congratulated on his service to the cause of Indian history by bringing out this comprehensive book and stressing the political, administrative and cultural importance of the Nizām Shahi Kingdom. This was the subject of the thesis which he submitted to the Allahabad University for the Degree of Doctorate of Philosophy. He has now revised his thesis in the light of later findings and presented it in the form of an interesting book. It is divided into ten chapters, a bibliography and an index. The Introductory chapter contains a well-written description of the rise and fall of the Bahmani Kingdom leading to the formation of autonomous provinces of which Ahmadnagar was one. In this context it seems rather strange that Dr. Shyam should have followed Sir Wolseley Haig's mistranslation of the word *Gharīb* or *Āfāqī* as "Foreigners" rather than

Newcomers, as these Āfāqīs had made the country their own and lived and died for the honour and glory of their adopted land. In the same way the learned author has not done justice to Maḥmūd Gāwān who is accused of "sinister motives" when he wanted to appoint Malik Ḥasan Baḥrī, (the progenitor of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty) to the Governorship of Rajahmandri, although he himself says that Maḥmūd's avowed object was to "maintain a balance between rival parties".

Two very interesting and informative chapters are those dealing with "The Eclipse of the Kingdom" and the "Extinction of the Nizām Shāhī Kingdom", which contain a graphic description of the defence of Ahmadnagar by that intrepid lady, Chānd Bibī and the exploits of that thrice sold and manumitted African, Malik 'Amber, whose military genius, public works and administration are factually and critically examined. Another interesting chapter is the one in which the Nizām Shāhī-Portuguese relations are discussed. The book is wound up with the chapter dealing with political institutions, military organization, literature, architecture and painting.

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad rightly says in his Foreword that "the story has been narrated with balance". It is refreshing to note that Dr. Shyam agrees with the latest researches in regard to the site of the great battle fought on January 23, 1565, which ended Rama Raya's hegemony and broke the power of Vijayanagar. The learned author rightly avers that the battle was actually fought at Banihatti, twelve miles South of the Krishna. He is therefore of opinion that it should be called the *Battle of Banihatti* rather than the battle of Talikōṭa (which is more than 30 miles from the actual site of the battle), or the battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi (two villages North of the river), or yet the Battle of the Krishna. It is hoped that this will find favour with scholars in future. He gives an impartial and penetrating account of the causes which led to the formation of the League of the Sultans, but somehow includes the participation of Berar in the League which is not vouchsafed by our authorities.

The book is fully documented. But the references could have been shortened by abbreviation of names and the rather useless repetitions in the footnotes avoided, e.g., on pp. 143, 360, 400 and elsewhere, there is a profusion of "*ibid*" sometimes refer-

ring to the same pages of the same text. Most unfortunately there are scores of printing mistakes both of proper nouns and ordinary words which mar the otherwise excellent printing and paper, and the thirty three in the "errata" at the end should be multiplied at least by ten to find out the real number of typographical mistakes. There are many important lacunae in the index and it sometimes fails to follow the correct order. Finally, a sketch map of the kingdom at the height of its power would have helped the reader to trace the geographical trends of the kingdom.

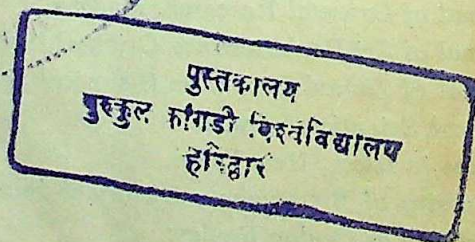
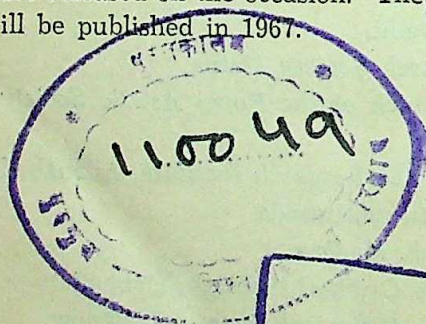
H. K. SHERWANI

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.
2. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala*, Poona.
3. *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan*, Bombay.
4. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras.
5. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
6. *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*.
7. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras.
8. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London.
9. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
10. *Folklore*, Calcutta.
11. *Indian Archives*, Delhi.
12. *Indian Review*, Madras.
13. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
14. *Indica*, Bombay.
15. *Indo Asian Culture*, New Delhi.
16. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
17. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
18. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad.
19. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
20. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
21. *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
22. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
23. *Political Scientist*, Ranchi.
24. *Studies in Islam*, New Delhi.
25. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Birmingham.
26. *University of Ceylon Review*.
27. *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Hoshiarpur.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE—SEMINAR OF TAMIL STUDIES, KUALA-LUMPUR, APRIL 1966

The first International Conference—Seminar of Tamil Studies, sponsored by the International Association of Tamil Research, the National Education (Indian Schools) Development Council, Malaya and the University of Malaya was held at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, in April 1966 and attended by 132 delegates and 40 observers from various parts of the world. Among the different subjects discussed were the History and Culture in South East Asia with particular reference to Tamil cultural contacts, Tamil society in the Sangam period, South East Asia after 1500, Music and Dance, Art and Antiquity and Tamil society in the modern period. 150 research papers were presented at the Conference sessions. There was an Exhibition held in conjunction with the Conference, which consisted of sculptures and other archaeological findings and rare publications and pictures relating to Tamil studies. Some new publications were released on the occasion. The Proceedings of the Conference will be published in 1967.



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Mount Road, Madras, and Published by the University of Kerala,

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